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CONTENTS

OF

No. 393.—JANUARY, 1903.

	PAGE
ART. I.—IRELAND FROM WITHIN - - - -	1
1. Report of the Irish Land Commission for the year ending 31st March, 1902 (Cd. 1186).	
2. Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland for the years 1900-1902 (Cd. 888 and 1874).	
And other works.	
ART. II.—SOUTH AMERICAN ANIMALS AND THEIR ORIGIN	41
1. Notas sobre cuestiones de Geologia y Paleontologia Argentinas. By F. Ameghino. Bol. Inst. Geografico Argentino. Vol. xvii. 1896.	
2. Geology and Palæontology of Argentina. By the same. Geological Magazine. Decade 4. Vol. iv. 1897.	
And other works.	
ART. III.—THE QUEEN OF THE 'BLUE-STOCKINGS' - -	68
1. The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, with some of the Letters of her Correspondents. Published by Matthew Montagu, Esq., M.P., her nephew and executor. Four vols. London, 1809-1818.	
2. An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear. By Mrs Montagu. Fifth edition. London, 1785.	
And other works.	
ART. IV.—THE GAME OF SPECULATION - - - -	88
ART. V.—ÉMILE ZOLA: HIS LIFE AND WORK - - -	115
1. Les Rougon-Macquart. Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le second Empire. By Émile Zola. Twenty vols. Paris: Charpentier, 1871-93. (La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret, 1875; L'Assommoir, 1877; Nana, 1880; Pot-Bouille, 1882; La Terre, 1887; La Débâcle, 1892.)	
2. Les Trois Villes. By the same. (Lourdes, 1894; Rome, 1896; Paris, 1898.)	
And other works.	

	PAGE
ART. VI.—A CONSPECTUS OF SCIENCE - - -	139
International Catalogue of Scientific Literature. First Annual Issue. Botany (Part I); Chemistry (Part I); Mechanics; Physics (Part I); Physiology (Part I); Meteorology. London: Harrison and Sons, 1902. And other works.	
ART. VII.—RECENT SPORT AND TRAVEL - - -	161
1. Autumns in Argyleshire with Rod and Gun. By the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy. London: Longmans, 1900. 2. The Wild-Fowler in Scotland. By John Guille Millais, F.Z.S. etc. London: Longmans, 1901. And other works.	
ART. VIII.—DIARISTS OF THE LAST CENTURY - - -	186
1. A portion of the Journal kept by T. Raikes, Esq., from 1831 to 1847. Four vols. Second edition. London: Longmans, 1856. 2. Private Correspondence of Thomas Raikes with the Duke of Wellington, etc. Edited by his daughter, Harriet Raikes. London: Bentley, 1861. And other works.	
ART. IX.—THE EARLY ART OF THE NETHERLANDS - - -	208
Exposition des Primitifs flamands et d'Art ancien, Bruges, 1902. Catalogue, with introduction. By W. H. James Weale. Bruges: Desclée, 1902. And other works.	
ART. X.—UNIVERSITY REFORM IN INDIA - - -	234
Report of the Indian Universities Commission. Simla: Government Printing Office, 1902. And other works.	
ART. XI.—THE PORT OF LONDON - - -	252
Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into . . . the Administration of the Port of London, etc. House of Commons Papers, 1151. 1902. And other works.	
ART. XII.—NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM - - -	270
La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France au XIX ^e siècle. By A. Houtin. Paris: Picard, 1902. And other works.	
ART. XIII.—THE POLITICAL LIFE OF QUEEN VICTORIA -	308
Queen Victoria. A Biography. By Sidney Lee. London: Smith, Elder, 1902. .	

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3. *Report of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society for 1901.* Dublin : Sealy, Bryers and Walker, 1902.
4. *Eleventh Report of the Congested Districts Board for Ireland for the year ending 31st March, 1902* (Cd. 1192).
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6. *Present Irish Questions.* By William O'Connor Morris. London : Grant Richards, 1901.

‘No Government can settle the Irish land question.’ This statement, recently made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, might serve as an expression of the despair with which so many Englishmen regard that group of problems known as the Irish Question, and in particular the problem of agrarian agitation. Yet the facts of the case, though highly complicated, do not justify any such despondent attitude. The apparently perennial nature of the land difficulty, the enormous power of the Irish clergy in purely temporal matters, the almost purely destructive nature of the Nationalist propaganda, the lack of sound economic thought in Ireland, are not, as some think, phenomena of a nature quite bizarre. The surprise which they occasion in Great Britain is due in reality to ignorance of the course and consequences of events in Ireland in the past, or to the failure of the English people to

comprehend the full import of Irish history, and appreciate the inner working of the Irish mind. The true explanation of the Irish difficulty must be sought in the history of Ireland. A little thought will show that, given the peculiar combination of circumstances to which Ireland has been exposed, and making allowance for the ordinary frailties and inconsistencies of human nature, the development of Irish affairs has been very much what might have been expected. The land question furnishes, perhaps, the most remarkable illustration of this truth.

In view of the exceptional concessions that have been made to the Irish farming classes by the legislation of the last twenty years, the continued existence of an Irish land question seems to many Englishmen to be explicable only on the ground that the Irish are endowed with a double dose of original sin. Yet a brief consideration of the development of Irish land tenure will show how natural, and, indeed, how inevitable has been the actual sequence of events. The surprise expressed at the continuance of the land agitation is but another example of what is always in store for those who sow without studying the character of the soil.

The systems of land-holding at present existing in England and in Ireland can be traced back to a common origin, but the process of development has differed in the two countries; and to the ignoring of this fact, until recent times, by the English government may be traced much of the bitterness of the land question. When the English came to Ireland they found, not a nation like themselves, organised on a highly developed feudal system, but a primitive society split up into groups, ever at strife, and united only by the tie of common customs and common language. In Ireland the tribal system of land-holding had, in the twelfth century, been but little affected by the various causes which in other lands were disintegrating collective ownership, and had made their influence felt in England centuries earlier. That natural feudalisation of the land which, among most Aryan races, has gone hand in hand with increase in population, and with a growth in the power of the chief, had made but little headway in Ireland. The English, however, were so imbued with the feudal idea that to regard supreme ownership of the land as vested in any

one but the chief seemed unnatural; and accordingly they sought, in ignorance of Irish conditions and, indeed, of their own history, to impose the feudal system of land-holding, with its individualistic tendencies, upon the Irish people, which clung instinctively to the communistic principles of tribal ownership.

In addition to this initial obstacle, viz. that a highly developed system was thrust upon a people unready to receive it, there were further difficulties which militated against a whole-hearted or immediate acceptance of the English system. In England the germs of feudalism were present before the Norman Conquest; and the thorough nature of the conquest itself led to their development into a highly organised system. In Ireland, as has been indicated, individual land-holding—feudal or other—was unknown in the twelfth century; and the English conquest was never thorough enough to enforce the general adoption of the English system. The spasmodic efforts of the English proved fruitless to conquer a country where there was no king to strike down, like Harold at Senlac, and no national council to win over, like the Witan at London. The Irish clung, with all the instinctive devotion of their Celtic nature, to the old Irish customs; and the growth of English ideas was retarded even within the Pale by the power which the Irish Celts have so frequently shown of assimilating to their own type and temperament those with whom they come into any kind of intimate contact.

The result was that the Irish system of land-holding never really passed through the crucible of feudalism; and, though the power of the chief had greatly developed, he had not yet attained the recognised position necessary to make him the ultimate reversionary owner of the land, or the head of a manorial community, when the English government, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, once more determined to force the somewhat communistic Irish tenures into the stereotyped moulds of the English agrarian system. Sir John Davies, indeed, who took up the task of effecting this change, recognised that the chief was not, properly speaking, a landlord, and that the members of the sept were not tenants; and he accordingly arranged that the status of the Irish earth-tiller should be modelled, not upon that of the freely contracting

English tenant-farmer, but rather upon that of his nearest analogue, the English copyholder.* Had this arrangement been thoroughly carried out, had its continuance been protected by the law, and had the interest of the members of the sept been allowed to develop in the natural direction of customary rights, the introduction of the English system of land-holding would not, perhaps, have been—to use the expression of Froude—the most fatal gift England ever bestowed upon Ireland.

Unfortunately for the peace of Ireland, the intention of Sir John Davies was destined to be frustrated. The Flight of the Earls in 1607 was followed by the Plantation of Ulster; after the rising of 1641 came the Cromwellian settlement, with the plantation of a fresh race of Scotch and English land-owners; and the battle of the Boyne was followed by the Williamite forfeitures. The tribal rights of the native Irish had been swept away by Sir John Davies; those that had been substituted by that administrator vanished before the settlements of the latter half of the seventeenth century. Thenceforward the law regarded the peasant farmers, not as Sir John Davies treated them, i.e. as freeholders subject to a quit-rent, or peasant tenants with hereditary rights and limited services, but simply as tenants at will.† Change, in short, became revolution.

* The difference is important. It is true that, after the feudalisation of the mark, the lord united in himself the old personal rights of the chief and the proprietary rights of the community; but time brought its compensation to the tillers of the soil. With permanence of occupation grew up habits of practical ownership; and when, in time, the law came to deal with the result, the law followed the facts. It recognised the customary rights of the copyholders, and gave them the power of enfranchisement. Tenant-farmers in England were, as Seeböhm has pointed out, the product of a later time. They grew up, not upon the open fields of the peasant-land, but upon the demesne-land occupied by the lord himself; and they came into being only when the owner ceased to till his land, and let it out under a contract to a man who had capital and who made agriculture a trade. It was a new and temporary commercial tenure created every time there was a change of tenancy; and the legal rights of the tenancy were settled and fixed afresh each time within the four corners of the contract.

† The descendants of the chiefs fared even worse than the inferior members of the sept; the storm of confiscation, which sometimes passed over the cottage, never spared the castle. Probably no member of the Irish Bar has ever seen a devolution of title which did not commence with a patent granting a forfeited estate. Lord Clare, then Lord FitzGibbon, in a famous speech delivered in the Irish House of Lords in 1793, estimated that, in the course of the seventeenth century, the whole soil of Ireland

But the sense of property inspired by rights enjoyed for a thousand years could not be set aside by a stroke of the pen or by the mere wording of patents. Even Sir William Petty, when officially surveying the country in the interests of the new settlers, expressly recognised the vested interest of the so-called tenants, and estimated it at one third of the total value of the land. The peasant earth-tillers, of necessity, remained on the soil; and with them remained a hereditary belief in their proprietary rights, which has never died out. Its influence is felt even to-day, and it accounts, to a considerable extent, for the 'non-economic' attitude of the Irish mind towards the land problem. It is perhaps the chief reason why a tenancy from year to year has been regarded as a species of tenancy in perpetuity; indeed, as the evidence given before the Bessborough Commission in 1880 shows, the tenants looked on a commercial lease as a derogation of their interests in the soil, forming, as it were, a waiver of their rights, and an unjust limitation of them.

The law, however, ignored these historical claims for tenant-right; and the course of events in the eighteenth century, notably the growth of absenteeism, did not favour the acquisition of customary rights, which have so often arisen from continuance of occupation. The penal laws reduced the Catholic peasantry to the position of serfs; and, by a curious reflex action, the same laws helped to uproot the Protestant yeomanry in the south and west. When the lease of a farm fell in, the Catholic labourer, accustomed to a low standard of living, and having nothing to lose, could afford to outbid the Protestant yeoman who, accustomed to a higher standard of comfort, preferred to seek a home in the New World rather than make himself liable for a rent greater than the farm could produce. The prevalence of a system under which the land of an absent owner was let, perhaps, six deep, and the common tendency to regard Irish land merely as a source of revenue divorced from all reciprocal duties of just management, hopelessly demoralised the farming industry and put a premium upon bad husbandry

had been confiscated at least once, and a considerable portion of it three times. During the Cromwellian settlement no less than 7,800,000 acres of land—more than half the agricultural area of the country—were settled by the Court of Claims to the exclusion of the old Irish proprietors.

by withholding the reward of good. The general misery was increased by the commercial restrictions which had the effect of keeping the native race enthralled to the soil. The legislation which, for a century, deliberately shut the door to the growth of Irish commerce, and systematically laboured to reduce to subjection the native race, bound them to the land by barring all other means, not only of wealth, but even of bare subsistence. This fatal policy, by which land was made the vital necessity of the Celtic race, has borne bitter fruit; for half the land-hunger of the Irish peasantry has its root in the transmitted idea that the possession of land is essential to existence. The result is notorious. We find the nation, early in the last century, relying on a single industry, and that industry so demoralised that the great bulk of the population came to depend for their subsistence on a single crop. Their standard of living had become so low that it could not be lowered further without starvation; life was, in short, a gamble in turf and a scramble for potatoes. Then, not unforeseen, came the appalling disaster of the great famine, followed by half a century of emigration.

With the famine may be said to have come that change in the nature of the personal relations between the landlords and their tenants which has so much increased the difficulty of the land question. There is no sadder chapter in Irish history than the story of what a prominent Nationalist politician has called 'the lost opportunities of the Irish gentry.' The affectionate devotion with which the ancient chief was usually regarded by his dependents, despite his frequently heavy exactions, had, of course, its roots deep down in the tribal system and in the facts of a common kinship. This devotion could not readily be transferred to the landlords—those 'heirs of confiscation and of conquest'—who came into existence with the settlements of the seventeenth century. Still the Irish are essentially a leader-following race; and, despite a want of sympathy generally noticeable between the land-owning and land-cultivating classes, which had its origin in historical causes, in differences of religion and, to some extent, of race, the tenants learnt in many cases to regard their landlords as their chiefs. The somewhat feudal life of an Irish squire and his retainers, described in Sir Jonah Barrington's 'Sketches of his own Time,' was very much

the 'Spend me and defend me' system of Spenser's age over again. The stoppage of the growth of this sentiment and its gradual decay were largely due to the increase of absenteeism after the Union, and to the accentuation of political differences caused by the Repeal agitation. The severance between landlord and tenant was rendered more complete after the famine by the evictions of the destitute peasantry, who could not find means of tilling the soil, to say nothing of paying rent.

It may be admitted that the landlords did not use the power in their hands with any general harshness or inhumanity. But they, along with the rest of the agricultural community, were economically demoralised by the system, with the result that their embarrassments often compelled them to do vicariously through middlemen, mortgagees, or even the Court of Chancery, things which they would not have had the heart to do themselves. With the famine, Drummond's famous maxim, that 'property has its duties as well as its rights,' leaped from the neglected rank of truisms into the potent array of things that are true. Legislation was invoked; but the attempts made in the middle of the nineteenth century to improve the social and economic condition of Ireland, in accordance with the ideas of English Liberalism, only helped to increase the misunderstanding between England and Ireland. The Encumbered Estates Act of 1848, and the Landed Estates Act of ten years later, instead of improving the position of the tenant, rendered it worse by bringing in a class of capitalist landlords, who, viewing the purchase of land as a purely commercial transaction, disregarded all customs that were not enforceable in the courts. In this case landlord right was tenant wrong. Not only had the bulk of the tenants no security of tenure, but the law ignored their claims to the property which they had created by their 'improvements.'* Few

* The Devon Commission, which consisted of five Irish landlords, put the facts as to improvements very clearly.

'It is well known that in England and Scotland, before a landlord offers a farm for letting, he finds it necessary to provide a suitable farmhouse, with the necessary farm-buildings, for the proper management of the farm. . . . In Ireland the case is wholly different. . . . It is admitted on all hands that, according to the general practice in Ireland, the landlord builds neither dwelling-house nor farm-offices, nor puts fences, gates, etc., into good order before he lets his land to a tenant. The cases in which a landlord does any of those things are the exceptions. . . . In most cases,

indeed of the old landlords had insisted upon their full legal rights; but under the new legislation 'another king arose who knew not Joseph.' The culminating point in the policy of protecting, under the name of free trade in land, 'the sanctity of property,' and disregarding what O'Connell used to call 'the sacredness of possession,' was reached in 1860, when Deasy's Act declared that the reciprocal rights of landlord and tenant should be shifted from the basis of status to that of contract. Thus, not for the first time, was a system of land tenure thrust upon Ireland which was no part of the national development of the agricultural life of the country.

The tendency of England to treat Irish questions as English questions, and the inability which the English nation has so often displayed to view Irish problems from an Irish stand-point, or to make allowance for the peculiar course of Irish history or the peculiar tenacity of Irish customs, are well exemplified by the expectation, so confidently expressed, that in untrammelled contractual relationship was to be found the final solution of the land question. What is obvious equity in one country may be obvious wrong in another; and freedom of contract in relation to land-holding is justifiable, even in economic theory, only on the assumption that it is part of a national development of the industrial life of the community to which it is applied. But, as we have seen, no such development had taken place in Ireland. In Ireland the farmer was not a free agent. The fatal policy of England, as already remarked, had made land a vital necessity of the Celtic race; and the rent a farmer would offer to avoid ejection was not a measure of the productivity of his farm, but rather a measure of his inability to do anything but farm. Moreover, to the Irish tenant, with his inherited feeling of proprietary right, strengthened by nearly two centuries of 'improvements,' this contractual system was not merely unjust, it was incomprehensible.

whatever is done in the way of building or fencing is done by the tenant; and, in the ordinary language of the country, dwelling-houses, farm-buildings, and even the making of fences are described by the general word "improvements," which is thus employed to denote the necessary adjuncts to a farm, without which in England or Scotland no tenant would be found to rent it.' Lord Donoughmore put the case in a nutshell when he declared that 'landlords in Ireland let land, not farms.'

Ten years later the policy of 1860 was reversed, and a new Act was passed based on the report of the Devon Commission issued a quarter of a century before. The object of the Land Act of 1870 was to give some security of tenure to the tenants by making it a matter of expense and trouble for the landlord to exact his full legal rights of eviction, and to settle the question of improvements by acknowledging the tenants' claim to compensation if compelled to leave their farms. The Act, however, did not answer expectations; indeed its general tendency, as the report of the Bessborough Commission stated, was merely to increase the amount of rent asked for peasant holdings. Fair rent was not the only point neglected in the Act; fixity of tenure—then the tenants' chief demand—was practically unaffected by it. Compared with these omissions, the benefits conferred seemed to the tenants to be of but small advantage. An award of money for improvement was good, and compensation for disturbance was a pleasant idea; but then these were gained only when the tenant was forced to leave his farm, that is to say, when all he most desired was lost. Once the tenant came into court, all the law could give him was money; but what he wanted was land. Moreover, the Act, like so many other reforms in Ireland, was belated. As Mr Gladstone said in his introductory speech, if the measure had been introduced twenty years earlier there would probably have been no land question in 1870. England, however, had not yet learnt the lesson of the Sibylline books; the concessions that would have settled the land question in 1850 did not suffice in 1870. A measure dealing with fair rent and fixity of tenure might have brought peace to rural Ireland in 1870; but that measure was deferred for eleven years, during the latter part of which the agricultural depression grew greater and the demands of the tenants increased; and, when at length the Act of 1881 was passed, the concession of fair rent and fixity of tenure was regarded, not merely as a tardy, but also as an incomplete act of justice; it trenched upon the rights of the landlords and gave them no compensation, and yet did not trench upon these rights sufficiently to bring about a settlement.

The legislation introduced in 1881 was not, it is true, of a nature calculated to settle the agrarian problem;

indeed, as will be seen later when the present condition of the Irish land question is discussed, its inherent tendency, whilst giving the farmers some immediate relief, was ultimately to intensify the problem by generating a feeling of unrest and producing a welter of contention ; but the difficulty of arriving at a solution of the land problem was enormously increased by the way in which the Land League dexterously linked this question with the demand for Home Rule. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the land question was hardly regarded as a matter of party politics ; it occupied but an insignificant place in O'Connell's propaganda, for the tithe war was a social rather than a political movement. After the famine, however, came the foundation of the Tenant League, which, in order to make Sharman Crawford's policy of tenant right a living issue in Irish politics, inaugurated the policy of 'Independent Opposition.' The League declared this question to be so momentous that all others must, for the time, give way to it ; and that to every ministry that refused or hesitated to settle an issue so vital for Ireland uncompromising opposition should be given by the Irish members. The election of 1852 was fought upon this policy ; and at the close of the polls it was found that fifty members pledged to the principles of the League had been returned ; but, despite the exertions of Frederick Lucas, George Henry Moore, and Charles Gavan Duffy, the movement collapsed through the desertion of Sadleir's Brigade, the notorious 'Brass Band.' In the early days of the Home Rule movement, Isaac Butt, who revived the idea of a 'third party' to carry out the policy of 'independent opposition,' and whose constructive genius so clearly marks him off from his successors, again brought the land question into prominence at Westminster. He frequently attempted to secure a settlement of the problem based upon his well-known plan of converting the tenants into leaseholders for a term of sixty-three years, at a fair rent, to be fixed by an independent tribunal ; but he always refrained from linking this proposal with his claim for a federal parliament in Ireland. It was not until after his death that the demand for a reform in land tenure was linked with the demand for a national parliament. The result of this combination was that what is essentially an economic

problem is now regarded as a political question. This confusion of issues was no accident; it was the result of the policy which was deliberately adopted by the Land League, and had been outlined in the 'Irish Felon' thirty years before. To James Fintan Lalor, one of the least known revolutionists of 1848, the leaders of the Land League owed their inspiration. It was he who first suggested the anti-rent agitation and the no-rent combination; and he suggested this policy as a means of obtaining national independence. In the first number of the 'Irish Felon' (June 24, 1848), Lalor urged the importance of uniting the demand for land nationalisation and self-government.

'Between the relative merits and the importance of the two rights, the people's rights to the land, and their right to legislation, I do not mean, or wish to institute, any comparison. I am far indeed from desirous to put the two rights in competition or contrast, for I consider each alike as the natural complement of the other, necessary to its theoretical completeness and practical efficacy; but, considering them as distinct for a moment, I do mean to assert that the land question contains, and the legislative question does not contain, the materials from which victory is manufactured; and that, therefore, if we be truly in earnest and determined on success, it is on the former question, and not on the latter, we must take our stand, fling out our banner, and hurl down to England our gage of battle. Victory follows that banner alone—that and no other.'

In the second number of the 'Irish Felon,' Lalor further developed his scheme for effecting the separation of Ireland from England by means of the land agitation. The question of repeal, he declared, was too far away from the hearts of the peasantry.

'They do not feel and scarcely understand it. They may be brought to see its light, but never to feel its heat. . . . To achieve independence—the only form in which Repeal can ever be carried—there is, I am convinced, but one way alone; and that is to link Repeal to some other question, like a railway carriage to the engine; some question possessing the intrinsic strength, which Repeal wants, and strong enough to carry itself and Repeal together, if any such question can be found. And such a question there is in the land—one ready prepared. Ages have been preparing it; an engine ready made—one too

that will generate its own steam without cost or care; a self-acting engine, if once the fire be kindled.'

Thirty years after Lalor's death this scheme was revived by Michael Davitt, who, like the revolutionist of 1848, 'selected, as the mode of reconquest, to refuse the payment of rent and resist the process of ejectment.' At first it seemed that the Land League, whose tactics bore such a wonderfully close resemblance to Lalor's, would pass into the hands of the Physical Force party. The agricultural depression in 1879, however, made the land question too potent a factor for Parnell to be willing to resign agrarian agitation to the extremists; and, after some hesitation, he threw in his lot with Mr Davitt's new scheme. It is no part of this article to trace the exact nature of Parnell's subterraneous relations with the party of violence; suffice it to say that, by concentrating attention on the land question, he was able to win for parliamentary action, if not the approval, at least the tolerance, of a large section of the extreme party. Henceforth the land question and Home Rule were linked together; but Parnell regarded the agrarian movement mainly as a means of obtaining autonomy. At Cincinnati he declared, in February 1880:

'I feel confident that we shall kill the Irish landlord system; and, when we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation.'

Six months later he told the Galway farmers that he would never have taken off his coat in the land movement if he had not known that by doing so he was laying the foundation for legislative independence. Henceforth the popular cry was for the abolition of the Irish landlords, not merely as landlords, but also as the English garrison.

The success with which the Land League engine drew the Home Rule van is now a matter of history. It was, in fact, the success of the land agitation which induced the Irish farmer in 1885 to plump for the nominees of Parnell, not only when they were opposed by Conservatives, but even when the contest was with Home Rulers of an independent type; and it was the success of this same agrarian agitation which ultimately brought about

the disruption of the Liberal party. The linking of Home Rule and land reform probably procured the 'three F's' for the Irish farmers sooner than they would otherwise have been obtained. But the ultimate effect of treating the rent question—essentially an economic problem—solely as a matter of party politics has been disastrous even from the point of view of the Irish tenant. The issue was made more complicated, and a solution of the difficulty was postponed.

But the most unfortunate effect of this policy of linking the demand for land legislation with the demand for Home Rule was perhaps the fact that it induced the Irish farmers to support Parnell, during the eighties, in his policy of concentrating all the energies of the majority of the Irish people upon one political issue, to the exclusion of all movements for the material or social advancement of Ireland. Hence the efforts of those who urged that all Irishmen might, without abating one jot or tittle of their Unionism or Nationalism, unite to promote the industrial interests of their country—the only true path of progress—met with considerable opposition from the extreme wing of each party. Some Unionists denounced such common action as 'trafficking with traitors'; and many Nationalists viewed such a movement as an attempt to draw a red herring across the trail of the Home Rule movement.

It is a matter for general congratulation, and a source of hope for the future, that a movement has of late years been started in Ireland which, while studiously avoiding political matters and the question of land tenure, devotes itself to the improvement of agricultural conditions and the economic education of the people. It does not aim at obviating further legislation; on the contrary, its supporters generally contemplate further legislation as necessary to amend past mistakes and facilitate the inevitable solution of the tenure question. But the proposal or the furtherance of legislative measures is not its business. It aims at the stimulation and guidance of efforts towards self-help on the part of all cultivators alike, and at indicating a way of amelioration in which all patriotic Irishmen, of whatever class or persuasion, can join, and in which, as a matter of fact, many

political opponents have already joined ; and if, in the course of these efforts, it succeeds in showing the Irish people that political agitation need not, and should not, absorb the whole energies of the nation, it will not, in the judgment of its supporters, have done amiss. We refer to the movement which is specially connected with the name of Mr Horace Plunkett.

Rather more than a dozen years ago, when economic thought was at the lowest ebb in Ireland, when all movements seemed to be dominated by the political ideas formulated by the well-disciplined janissaries of Parnell—then at the height of his fame—the seed of what has come to be known as the New Movement was sown by Mr Plunkett, and it grew and gained strength during the years of political disintegration that ensued after Parnell's fall. The keynote of Mr Plunkett's scheme was that the Irish farmer must to a large extent work out his own salvation, and that this was impossible under the existing conditions except by means of organised associative effort. The method by which continental farmers were meeting the competition of the New World indicated the means by which Irish farmers could meet the competition of East and West.

The general opinion in Ireland was that political strife must cease before agricultural or industrial development could begin ; and Mr Plunkett's efforts were looked upon as an attempt to raise a structure before laying a foundation. Mr Plunkett did not try to convert the Irish farmers from their allegiance to Home Rule, but he urged that making better butter was not antagonistic to agitating for a better legislature ; and he succeeded in convincing, at any rate, a large number that their prosperity was in their own hands much more than their political leaders wished them to believe. This success was partly due to the disinterested enthusiasm of Mr Plunkett and his colleagues, and partly to the fact that there was much in the genius and tradition of the Irish farmer which fitted him for combination, whilst his circumstances were eminently adapted for co-operative treatment. It is highly creditable to the Irish co-operative societies that they have kept aloof from all political movements—a difficult task in Ireland—and that they have steadfastly refused to be drawn into political

quarrels; that, in short, to use the words of the secretary of the federated societies, 'the Protestant-Unionist cow is as dear to them as her Catholic-Nationalist sister.'

The progress of the new movement is well known. Five years were spent in organising local co-operative societies for advancing dairying, poultry-farming, home industries, and other purposes. Early in 1894 these societies were federated; and the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society was formed as the central body. Since then the growth has been rapid; and associative activities have been extended into new spheres, such as the organisation of rural credit upon a co-operative basis. According to the last report there were, at the end of 1901, 564 societies in existence, with a total membership of 57,211 (all heads of families); and the trade turn-over for the year was 1,167,945*l*.*

As might indeed have been expected from the leaning of the Irish towards communistic ideals, the great defect of co-operation in England, viz. the tendency shown by co-operative societies towards the policy of a joint-stock company, has been little felt in Ireland. The spirit of the Irish co-operative movement is the spirit of the Rochdale pioneers; and that vitalising spark of idealism, without which co-operation can never realise its noblest aspirations, has never been absent in Ireland. Mr Plunkett and his associates have attached more importance to the social than to the purely material side of their movement. The improvement in butter and eggs which the societies have effected has increased the material prosperity of Ireland; but the social qualities which the movement has evolved, the sense of comradeship and mutual confidence which it has encouraged, the power of initiative and self-reliance which it has evoked, will operate far outside the circle of mere material interests in the building up of a better and brighter Ireland.

The success of the self-help movement paved the way for the establishment of a Department of Government to supplement individual and combined effort, and at the same time directed attention to the necessity for such State assistance. Mr Plunkett again showed his belief

* At the time of writing (January 1903) the societies number over seven hundred, and the membership is said to have proportionately increased.

that it was not impossible to induce Nationalists and Unionists to combine in order to promote the common interests of their country; and the success which attended his efforts in the formation of the Recess Committee justified the belief. The story of this remarkable experiment is well known, and need not be described in detail. The Committee set themselves to study systematically the methods adopted by the State in other countries for the development of agricultural and industrial resources, and to consider whether these methods might be adopted and adapted to the special conditions of Ireland. As a result of their report, Mr Gerald Balfour in 1899 carried through Parliament a Bill for the establishment of a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland, which embodied the main features of the Recess Committee's recommendations, and adapted them to the new circumstances created in Ireland by the Local Government Act, which the same Minister had carried through Parliament in the previous session.

The very nature of the work which the new Department was intended to accomplish—the development of 'agriculture and other industries, and technical instruction'—made it absolutely essential that the Department should keep in touch with the public opinion of the classes whom its work would concern, and without whose active co-operation no lasting good could be effected. The machinery for this purpose was provided by the establishment of a Council of Agriculture and two Boards, one concerned with agriculture and the other with technical instruction. These representative bodies, whose constitution is interesting as marking a new departure in the administrative system of the United Kingdom, were modelled on similar continental councils, which have been found to be the most valuable of all means whereby the administration keeps in touch with the opinions of the agricultural and industrial classes, and becomes truly responsive to their needs and wishes.

The Council of Agriculture is mainly elective, and is largely dependent on the newly established system of local government. It consists of 104 members, of whom sixty-eight are elected by the county councils, and thirty-four are nominated by the Department; the President and Vice-President of the Department being *ex-officio*

members. Besides its advisory powers—and the importance to be attached to the deliberate opinion of such a representative body is naturally very great—the Council itself creates the larger portion of the Agricultural Board, and shares with the county-borough councils the appointment of the majority of the members of the Board of Technical Instruction. In addition to special advisory powers, the two Boards occupy the same financial position in relation to the Department that the House of Commons holds in relation to the government of the day; for no money can be spent, except as regards a few minor matters, without the consent of the Boards.

The Council and the Boards form a connecting link between the Department and those recently created local government bodies which, in order to evoke and fortify the self-reliance and enterprise of the people, have been made the real executive. To these councils, or rather, to committees appointed by the councils to represent the various interests in any district, is entrusted the task of preparing, in conjunction with the Department, schemes for the furtherance of the objects of the Act; and, in accordance with Mr Plunkett's policy of 'helping the people to help themselves,' to these same bodies are entrusted the administration of the schemes. Moreover, the people in each district have, first of all, through these local councils, to tax themselves before they become eligible to share in the benefits which may accrue from the action of the Department; for, in order to prevent the Department from ever degenerating into a body existing merely for the purpose of administering subsidies, it was prohibited by the Act from helping any scheme in respect of which aid is not given out of the local rates or out of other local sources. It is thus evident that the successful working of the Act, and indeed its working at all, depends upon the co-operation of the people and of their local councils.

The Department has now been in existence for nearly three years; and the two reports which have been issued describe the main lines of the policy pursued, and contain a record of much quiet and unobtrusive work. The schemes formulated by the Agricultural Branch for the improvement of live-stock have proved very successful, and they have now been adopted by every county in

Ireland; a comprehensive scheme of agricultural education, ranging from demonstration-plots and itinerant instruction to the teaching of the most advanced scientific agriculture, has been started; and numerous experiments have been made, designed to test the relative merits of different varieties of seeds and fertilisers and their suitability to different districts. Various schemes are now carried out in each county, which have been framed to subserve the special needs of each locality; and they include measures calculated to stimulate every form of agricultural activity. The Technical Instruction Branch has already reorganised the system of instruction in experimental science, drawing, and manual work in day secondary schools; and the thoroughness of the change from the time-honoured method, in which the text-book reigned supreme, to one in which the pupil, under skilled direction, is encouraged to find out the facts of science, so far as possible, for himself, is shown by the fact that, in a single year, the number of science laboratories in these schools has been increased from six to a hundred and fifty. Twenty-seven county schemes and thirty urban schemes of technical instruction, suited to the special needs of the different localities, have been arranged; and many of them are now in full working order.

The Department took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the Industrial Exhibition held at Cork last year to organise a departmental section. This section, which was admittedly the most interesting feature of the exhibition, has served as an object-lesson on a large scale; and, by enabling the people to understand the purpose, aims, and methods of the Department, it has advanced the work of that body more effectively and quickly than any other means could have done. The departmental Bureau of Statistics, which has already done much good work in acting as an intelligence branch, and in the interpretation of agricultural and commercial statistics, commemorated the exhibition by issuing a new edition of 'Ireland: Industrial and Agricultural,' which was originally brought out in connexion with the Irish pavilion at the Glasgow Exhibition in 1901. The volume for 1902, which, like its predecessor, was edited by Mr W. P. Coyne, head of the statistical branch, is in reality a new book; and it forms the most complete

survey of Ireland's economic resources that has ever been published. It presents, within the narrow limits of five hundred pages, a fuller and, what is more important, a fairer statement of the actual position of Ireland than is contained in any other single volume. It differs from most books that have appeared on this subject by the substitution of a calm observation and unbiassed consideration of facts for the thoughtless pessimism or unreasoning optimism that have too often been the chief characteristics of such works. There can be no doubt that the Department has succeeded in winning the confidence of the majority of the people; and it, in its turn, has placed on record its appreciation of the administrative capacity and progressive spirit which the local self-governing bodies and the people generally have shown in connexion with the working of the Act.

The success of the co-operative movement and of the new Department is, however, seriously threatened by the agrarian unrest, due to the present system of land tenure, which has become greatly accentuated in the last few years. In order to understand this agitation it will be necessary to examine the effects of the Land Act of 1881.

Mr Gladstone's scheme of rent revision, as has been already indicated, was not of a character calculated to bring about a final settlement of the land question, even if the bitter feeling and other difficulties produced by the linking of the agrarian agitation and the Home Rule movement had not arisen. The rent-fixing clauses have pressed heavily upon the landlords. The average reduction in income caused by the first revision of rents was over 20 per cent.; and the average total reduction obtained by tenants who have had a fair rent fixed for a second statutory term has been nearly 40 per cent. of the rents paid before the Act of 1881. These reductions have hit the landlords even harder than is suggested by the percentage mentioned. Most estates in Ireland are mortgaged; and it has been often estimated that the average Irish estate is mortgaged to the extent of one half its value. On such estates a reduction of the gross rental by 40 per cent. has meant a loss to landlords, on the average, of about four fifths of their net income. They

have had to pay, not only for the faults of their own class, but they have also had to bear the cost of the British government's attempts to grease the wheels of Irish administration. The method adopted by the government of relieving the wretched condition of Ireland, which was largely due to the action of the State in the past, reminds one of an old Bill in Chancery designed for the protection of one party at the expense of another, and promoted by a third, who was the real offender, but who came forward without any tender of restitution on his own part, with a scheme of settlement to get rid of the disturbance.

The natural dissatisfaction of the landlords with the Act of 1881 has not been counterbalanced by any enthusiasm evoked among the tenants. A recognition of their part-ownership, had it come early, would have been gratefully received; but it was delayed until the recognition had lost its grace. In 1881 it was regarded as but a tardy instalment of justice, wrung from an unwilling government by agitation, and to be extended by agitation; and this feeling has been sedulously fostered by the Nationalist party. Moreover, though the rent reductions undoubtedly saved many tenants from bankruptcy in the early eighties, they have hardly kept pace with the decrease in profits due to agricultural depression. A writer in a recent number of the 'New Ireland Review' * has pointed out that, for a considerable time after the introduction of free-trade, the farmers partially averted the effects of foreign competition by that gradual conversion of tillage land into pasturage which has been the outstanding feature of rural Ireland during the last fifty years; but the enormous increase in recent years in the foreign and colonial dead-meat trade, and the importation of live animals from America into Great Britain, are steadily breaking down this last line of defence of the Irish farmer. He has been forced to devote less attention to fat cattle, and more attention to store cattle, which he now exports to be fattened in England and Scotland. The precarious nature of this industry is shown by the fact that a slight shortage in the hay and root crops of Great Britain in 1901 was sufficient to cause a decrease in the English and Scotch

* 'The Promised Land,' by 'Walter Louth.'

demand for 'stores,' with the result that there was a very sharp fall in prices less than a year ago.

One thing, at least, is clear—that the periodical revision of rents is not only destructive of good relations between landlord and tenant, but ruinous to agriculture, and therefore ought to come to an end. The rural economy of Ireland, though apparently prospering for the moment, is in a critical condition; but to help the tenants to meet foreign competition by periodical revisions is really to begin at the wrong end of the problem, to say nothing of the injustice done to landlords. There can be no doubt that the supporters of 'fair rent' greatly underestimated the difficulties of valuation; and they seem to have contemplated a process of arbitration rather than a costly judicial inquiry. The result has been a welter of contention; and landlords and tenants have vied in heaping abuse upon the judicial officers of the Land Commission for attempting to determine what was a fair annual sum for the working partner to pay the sleeping partner for the sole use of the land, and so to solve what the Fry Commission described as a most arduous problem of distributive justice. The system of periodical revision has plunged landlords and tenants in a perpetual lawsuit; it has generated a feeling of agrarian unrest that has been increased by twenty years of patchwork legislation; and, worst of all, it has placed a premium upon bad farming by encouraging the belief that good farming will keep rents at their present level, and that indifferent farming will bring a reduction. This notion is nothing new. More than twenty years ago Professor Baldwin stated that he found among tenants a universal distrust of the system of prizes for cultivation (so generously established by Lord Spencer, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), arising from the fear lest the better appearance of their farms should lead to an increased rent; and the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society have had to contend against the same difficulty. The Chief Secretary, in introducing his Land Bill last March, recognised this difficulty, and declared that

'it is not in human nature to suppose that a man, who in two or three years' time is going to have the annual sum fixed which he will have to pay for a period of fifteen years, is going to work on his farm with the energy and enterprise he would

otherwise display; and if, when that sum has been fixed, he has to wait for three or four years in order to see whether he was right or wrong in his contention, he would be an archangel if he tried to put the best possible face upon his holding.'

It is, however, right to point out that, while the effect of the Land Act of 1881 is now undoubtedly disastrous, the condition of Ireland would be much worse at present if that Act, or similar remedial legislation, had not been introduced. Landlords must remember that, if their rents have been reduced, they have usually been paid with fair regularity, whereas, owing to the change in economic conditions, the old rents could not have been paid at all. Most landlords who have estates in both England and Ireland can bear witness that their Irish rentals, though reduced by the State, are more profitable than their English rentals, with which the State has not interfered. The land-war of the past twenty years would have been fiercer had not some concessions to the tenants, necessitated by changed conditions of agriculture, been granted; the agrarian unrest would have been greater had not the tenant's property in his 'improvements' been recognised by the Act of 1881. That measure had both good and bad effects; but the good are exhausted, and the bad are now making themselves felt.

It is generally admitted in Ireland that the effect of the system of dual ownership has now become intolerable; most people are tired of the amending Acts and patchwork legislation of the last twenty years; and accordingly there is, as the Fry Commission reported, a universal consensus of opinion in favour of land purchase as the only way out of the difficulty. Judge O'Connor Morris and others have pointed out a number of evils which have, in some cases, resulted from this system; purchasers have shown a tendency to cut down trees, to mortgage their farms to 'gombeen-men,' and to evade the restrictions imposed by the Land Commission upon subdivision and subletting. Competent observers, however, declare that, if the Land Commission were to investigate the conditions of purchasers, it would be found that these statements of the evils resulting from the creation of peasant proprietors in Ireland are greatly exaggerated; and they point out that, whatever may be thought of peasant proprietorship

generally, or even in regard to Ireland specially, past legislation has made the creation of a peasant proprietary inevitable, or, at least, the only way out of an intolerable situation. At any rate, the chief problem with which the government, the landlords, and the tenants are at present occupying themselves, is how to facilitate the working of land purchase, which, so far, has been admittedly slow. Since 1885, less than 70,000 tenants have purchased their holdings by means of advances obtained from the Land Commission. At the present rate of progress it would take over a century to convert the tenants of Ireland into peasant proprietors; and, as a matter of fact, there has been a considerable decline during the last two years in the number of sales effected; for, as Mr Wyndham declared in the House of Commons nearly a year ago, 'we are getting to the end of the landlords who are prepared to sell under the existing law.' Moreover, the advantages which purchasers, who were often the worst tenants, possess over judicial tenants, has given rise to a widespread agitation against the present system of fair rents tempered by partial purchase. Tenant purchasers on one estate pay, as a terminable annuity, 25 or 30 per cent. less than the sum which the judicial tenants on a neighbouring estate pay as a non-terminable rent; hence the recent dispute on the De Freyne estate; and the greater the success of the Purchase Acts, the stronger becomes the agitation for universal purchase.

The slowness of the present system of land purchase, which, as has been already mentioned, is generally regarded as the only possible—if not the ideal—solution of the difficulty, has led to the agitation for compulsion; and, in existing circumstances, the arguments in favour of compulsory purchase and sale cannot be ignored. The losses incurred by the landlords under the present system will, it is argued, inevitably continue unless the trend of agricultural history entirely changes. After the third revision of rents, which, unless the law is changed, will begin in less than nine years, the rentals will average, not improbably, little more than half of the rentals of 1880; and, according to the common estimate, this reduced rental will barely suffice, on the majority of estates, to pay the outgoings. All profits will have disappeared. Yet the tenants will be as badly off as ever, for, it is urged,

the continuance of the present system—the burthen of a perpetually recurring litigation—checks every attempt to improve the rural economy of Ireland; and seething discontent and agrarian unrest—the Irish Sphinx—will remain to render futile the constructive statesmanship which gave Ireland an Agricultural Department. Unless and until, say the advocates of compulsion, the Irish farmer is made sole owner of the land, subject only to a terminable annuity, the full potentiality of the new Department for doing good can never be realised, nor the state of Irish agriculture regenerated. The government, it is contended, by their policy of promoting land purchase, precluded any other solution—even had any other solution ever been possible—than the creation of a peasant proprietary paying a terminable annuity to the State; but the country, it is said, cannot wait for the slow evolution of this remedy by means of voluntary sales: ‘ten years more of drifting,’ say the Nationalists, ‘and England will have to choose between compulsory sale and the ruin of rural Ireland.’

The obstacles in the way of compulsory purchase and sale are, however, fairly obvious. Quite apart from the social, legal, and political issues involved in the compulsory expropriation of all the Irish landlords, the magnitude of the financial and administrative operations necessary for converting some 400,000 tenants into peasant proprietors in a short space of time is, in itself, sufficient to deter any government from adopting this drastic method of ending the land question. Compulsion, moreover, is at present absolutely unnecessary. No one imagines that Parliament would force landlords to sell without giving them a bonus, equal to several years’ rent, by way of compensation; and the prospect of such a bonus would be sufficient to induce the majority of the Irish landlords to sell without any compulsion.

The main difficulty, though not the only difficulty, in the way of universal voluntary sale, is the question of price. The average price given so far has been slightly over seventeen years’ purchase of the rent; and the tenants seem unwilling to make any substantial advance upon this price. Under the present system of repayment by an annuity of 4 per cent., the tenant who gives seventeen years’ purchase has his rent of, say, 100*l.* immediately

reduced to a terminable annuity of 68*l.*, payable for only some forty-two and a half years; on the other hand, the executive committee of the Landowners' Convention demand such a sum as, invested at 3 per cent., would produce an income equal to the present net rental, which they estimate to average 90 per cent. of the gross rental.

The chief difficulty arises from the tenants having been taught to expect that, on being accepted as purchasers, they should not merely make no additional payment, but should actually have their annual payment reduced some 30 per cent. Though somewhat illogical, this attitude is a fact, and has to be faced; and it is not altogether unreasonable, for it must be remembered that a judicial tenant undertakes, on purchasing, to pay a fixed sum, and to give up the right he enjoys at present to have his rent revised every fifteen years. This right will become very valuable if the present agricultural depression continues. Moreover, the Act of 1896 altered the law as to improvements; and those whose rents have not yet been revised a second time are at present paying part of their rent for what the law has declared to be their own property. The average price paid so far—slightly over seventeen years' purchase—is, however, very misleading, for the actual prices have varied from six and a half years' to over forty years' purchase of their rent. The tenants who have bought may be divided into three classes; first, those whose rents had not been revised by the Land Commission; secondly, those whose rents had been once reduced by the Land Commission; and thirdly, those whose rents had been twice reduced. No information is available as to the number of years' purchase given by each class; and it is somewhat surprising that the representatives of the landlords have not moved for a return embodying this information, which could easily be compiled from the Land Commission records. It would probably be found that about half the purchasers were tenants whose rents had never been reduced; that they had given less than seventeen years' purchase; and that the second and third classes of purchasers had given considerably more. This view is borne out by the fact that since 1896, when the first batch of second-term rents was fixed and second-term tenants began to buy, the average number of years'

purchase given has increased, as is shown by the following figures :

	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
Average number of } years' purchase . }	16·5	17·1	17·4	17·9	18·1	18·0

It is obvious that tenants who have had their rents reduced, and especially those who already have had, or will shortly have, their rents reduced for a second time—and these form the majority of potential purchasers—may be fairly called upon to give a greater number of years' purchase than those who bought on the basis of unreduced rents. However, the mischief caused by a bad precedent has been done; and it will be hard now to persuade tenants to purchase on terms that will not give them an immediate reduction of 20 per cent., though they may be induced to recoup the landlords, to some extent, by continuing their payments for a longer period.

The case of the landlords is undoubtedly hard. Though some of them are but making a vicarious atonement for the sins of their fathers in industriously exploiting the land-hunger of the Irish peasant, and in levying, in post-protection days, rents fixed in the era of protection, one cannot but sympathise with the landlords in the great misfortunes which have fallen upon them, often undeservedly, and which have been borne, in many cases, not unheroically. The rentals of most landowners have been reduced 20 per cent., or, in some cases, 40 per cent. during the last twenty years. To sell at twenty years' purchase would mean a further loss, unless they could invest the purchase money at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and, of course, this would generally be impossible, as most landlords are limited owners who could invest the purchase money in trust funds only.* Hence most landlords prefer to take their chance of a further reduction every fifteen years, rather than sell on terms which would immediately reduce their income by one third.

* This calculation is based upon the estimate made by the Landowners' Convention that agents' fees, law costs, etc., average about 10 per cent. of the gross rental. Agents, however, would expect some compensation; and no allowance is made in this estimate for the very considerable legal costs of sale. Against this may be set off the fact that the redemption of such incumbrances as bear interest at 5 per cent. and upwards would be a profitable investment, which would have the effect of lessening the actual loss of net income.

Mr Wyndham, speaking at Belfast just a year ago, thus expressed his views on this question of price :

‘It may seem a hard saying, but I believe it is true, that no Government can settle a question of purchase and sale. Many have tried it and failed. The question can only be settled by the parties themselves; by the party, on the one hand, who knows what he can afford to take, and by the party, on the other hand, who knows what he can afford to give.’

This declaration, coupled with the knowledge that the facilities for purchase provided by the Bill introduced last March, whilst excellent in their way, would not bridge over the gulf between the demands of the landlords and the offers of the tenants, led to the proposal that a conference should be held between representatives of the landlords and the tenants.

The result of this proposal is well known. The Landowners’ Convention drew up a statement of their demands, and they invited the tenants to make a similar statement of their offers, but declined, by a majority of 77 votes to 14, to enter into a conference. The minority were not satisfied with this decision; and, headed by Lord Dunraven and Lord Mayo, they issued a circular to the general body of landlords in order to ascertain their opinion. Replies were received from about a third of the landlords, of whom 1128 declared in favour of, and 578 against holding a conference. A conference was held in Dublin last month between four landlords and four representatives of the tenants; and the outcome of their deliberations has just appeared. It is something that representatives of interests so divergent have been able to come to an understanding as to the best method of settling their dispute. The landlords are willing to sell—if they can get a good price; the tenants are willing to buy—if they can get the land cheap. But the conference has only made it clearer than ever that the ‘good price’ is too high for the tenants. The two ends do not meet, and the parties agree to ask the British taxpayer to supply the difference. It may well be worth while to pay a considerable sum in order to settle the tenure question. But whether any government will dare to lay this additional burden on the nation is another matter.

Mr Wyndham has declared his intention of introducing

another measure next session dealing with Irish land, which is to be 'the Bill of the session'; and, in view of his declaration at Dover on 31st October last year, that 'the end is coming very soon, the end is coming next year,' much curiosity has been felt as to its provisions. This declaration, however, was probably but an expression of what Mr Morley would call 'the mood of expectation,' for Mr Wyndham has not only intimated in the House of Commons that he will not countenance a cut-and-dried compulsory solution, but he has also reiterated his previous statement that the *rôle* of the government is to play the part of an honest broker between the landlords, the tenants, and the taxpayers; and that the Bill is to be modelled upon last year's Bill, embodying such modifications and alterations as would have been most readily accepted if that Bill had reached the committee stage. Hence it may be desirable to consider the provisions of the Bill introduced last March, and to examine some of its limitations.

The fundamental principle of the Bill was to apply the purchase methods of the Congested Districts Board to the whole of Ireland. The Land Commission was authorised to buy the whole or any portion of an estate and resell the farms to the tenants, provided (1) that the Land Commission and the landlord can agree upon the price; (2) that three quarters of the tenants express their willingness to buy from the Land Commission; and (3) that the latter body are of opinion that the resale can be effected without loss (except in special cases), having regard to the price the landlord receives. The landlord was to be paid in cash and the tenant was to pay an annuity of 3*l.* 15*s.* for every 100*l.* advanced.

It will be noticed that no sale could take place unless at least three quarters of the tenants expressed their willingness to purchase their holdings from the Land Commission; but this willingness, of course, would depend upon the price they would have to pay; and the Bill contained no information upon this point. Tenants certainly will not agree to purchase without knowing the price which they may be called upon to pay; and, if the Land Commission had to inspect each farm and negotiate with each tenant separately, it would hardly conduce to the main object of the measure, viz.

facilitating the process of land purchase. Possibly it was intended that each tenant should be invited to give the same number of years' purchase of his rent as the Land Commission gave of the total rental. In any case this difficulty would arise—how is the landlord to be induced to sell so long as the tenants continue to refuse to purchase if their annuity exceeds 80 per cent. of their present rent? If a tenant whose present rent is 100*l.* is, as the Nationalists demand, to pay only 80*l.* as a purchase annuity, then, under the system of repayment provided by last year's Bill (an annuity of 3*l.* 15*s.* per 100*l.* advanced, payable for fifty-eight years), he would be giving only 21½ years' purchase, which would not be sufficient to induce most landlords to sell.

This plan of empowering the Land Commission to buy from the landlord and resell to the tenant—the main feature of the Bill introduced last year—was certainly a great advance upon the existing system, and will probably form the main feature of this year's Bill. To make this plan work on an extensive scale, it would seem highly desirable, for the reason adduced above, to devise some scheme which would release the Land Commission, in most cases, from the necessity of bargaining with the landlord and with each tenant. In order to effect this, the Land Commission might be empowered to offer the owners of normal estates a uniform price sufficiently generous to induce the majority of them to sell, provided that under this scheme the Land Commission could, without loss, resell to the tenant on terms sufficiently generous to induce, at any rate, three quarters of them to buy. Thus the Land Commission might be empowered to offer a landlord, willing to sell, twenty-five years' purchase of his rental, and to offer the tenants their farms, subject to a terminable annuity equal to 80 per cent. of their present rents. This could be done by reducing the rate upon which the tenant's annuity is calculated to 3½ per cent., and extending the period of repayment; but in order to prevent the latter from being absurdly prolonged it would be necessary to lower the rate of interest charged.

Under the Act of 1885 the landlords were paid in cash, advanced out of the Local Loans funds. Interest was charged at 3½ per cent., and the total debt was ex-

tinguished by an annuity of 4 per cent., payable for forty-nine years. Under the Act of 1891 advances were made in guaranteed land-stock which bore interest at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The tenant, as under the previous Act, paid 4 per cent., $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of which, under the name of 'county percentage,' was devoted to certain special purposes. According to Treasury calculations, the remaining $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. would, in forty-nine years, pay off the original advance with interest. Under the Act of 1896 the 'county percentage' was added to the sinking fund, which had the effect of reducing the period of repayment by between six and seven years. Under the Bill introduced last year the landlords were to be paid in cash advanced out of the Local Loans funds. The tenants were to pay an annuity fixed at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the advance, interest being charged at the rate of $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent.; and the Treasury calculated that this annuity would extinguish the debt in fifty-eight years.*

There seems no reason why the tenant should be charged $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. interest. Of course, this may be necessary if advances are to be made from the Local Loans funds, as the money would then be provided by the issue of Local Loans stocks, which carries a dividend of 3 per cent.; but there is no reason why the government should not provide money at a lower rate upon the security of Irish land. The security is good. Mr Wyndham has borne eloquent testimony to the wonderful punctuality with which the purchase annuities have been paid; until the financial derangement of three years ago, guaranteed land-stock, bearing $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, commanded a very considerable premium; whilst at present the government pay only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. upon the deposits in the Post-office Savings Banks. If the interest charged were reduced, the landlord could be given twenty-five years' purchase, and the tenant could be charged an annuity of only 80 per cent. of his present rent without any loss to the State. For an annuity of 80% (being $3\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon 2500%, i.e. the sum produced by twenty-five years' purchase of a rent of 100%) would extinguish the entire debt in seventy-two years, if the rate of interest were reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in sixty-one and a half years if the

* See Parliamentary Papers, 1902, Comment Papers, No. 186.

rate of interest were reduced to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. These periods for repayment, though long, are less than the period for which those tenants pay who accept the system of decennial reductions introduced by the Act of 1896.

One thing is quite clear. In order to make the plan of purchase by the Land Commission, and of resale to the tenant, workable, the tenant must be informed, at an early stage of the proceedings, at what rate he is to purchase; and, in order to make this provision really facilitate land purchase, it would seem desirable to adopt some general scale, such as the one suggested above, though not necessarily such a rigid one, so as to avoid the necessity of driving a bargain with each landlord and each tenant.

Section 4 of last year's Bill contained three excellent provisions which deserve examination. It proposed to empower the Commission, before reselling to the tenants, to take any measures and to execute any works they deemed expedient for the benefit or improvement of the holdings; and, under the Bill, untenanted land might be bought for the purpose of facilitating the resale or redistribution of farms. The cost of these works was to be added to the purchase money repayable by the tenant. Similar powers were conferred long ago upon the Congested Districts Board, and have worked admirably. The object of this clause was, of course, to facilitate the enlargement of small farms, and to do away with the necessity of stereotyping such existing holdings as may be undesirable.

In the second place, the Commission was to be authorised to transfer any land to trustees to hold for the benefit of purchasers, for the purpose of pasturage, turbary, or allotments, or the preservation of woods and plantations. This treatment of pasturage suggests an interesting reversion, though with a difference, to the ancient system of village grazing-lands; and would probably facilitate the settlement of turbary rights, which has so far proved one of the most irritating problems with which the Land Commission have had to deal. The deforestation of Ireland is a matter of national importance; and purchasers so far have shown an undue tendency to cut down trees without atoning for the damage by following the precept of the Laird of Dumbiedikes.

The value of the clause might be usefully increased

by vesting minerals and sporting-rights in the county council or rural district council. In some cases sporting-rights have been kept by the vendor, but they are generally conveyed to the tenant purchaser. It is unnecessary to dwell on the fact that shooting over ten acres, or even over a hundred, is worthless; and it would be difficult for any outsider to rent the shooting-rights direct from the farmers. The fact that he would have to deal directly with perhaps a hundred proprietors individually would make it impossible for him to do so. The council could apply the shooting-rents in abatement of the taxes payable by each tenant purchaser, and could keep the accounts in such a way that each peasant proprietor might know the amount by which he was individually the better for the shooting being let. It is only in this way that his hearty co-operation could be enlisted; and, unless this were done, the chance of a substantial rent would be small. Fishing-rights might, where possible, be treated in the same way; but many of the great salmon fisheries have been already divorced from territorial possession.

The third provision of section 4, to which reference has been made, was intended to enable the landlord to buy back from the Commission his demesne lands, etc. For this purpose he could obtain an advance from the Commission up to the value of 10,000*l.*, which was to be repaid exactly as an advance to a tenant purchaser. This provision was a very ingenious and altogether admirable way of solving the old problem of providing landlords with loans on easy terms. It would aid landlords to keep their demesnes even after they have sold their tenanted land; and it would be a great pity if any landlord who, like the Duke of Devonshire at Lismore, Lord Roden at Dundalk, or Captain Vesey at Lucan, is now practically maintaining a public park at his own expense, were to be deterred from doing so.

One of the chief obstacles in the way of sales has been the difficulty of proving title; but under last year's Bill this was to be considerably lessened by section 8, which provided that, when a person satisfied the Commission that he had, by himself or by his agent or a receiver, been for not less than six years in receipt of the rents or profits of any land, the Land Commission might treat him as

having a presumptive right to sell. All claims, except those of the tenants, and those arising in respect of public rights, were transferred from the land to the purchase money; and therefore the vendor's title would have to be fully investigated when the purchase money is being allocated. The real effect of section 8 was to effect a bifurcation in the transaction which would give an advantage somewhat analogous to that which is gained by a railway which doubles its lines. The actual estate, the land, would accordingly go on along one line, to be readjusted and sold by the Land Commission as cheaply and as quickly as possible; and the purchase money would go on along another line in order to be distributed among those who could establish claims to it. The expense of this part of the process would still, however, fall on the vendor; and this is often prohibitive. It is desirable to reduce this difficulty. The Bill, it is true, contained several provisions calculated to save the vendor expenditure of time and money in clearing title, such as the abolition of registration fees and stamp-duty—which would alone save 10s. per 100l. of purchase money—and an improvement in the methods of apportioning and charging quit and crown rents; but further advances in this direction might well be made. The matter is technical, and one example must suffice, viz. the way in which reversions on estates tail and base fees have been exploited by the Treasury as an Irish gold mine. This grievance has been well explained by a leading member of the Irish Bar, Mr A. W. Samuels, K.C., in a letter to the 'Irish Times' (April 14, 1902).

‘Under ancient patents, chiefly granted by the Plantagenet and Tudor kings, there are rights of ultimate reversion in the Crown on failure of the heirs of the body of the original grantees. It may be safely said that not one of the reversions would, in the open market, be worth a groat. Some of these grants were made in the reign of Edward IV, some in the reign of Henry VIII. It would be absolutely impossible to prove failure of heirs after the lapse of three centuries; and yet, as a matter of actual practice, the Treasury exacts, as the lowest price for the redemption of these, humanly speaking, impossible claims, 1 per cent. on the purchase money. These cases occur over and over again; and owners of estates have had to pay in one case sums, I believe, of over

1000*l.*, and in numerous cases hundreds of pounds, to the Treasury before they can sell to their tenants.'

The redemption price of these reversions might well be left to the discretion of the Land Commissioners. Surely in their hands the rights of the Crown and its subjects would be safe.

Considerations of space forbid an examination of several other important points; but reference must be made to the 36th section of the Bill, which has given rise to considerable criticism, mostly unfavourable. This section proposes that, where either party applies to have a judicial rent revised, the other party may apply to the Land Commissioners to state the terms and conditions on which an agreement for sale can properly be made. This practically asks the Land Commission to fix a fair price. If the applicant for sale declines to pay or accept the price, then the rent is revised. If he agrees to accept that price, and the applicant for a fair rent refuses to purchase, then the old rent stands for a further period of fifteen years.

It has been pointed out that, as the landlord seldom or never applies to have a judicial rent revised, this change simply means that when the time comes for a judicial rent to be revised, the landlord will always ask the Land Commission to fix the price of the farm. If this price is low, the landlord can refuse it, and he will be no worse off than at present; the only penalty is that a fair rent will be fixed. If the price, however, is high, and the tenant consequently refuses to buy, he loses the right to a periodical revision which he at present enjoys. Notwithstanding this fact, it seems mistaken policy for the tenants' advocates to cavil at this provision as the abolition of the 'Tenants' Charter.' It is indeed the thin edge of compulsory purchase; and the introduction of the principle would well compensate for the infringement it makes upon the right at present enjoyed to a periodical revision of rents. It should be remembered that the vehement protests made by tenants against compulsion being applied to make them buy, is not likely to encourage the 'predominant partner' to apply compulsion to the landlords to make them sell. Landlords, moreover, are not likely to be very desirous of utilising this section, for it would involve selling an estate piecemeal—an expensive

procedure, and one which would interfere with the compactness of an estate. It must further be remembered that the price would be fixed by the same tribunal that fixes fair rents, a tribunal which has heavily reduced rents. The principle the Land Commissioners would almost certainly adopt would be to determine a definite number of years' purchase of what they consider to be a fair rent; and the price would thus vary according as the judicial rent was likely to be reduced or not. If the main clause of last year's Bill be amended in the direction that has been indicated, it would certainly be desirable in the interest, not of landlord or tenant only, but of Ireland generally, that clause 36 should be extended, so as to prevent any tenant who declines to purchase at a fair rate, from having a fair rent fixed for, at any rate, a third statutory term.

Whatever may be the means adopted of ending the present intolerable system of dual ownership, whether it be a wise extension of Mr Wyndham's Bill of last year, or an application of compulsion, the mere creation of a peasant proprietary will not settle the land question. In view of the peculiar course of Irish history, and the peculiar nature of Irish land legislation, it is not to be wondered at that, while agricultural experts may lecture upon the importance of improved methods of cultivation or a better system of practical education, and while economists may demonstrate the urgent necessity of improved means of transport, a better organisation of rural credit, and a host of other reforms calculated to stimulate industrial activities, the mind of the people should still be concentrated upon the land problem as the sole question worthy of their concern. Yet, while this view is not unnatural, it is unsound; and, while no doubt the rent question is the most important Irish question, it is well to emphasise the fact that, though the creation of a peasant proprietary will indeed settle the question of tenure, it will leave half the problems of rural life—problems common to all parts of the United Kingdom—still unsolved, will perhaps intensify some difficulties, for instance that of the labourers, and will bring in its train special problems of its own. The solution of the tenure question will, however, exercise an all-important

effect upon the other problems of rural life, for it will lift them out of the slough of political despond, and restore them to their proper position amongst economic questions, and thus give free play to the working of the new Department and the other agencies of progress which are, under the present state of affairs, hindered from achieving a full measure of success.

The settlement of the tenure problem and the cessation of the land-war will, moreover, exercise a very great influence upon Irish politics. The extreme men upon both sides say that the abolition of landlordism will remove the last barrier to Home Rule. The landlords, however, on the one hand, overrate the influence of landlordism; and they forget that the chief Irish obstacle to Home Rule is not the landed interest, but the commercial interest. 'It is the voice of trade, it is the voice of commerce, it is the voice of capital.' The Nationalists, on the other hand, forget that the steadiness with which the Home Rule agitation has been maintained for over twenty years—a sustained effort almost without parallel in Irish history—is due largely to the adventitious strength gained by linking the demand for land reform with the demand for an Irish Parliament. It will not be easy to find another material grievance of which, to use Fintan Lalor's expression, the people will feel the heat as well as see the light, and which will draw the sentimental grievance as an engine does a train.

At the same time it would be a great mistake to suppose that the cessation of the land-war will necessarily put an end to the demand for constitutional change. A cause for which so many and such great sacrifices were made, as have been made for Home Rule, is not lightly abandoned. The settlement of the land question will not kill the desire for Home Rule, but it will tend to diminish the anti-English feeling, and it may exercise a good influence upon the barren nature of Irish politics. The anti-English feeling fostered by the land-war has been the chief factor in converting the Imperial movement that Home Rule was in Butt's day into the anti-Imperial and anti-English movement which it is now. This anti-English feeling is not of the essence of Home Rule. Mr Redmond himself admitted this fact nearly eight years ago at Cambridge when he

declared, 'It [the Home Rule movement] was a demand for a federal union, one of the essential constituents of which was the preservation of the unity and integrity of the Empire.' No doubt it was the knowledge of the intimate connexion between the agrarian agitation and the anti-Imperial feeling in Ireland that led such an astute observer as the late Sir William Gregory to declare (*Autobiography*, p. 359) that, once the majority of tenants had become landowners, Home Rule might safely be given, if indeed it were still desired.

The barren nature of Irish politics is not to be accounted for, as Professor Goldwin Smith and other followers of Mommsen would have us believe, by declaring that the Celt is politically incapable; the reason is to be found in the course of Irish history and in the present position of the Nationalist party. Until Catholic emancipation, the majority of Irishmen had no field for political movement except conspiracy, and since then they have had little field for anything but agitation. Their leaders have never been sobered by the responsibility of official position; and so a blend of orator and guerilla, and not a statesman, has been the ideal. Irish parliamentarians are shut out, by the attitude of isolation which they have adopted at Westminster, from all responsible and constructive work; consequently it is no wonder that their energy produces nothing, and that their brilliance, if it occasionally dazzles, never illuminates. The Land League abandoned the essentially constructive nature of Butt's policy; Parnell, like Cromwell, believed that things must first get worse before they could become better. His successors can point to the surrender of the Liberal party for his justification; but a destructive policy may be persisted in too long, even from the Nationalist stand-point. Parnell died before the time for change came; had he lived he would before this have adopted a constructive policy, if, indeed, he was a great man, as his followers claim, and not merely a great party-leader. Be this as it may, the time has now come when the welfare of the country calls for something more than mere obstruction and negation; what Ireland needs to-day is another Isaac Butt to inspire both the Irish local councils and the Irish parliamentary party with a statesmanlike and constructive policy.

Lord Rosebery said at Edinburgh, on the 3rd of November last, that the Local Government Act of 1898 had fundamentally changed the whole condition and character of the Irish question; and he seemed to think that in the development of some higher local bodies from the local councils lay the solution of the Irish question. Taken, however, in conjunction with his declaration that he would not grant 'anything making for an independent legislature,' this statement is somewhat incomprehensible. The grant of local government was itself a step towards an independent legislature; and any further step in that direction would at present only encourage a barren political agitation. Ultimately, perhaps, some form of federal or largely extended provincial government may have to be introduced in these islands, in conjunction with a great scheme of Imperial federation; but it is generally admitted that the time for introducing such an experiment is not yet in sight; and, if it were, the lack of true political thought, so noticeable at present amongst all classes in Ireland, would be sufficient reason for postponing it.

The establishment of local administrative bodies has, however, undoubtedly affected the situation. It has provided the means for political development within certain limits, and it has at the same time provided means for gauging that development. There can be no doubt that the political education of Ireland has advanced during the last dozen years. When the Congested Districts Board was called into existence in 1891, it was found necessary to rely on persons nominated by the government. When the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction was created eight years later, it was found possible, owing, in a considerable degree, to the moral and social effect of the new movement, to rely largely on the advice and assistance of persons selected by the people themselves. The government, instead of supplying the necessary wisdom, asked the people concerned to furnish it; and the result has justified the experiment. The second report of the Department states that

'The experience gained by the local authorities since the Act first came into force has enabled them, notwithstanding the increase of the work, to discharge these new administrative duties with much greater smoothness and efficiency. When

all things are taken into account, and the very technical and difficult nature of much of this work is borne in mind, the Department feel bound to record their sense of the administrative capacity and progressive spirit these local self-governing bodies have shown generally in connection with this Act.'

The settlement of the land question would, we believe, affect the political situation by exercising a beneficial influence both on the policy of the Irish party and upon the working of local government in Ireland, and so fit the Irish people, when the time comes, to take their proper place in a federated Empire. It may do more than pave the way for the development of economic and political thought; it may help in the solution of the third and most difficult problem of Irish administration—the human problem. There is a fine saying of Frederick Lucas in his pre-repeal days, that, whilst Ireland should not be given repeal, it should be governed in the spirit of repeal. The softening of anti-English animosities which should follow upon a cessation of the land-war will fit the Irish to appreciate good government, and will fit the English to administer it—to the advantage of both nations.

Matthew Arnold long ago observed, in his 'Irish Essays,' that in order to attach Ireland solidly to England 'English people have not only to *do* something different from what they have done hitherto, they have also to *be* something different from what they have been hitherto. As a whole, as a community, they have to acquire a larger and sweeter temper, a larger and more lucid mind . . . our safety depends on our accomplishing it; to *be* something different much more, even, than to *do* something different.'

This seems now to be in a fair way of accomplishment. Mr Wyndham has given abundant evidence of his ability to see into as well as round Irish problems; Sir Anthony MacDonnell is an Irishman, and has shown that he possesses that great requisite for Irish administration, an understanding mind; and the Lord Lieutenant made it evident that he was fully conscious of the true path of development for Ireland, when he declared,

'There are some people in this world who seem to believe that the only way in which a great Empire can be successfully maintained is by suppressing the various distinct elements of

its component parts; in fact, by running it as a huge regiment in which each nation is to lose its individuality and to be brought under a common system of discipline and drill. Well, that is not the view which I personally hold. In my opinion we are much more likely to break up an Empire than to maintain it by any such attempt. Lasting strength and lasting loyalty are not to be secured by any attempt to force into one system or to remould into one type those special characteristics which are the outcome of a nation's history and of her religious and social conditions, but rather by a full recognition of the fact that these very characteristics form an essential part of a nation's life, and that under wise guidance and under sympathetic treatment they will enable her to provide her own contribution and to play her own special part in the life of the Empire to which she belongs.' ('Freeman's Journal,' November 21, 1902.)

This is surely one of the most remarkable and, we think, salutary utterances that has fallen in recent times from an Irish Viceroy. One of the most salient facts about modern Ireland is the extent to which the ideals and conceptions summed up in the phrase 'An Irish Ireland' have ousted the purely political ideal of 'Ireland for the Irish' in the minds of the rising generation. It is a movement in which, with some features that are extravagant and foolish, there is also much that can be unreservedly praised and encouraged; and anything that will make it clear to Irishmen that the connexion with the Empire does not mean the stamping out of their national individuality, but, on the contrary, the full development of whatever is worthy and admirable in it, ought to go a long way towards weaning the minds of Irishmen from the barren negations of separatist politics in the present eventful epoch of Irish history.

Art. II.—SOUTH AMERICAN ANIMALS AND THEIR ORIGIN.

1. *Notas sobre cuestiones de Geologia y Paleontologia Argentinas*. By F. Ameghino. Bol. Inst. Geografico Argentino. Vol. xvii. 1896.
2. *Geology and Palæontology of Argentina*. By the same. Geological Magazine. Decade 4. Vol. iv. 1897.
3. *El Mamifero misterioso de la Patagonia (Neomylodon listai)*. By the same. Buenos Aires: La Pyramide, 1899.
4. *On some remains of Neomylodon listai*. By E. Lönnberg. Svenska Exped. Magellansland. Vol. II. Stockholm, 1899.
5. *On a portion of mammalian skin, named Neomylodon listai, from . . . Patagonia*. By F. P. Moreno. Proc. Zool. Soc.: London, 1899.
6. *El Mamifero misterioso de la Patagonia (Grypothorium domesticum)*. By R. Hauthal, S. Roth, and R. Lehmann-Nitsche. Rev. Mus. de la Plata. Vol. ix. La Plata, 1899.
7. *On some remains of Grypothorium (Neomylodon) listai*. By A. S. Woodward. Proc. Zool. Soc.: London, 1900.
8. *On some Extinct Reptiles from Patagonia*. By the same. Proc. Zool. Soc.: London, 1901.
9. *Die Gleichzeitigkeit der sudpatagonischen Höhlenbewohner mit dem Grypothorium . . . der argentinischen Höhlenfauna*. By R. Lehmann-Nitsche. Archiv für Anthropologie. Vol. xxvii. Brunswick, 1902.
10. *The Great Mountains and Forests of South America*. By Paul Fountain. London: Longmans, 1902.
11. *Through the Heart of Patagonia*. By H. H. Prichard. London: Heinemann, 1902.

WHEN naturalists and men of science abandoned the idea of separate creations in favour of evolution in some form or other, it at once became manifest that the more immediate ancestors of the animals and plants inhabiting the different countries of the globe—in other words the faunas and floras of such countries—were not ‘dumped down’ in their present habitats in a kind of haphazard fashion. On the contrary, they must either have reached their present homes from other lands, or they must be the more or less modified descendants of the earlier

inhabitants of the same countries. Consequently a number of problems in regard to the permanence or instability of the present terrestrial and marine areas of the globe, the former connexion of continents and islands now more or less widely sundered, the severance of continents now connected with one another, and the routes by which the animals and plants of the various continents and islands reached their present homes, were at once opened up for the consideration of naturalists. Many of these problems, which at one time appeared almost hopeless, have been more or less satisfactorily solved; and the science of 'distribution' has now attained a definite and recognised position, and forms a kind of connecting link between biology—or natural history in its widest sense—on the one hand and geography on the other. Other problems of the same nature are, however, still undecided; and it has constantly to be borne in mind that, when an apparently plausible theory has been generally accepted, it is always liable to be overthrown by some new and unexpected disclosure. A striking instance is afforded by the recent discovery, in the Fayum district of Egypt, of an extinct vertebrate fauna which has, even in its present imperfectly described condition, served to upset all our conceptions of the relationships and origin of the faunas of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and has thrown unexpected light on the origin of the elephants of whose ancestors Africa appears to have been the home.

Among the countries whose ancient and modern faunas present some of the most interesting, and, at the same time, some of the most perplexing problems in regard to their origin and relationships, none occupies a more remarkable position than South America. And although these problems are far from being satisfactorily solved at present, it may be confidently stated that, had naturalists restricted their attention to the existing animal inhabitants of that vast continent, they would have been hopelessly at sea with regard to their origin and relationships. Before discussing their extinct fore-runners it will, however, simplify matters to take a rapid glance at the present fauna of South and Central America, which, from a zoological standpoint, may be regarded as one area. In this survey, attention will be concentrated almost exclusively on the mammals, since it is this group

which affords, on the whole, the safest guide in unravelling the tangled web of distribution, more especially as the great majority of vertebrate fossils from the later deposits are mammalian.

The traveller who wanders for the first time in the teeming tropical forests of Brazil or the Guianas, or traverses the open pampas of Argentina or the barren wastes of Patagonia, will not fail to be struck at once with the great difference between their faunas and floras and those of all other parts of the world, even including North America. With regard to the latter country it should, however, be mentioned that there is no barrier at the present day, either as regards climate or means of communication, between Central and South America on the one hand, and Mexico and the warmer parts of Texas and Arizona on the other. Consequently the explorer must not be surprised if he find, as he will, a certain number of animals and plants properly characteristic of South America in the countries connecting it with the cooler parts of North America. In this place it may be mentioned that the reader will find an excellent account of the physical features of South America, together with notes on many of its characteristic animals, in the work standing tenth in our list. Mr Fountain is an observant and entertaining writer; and, although some of the animals to which he alludes are not identified as definitely as might be desired, he has added considerably to our knowledge of the habits of others, and has been able to correct certain misconceptions with regard to the same. His book is one of the most interesting accounts of South American exploration and natural history that has been published for many years.

So far as temperate and arctic North America are concerned, the mammalian life resembles to a considerable extent that of the northern parts of the Old World. This is more markedly the case the farther north we go, many of the more northern animals being not even specifically distinguishable from their representatives in the eastern hemisphere. The American bison, for instance, is a near relative of the European bison of the Caucasus and Lithuania; the big-horn sheep of the Rockies and Alaska have representatives in Kamtchatka and north-eastern Siberia; several deer closely allied to the American

wapiti wander through the forests of central and north-eastern Asia, while the elk and the reindeer of the Old World are equally close to their western cousins. Again, the brown bear, the wolf, the fox, the arctic fox, the glutton, the marten, and many other mammals of Europe and northern Asia are either inseparable from, or very closely allied to, their American representatives. It is true that the musk-ox is now unknown as a wild animal in Europe and Asia; but its disappearance from these continents is an event of comparatively modern date. It is true again that the two hemispheres possess certain types of mammals peculiar to each, the prong-buck, the pocket-gophers, and the opossums of America being unknown in the Old World, as are the dormice of the Old World in America. The typically American deer, such as the mule-deer and the white-tail, likewise belong to a type unknown in Europe and Asia; and to a certain degree this is also the case with the raccoons, although they have more or less distant cousins in the pandas of the eastern Himalayas and north-western China. The remark may, indeed, be made that North America has no indigenous horses, rhinoceroses, or elephants; but, since remains of all these animals occur abundantly in the later Tertiary formations of that continent, their absence is, so to say, merely a feature of the present day. Speaking broadly, it may be said that the mammalian faunas of the northern parts of the two hemispheres conform essentially to one general type, marked of course by such differences as it would be only natural to expect in regions so widely sundered.

On the other hand, when the traveller from the north reaches Central and South America he finds himself practically in a new world, so far as animals are concerned. Objection may perhaps be taken to this statement from the fact that humming-birds are met with in comparatively high latitudes in North America; but it must always be remembered that birds have much greater facilities for spreading themselves widely over the world, and that, if certain of the essentially South American mammals have managed to travel as far north as Texas, it would be only natural to expect that some South American birds should have wandered farther into the heart of the North American continent.

To resume—the traveller from the north will miss in Central and South America such forms as bison, goats, sheep, deer of the red-deer group, elk, prong-buck, wolves,* true foxes, and pocket-gophers. But even this scarcely represents the true facts of the case, for North America at the present day is comparatively poor in the larger types of mammalian life; and, if South America be contrasted in this respect with the Old World, its differences will be still more striking. There are, for instance, no representatives of the hollow-horned ruminants, inclusive of oxen, sheep, goats, and antelopes; and we have no evidence that any of these ever existed in the country. The same is true of giraffes and hippopotami; but, as these never existed in North America, their absence can scarcely be regarded as a matter for surprise. There are likewise no rhinoceroses, horses, or elephants, although representatives of the two latter occurred in South America in an earlier epoch of the earth's history. Many other familiar types of animals are likewise wanting; but it must suffice to say that the entire family of squirrels, as well as many other well-known rodents, are absent, as are also almost all the so-called *Insectivora*, such as shrews, moles, and hedgehogs, the last being also unknown north of the isthmus of Panama.

Of the living mammals of the South American area, in which Central America is included, attention may first of all be directed to such as are more or less nearly related to forms from other parts of the world, after which the absolutely peculiar types may be noticed. Here it may be well to mention that not much is to be learnt from the occurrence in any area of members of cosmopolitan groups like the cat tribe, of which there are several South American representatives. The largest of these are the jaguar and the puma, of which the former is peculiar to the area, while the latter ranges as far north as Canada. The maned or red wolf of Brazil and Argentina and numerous smaller fox-like species represent the dog tribe, but are quite different from the true wolves and foxes of other parts of the world. The bush-dog of the Guianas is

* Curiously enough, a true wolf exists in the Falkland Islands. The maned wolf of Brazil is not a true wolf, nor is the animal (*Canis magellanicus*) called the Cordillera wolf in Mr Prichard's book.

also a characteristic South American type. Altogether peculiar are the long-nosed coatis and several allied kinds, though they are near relatives of the raccoons of North America. The South American skunks have North American relatives, but belong to a peculiar generic group. The South American Andes are the home of the spectacled bear, of the habits of which an excellent account will be found in Mr Fountain's book. This species is widely different from the common black and brown bears, but possibly allied to the small Malay bear. If this presumed relationship be true, it might seem to point to an alliance between the South American and Malay faunas; and this notion also appears to receive support from the occurrence in these two areas, and these only, of those primitive hoofed animals known as tapirs, of which there is one species in the Malay countries, while South and Central America are the home of four distinct kinds. Since, however, both bears and tapirs were formerly inhabitants of the greater part of the world, save Africa and Australasia, no inference can be drawn from either as to a connexion between the South American and Malay faunas, the living tapirs of these two areas being the isolated survivors of a once widely spread group.

Quite peculiar to South America is the group of ruminants represented in the wild state by the guanaco, which ranges from the highlands of Ecuador and Peru to Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, by the smaller vicuña of the Peruvian Andes, and (in a domesticated condition) by the well-known alpaca and llama. These long-limbed and long-necked animals—objectionable on account of their unpleasant habit of spitting at intruders—are, however, nearly related to the camels of the Old World, with which they are connected by a number of extinct forms found in the Tertiary deposits of North America. Mr Fountain has much to say on the habits of the guanaco, while Mr Prichard, in the work quoted last in our list, gives a good description of guanaco-hunting.

The deer of South America are, moreover, quite unlike those of the eastern hemisphere, although nearly related to the white-tail and the mule-deer of North America. None of them, for instance, have antlers at all. like those of Old-World deer, these appendages always lacking the brow-tine of the latter, and branching in a

characteristic forked manner, when they are not in the form of single spikes, as in the tiny little pudu-deer of the Chilian Andes, and the somewhat larger brockets. Still larger are the guemals of the Andes and Patagonia, both kinds of which are heavily-built deer of medium size, with stiff, speckled coats of yellow and black, and simply-forked antlers. In the pampas-deer of Argentina and the much larger swamp-deer of Brazil the antlers of the stags have at least three tines, and the hair on the withers is reversed so as to be directed forwards.

Peccaries, which represent the pig tribe in South America, and extend as far north as Texas, are likewise a peculiar and characteristic group, although they have many extinct relatives in the Tertiary formations of the United States. Peccaries differ markedly from the swine of the Old World by the conformation of their tusks, as well as by the gland on the back from which they derive their scientific name *Dicotyles*. It may be incidentally mentioned here that the two species of peccary are generally described as having widely different habits, the one being gregarious and ferocious, and the other more or less solitary and harmless. According to Mr Fountain this notion is incorrect, both kinds going about in large herds, and being equally dangerous.

Although, as previously mentioned, opossums (which must not be confounded with the animals wrongly so called in Australia) are met with in North America, they attain a more striking development in the southern half of the American continent, where a number of small forms, quite unlike those of North America, occur. Very characteristic, too, are the prehensile-tailed tree-porcupines, which, Mr Fountain tells us, can be recognised from afar by their fetid smell. Their nearest relative is the Canadian porcupine. Opossums are now unknown elsewhere than in America, but their fossilised remains occur in the Tertiary formations of Europe as well as in those of the United States.

Turning to the animals which have no very near relatives, either living or extinct, in any other parts of the world, save those which have succeeded in effecting an entrance into the adjacent parts of North America, mention may first be made of the South American monkeys, as typified by the spider-monkeys, and, secondly,

their smaller relatives the pretty little marmosets, which form such interesting but unfortunately short-lived pets. Each of these groups represents a family by itself, all the South American monkeys being distinguished from their namesakes of the Old World by their broad and widely separated nostrils and the number of their teeth, as well as by their generally prehensile tails. A large and varied family of bats, the vampires, all of which are characterised by the presence of large expansions of skin on the nose, frequently assuming a lance-like shape, are also absolutely peculiar to the South American area.

Essentially characteristic of this continent are various rodents, such as pacas, chinchillas, coypus, viscachas, cavies, and maras, all of which belong to types unknown elsewhere, although some of them are more or less nearly related to certain African members of the group. Perhaps the most noticeable of all is the carpincho or capibara, a sub-aquatic species, which is the largest member of its order. In addition to these there are many peculiar mice and rats, whose nearest relatives in Europe are the hamsters; these, however, belong properly to the first group of animals, although they are more conveniently mentioned in this place. Among them is the curious fish-eating rat of the Peruvian Andes.

Perhaps the most remarkable of all the living mammals of South and Central America are the so-called 'edentates,' a group which, if certain Old-World forms often classed with them be excluded, is now confined to the area under consideration, excepting that a few of its members have wandered into the warmer parts of North America. Much the same is true of this group in earlier epochs of the earth's history, so far as forms allied to the existing types are concerned, although a remarkable exception apparently occurs in Madagascar; and some of the South American forms once ranged much farther north in the United States than is the case with any members of the group at the present day.* In formations belonging to a much earlier epoch there occur, however, in North America remains of an extinct group—the ganodonts—which there is good reason for

* It has been stated that fossil armadilloes occur in Europe, but the determination is more than doubtful.

regarding as the ancestors of the edentates of to-day. Properly speaking, the name *Edentata* means animals entirely devoid of teeth, a condition found in the ant-eaters alone among the living members of the group. All are, however, characterised by the absence of front or incisor teeth, so that if we take the name as indicative of animals poor in teeth it will apply to all the modern forms. On the other hand, certain extinct armadilloes possessed a full set of teeth; so that, when fossil forms are included, the name becomes absolutely incorrect.

In popular usage the term 'ant-eater' is applied to several animals belonging to widely sundered groups. The true or typical ant-eaters are, however, an exclusively South American group, characterised by their toothless jaws and their habit of walking only on the outer or upper surface of their forefeet, the toes of which are armed with huge recurved claws. The largest and most familiar member of the group is the great ant-eater, a long-haired, burrowing creature with a huge flag-like tail, and long, almost bird-like muzzle, inhabiting the forest districts of tropical America. Much smaller is the tamandua ant-eater, which is a short-haired and smooth-tailed animal, mainly arboreal in its habits. Smallest of all is the little ant-eater, a tiny arboreal creature with beautiful silky hair of a golden-red colour.

If possible, stranger still are the sloths, which are likewise confined to the forests of tropical South and Central America, where they spend all their time in trees, hanging for the most part head-downwards, suspended by their hook-like claws. Their long coarse hair makes them look, when in this position, almost exactly like masses of pensile lichen, the resemblance being increased by the remarkable circumstance that a vegetable growth—a kind of alga—is actually developed in the hairs themselves, giving a greenish tinge to the back and outer sides of the limbs. Mr Fountain, by the way, is disposed to doubt the statement of the alga actually growing in their hair, but it is nevertheless a fact. His description of these animals shows that the name 'sloth' is a misnomer, since they move so fast among the boughs that not even the Indians can keep up with them for any distance.

The third living group of edentates are the mail-clad
Vol. 197.—No. 393. E

armadilloes, which are regarded by many people as reptiles rather than mammals. Some of these creatures have the power of rolling themselves up into a complete ball; and all are capable in some degree of this kind of action. To enable them to do this the bony carapace or shield on the back is provided with a variable number of movable transverse bands which may be as few as three or as many as sixteen. The largest kind is less than a yard in length, exclusive of the long tail. Although armadilloes are mainly characteristic of South and Central America, they are not unknown in countries as far north as Texas.

The list of types of mammals peculiar to the South American area closes with certain very curious rat-like creatures, known, from the farm on which one of them was discovered, as selvas. Although externally like rats or mice, the selvas are really marsupials, and, excepting opossums, are the only living members of that group met with out of Australia and the neighbouring islands.

As we have already said, this article deals mainly with the mammals of the South American area, but a few words may be added with regard to the birds, among which are many peculiar types. Humming-birds have been referred to above. In addition to these are gorgeous macaws and the short-tailed South American parrots, which form a group by themselves. The condors, under which title may be included all the so-called American vultures, are also very characteristic of the area, although some members of the group are North American. The carrion-hawks, as represented by the chimango and carancho, are exclusively South American, as are also those remarkable birds the screamers, of which the chaja, or Argentine representative, approximates in size and habits to a goose. Quite peculiar to this area is the extraordinary bird known as the seriema (to be referred to later); and so also are the trumpeters and sun-bitterns. Not less distinctive are guans and curassows, large black game-birds of the size of a turkey. The tinamus, whose plaintive whistling so often breaks the dead stillness of the open pampas, form an exclusively South American group, the members of which present an extraordinary resemblance in external appearance to game-birds, but are structurally much more nearly related to the ostrich

group. Their eggs, which may be green, blue, or purplish in colour, are remarkable for the porcelain-like glaze of their shells. Passing by a number of smaller birds, such as the hoatzin, whose young have claws on their wings to aid them in climbing, the gorgeous orange cock-of-the-rock, and the white bell-bird, the last on our list is the handsome rhea, or American ostrich, whose nearest relative is the true ostrich of Africa.

Not less peculiar and characteristic are the South American forms of lower vertebrate life; but considerations of space preclude allusion to more than a very few of these. Conspicuous among these are the jacaras and caimans, members of the crocodilian order characterised by the great development of their bony armour. The great group of iguana-like lizards is also essentially characteristic of tropical America, although their name is frequently misapplied to lizards of the Old World. The huge boa-constrictor is the type of a group of snakes of which the majority are South American, although, curiously enough, they reappear in far-distant Madagascar. The same remarkable discontinuous distribution characterises a group of side-necked tortoises typified by the great greaved tortoise of the Amazons, whose shell measures nearly a yard in length. So far, at least, as the tortoises are concerned, this distribution need not necessarily be regarded as indicative of a specially close relation between the South American and Malagasy faunas, since in former epochs tortoises of this group were widely distributed in the northern hemisphere, their remains occurring in the Eocene formations of Europe, India, and northern Africa. They might accordingly have reached their present habitats independently from the north. But it is significant that no tortoises of this type have hitherto been discovered in the strata of North America; and the presumption therefore is that they reached Madagascar and South America by way of Africa. The same may have been the case with snakes of the boa-constrictor group. Very characteristic of the South American fauna are the huge horned toads—the esqueros of the natives—which, properly speaking, are neither toads nor frogs. Of fishes it must suffice to mention the gigantic arapaima of the Amazons, which grows to a length of twelve feet

or more, and the still more remarkable lung-fish of the fetid swamps of Brazil and Paraguay. The only near relative of the latter is the mud-fish of the west coast of Africa. The distribution of these two curious fishes may not improbably be accounted for in the same manner as that of the aforesaid river-tortoises.

Although it would be easy to insist in fuller detail on the large number of well-known forms of animal life unrepresented in the South American fauna, enough has been said to demonstrate how unlike is this fauna to that of the whole of the rest of the world. In fact, if Australasia, which has a still more markedly distinct assemblage of animals of its own, be put on one side, the fauna of the globe may be divided into two groups, the South American and that of the rest of the world.

In the preceding paragraphs it has been shown that, while certain elements in the South American fauna, such as the cats, tapirs, llamas, and deer, are more or less nearly related to types now or formerly inhabiting other parts of the world, and more especially North America, other elements, as represented by the monkeys, marmosets, ant-eaters, sloths, armadilloes, and selvas, are altogether peculiar and unknown in any other part of the world, either now or in past epochs. Even if this information were all that is available, it might have been possible to suggest (as we believe it has been suggested) that such of the South American animals as show affinity to those of other countries might have immigrated from the north, while the absolutely peculiar types were developed in the country itself, whence a few of them succeeded in penetrating into the countries north of southern Mexico. Beyond this suggestion it would, however, have been impossible to go. But when, in addition, the evidence of the fossil remains, which occur in such abundance in parts of Brazil, Argentina, and Patagonia, is taken into consideration, a flood of light is thrown on the subject; and the main facts, as regards the origin and development of the mammalian fauna of the country, are almost as clearly indicated as if there were historical records, although there are many puzzling problems in connexion with the details.

Although a large number of fossil remains have been

discovered in the caves of the Minas-Geraes district of Brazil,* a much more extensive series occurs in the original territories of the Argentine Republic and Patagonia; and it is to these that attention will mainly be confined in the present article.

To those unacquainted with the country a few words may be acceptable with regard to the Argentine pampas, which form one of the most wonderful tracts in the world. The word 'pampa,' it may be premised, is an Indian term for a level extent of grass country, which is now almost exclusively used in the plural. The pampas, which cover an area of some 200,000 square miles, extend southwards from the Rio de la Plata to the Rio Colorado, south of Bahia Blanca, and westward about half the distance from the sea to the Andes. From the richness of the black soil of which they are composed to a great depth, the pampas are covered with ordinary grass intermixed with tussocks of the well-known taller grass which takes its name from them. When broken up by the plough, this soil yields luxuriant crops of lucerne or cereals. So level is the country that in the dry season it may be traversed in all directions by wheeled vehicles, with only an occasional difficulty presented by the water-courses, which are somewhat deeply cut. That the soil of the pampas has been brought down by river-action from the Andes is evident; but near the coast there have been from time to time incursions of the sea, as is proved by the occurrence of beds of marine shells specifically identical with those to be found in the neighbouring ocean.

Interesting as are the pampas to the geologist as one of the finest examples of an alluvial plain in the world, they are doubly so to the naturalist on account of the number of skeletons and bones of extinct mammals entombed in the black soil. The great majority of these are more or less intimately allied to those now inhabiting the country, but some belong to groups which have disappeared from South America, and even from the world, while others are absolutely unique types quite unknown

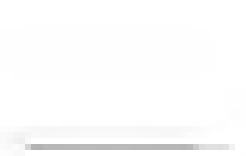
* Mr Fountain mentions the occurrence of caves in the Matto Grosso district of Central Brazil, containing the fossilised remains of gigantic guanaco and other animals, which do not appear to have been explored by palæontologists.

elsewhere. Another feature of the pampean fauna is the huge bodily size attained by many of its representatives, which are indeed giants beside their nearest living relations.

Taking first into consideration those pampean animals which do not belong to exclusively South American types, reference may be made to the number of remains of horses, all belonging to species widely different from those now existing. Whether the horses met with in South America by the early Spanish *conquistadores* were or were not survivors of these extinct species, it is now almost impossible to decide; but it is very difficult to understand how horses introduced from Europe could have reached this part of the country and run wild by the date in question. Skulls and antlers of deer allied to the living pampas and marsh deer are also common in these deposits, as are likewise remains of large relatives of the guanaco and the vicuña. Somewhat curiously, fossil tapirs do not appear to have been met with in Argentina, although they occur in the Brazilian caves, as do the bones and teeth of peccaries. Cats allied to or identical with the jaguar and puma have left their remains in the soil of the pampas; and in addition to these occur remains of one of the group of so-called sabre-toothed tigers, formerly widely distributed over the globe. A fit companion for the tiger was a huge bear, of which the British Museum possesses an almost entire skeleton. One of the extinct group of elephants known as 'mastodons,' or those with molar teeth of a simpler structure than the true elephants, completes our list of pampean animals belonging to groups which have or had a wide geographical distribution.

Turning to the more exclusively South American groups of mammals, it has first of all to be mentioned that the soil of the pampas is not suited to the preservation of remains of the smaller species; and we consequently have to repair to the caves of Brazil for evidence of the existence, during the period under consideration, of spider-monkeys, marmosets, and vampire-bats, all of which were represented in the pampean epoch.

It can scarcely be doubted that true sloths and ant-eaters were living at the same time as these fossil spider-monkeys, although hitherto their remains appear to have



**FIG. 1. INNER SURFACE OF SMALL PORTION OF SKIN OF THE PATAGONIAN GROUND-SLOTH,
SHOWING THE INTERNAL OSSICLES.**

(From a photograph by Dr. Lönnberg, of Upsala. Natural size.)

**FIG. 2. UPPER AND LATERAL VIEWS OF PART OF THE TERMINAL TUBE OF THE
TAIL-SHEATH OF A CLUB-TAILED GLYPTODON.**

(From specimens in the La Plata Museum.)

Scale ; |-----| (1 inch) = 6 inches.

escaped detection. However this may be, there is evidence of the existence at this epoch of many representatives of a totally extinct group, the ground-sloths, some of which were among the most gigantic of all mammals. Perhaps the most widely known and, at the same time, the largest of these is the *megalotherium*, of which an entire skeleton was brought to Europe long before palæontology had become an exact science. The megalothere had a body as large as that of an elephant, and measured, inclusive of its long tail, about eighteen feet in length, while its enormous forepaws were nearly a yard in length, and armed with extremely powerful claws. Rearing themselves up on their hindquarters, these unwieldy creatures may be pictured as pulling down branches of the trees which seem formerly to have clothed the Argentine pampas, and grinding up the leaves and twigs with their enormous millstone-like teeth. The title of ground-sloths is appropriate enough, since these animals were in many ways nearly allied to the modern sloths, although of strictly terrestrial habits. In many respects, indeed, they were intermediate between sloths and ant-eaters, of both which they may have been the ancestral stock. Their limbs were constructed on the general plan of those of the ant-eater; their skulls, on the contrary, although relatively longer, came much nearer to those of the sloths. Especially is this the case with the species known as *mylodon*, in which the teeth are essentially similar, both in number and form, to those of sloths. In the megalothere, on the other hand, the teeth were somewhat different, having the form of huge quadrangular prisms, eight or ten inches in length, capped by a pair of transverse ridges.

To mention by name all the various forms of these ground-sloths, of which the remains occur in the soil of the pampas, would merely weary the reader without any compensating advantage. But one of them cannot be passed over without special notice. A few years ago there was discovered in a cave at Last Hope (Ultima Esperanza) Inlet, Patagonia, a large portion of the skin of one of these animals, to which it will be convenient to allude as the Patagonian ground-sloth. Externally the skin is covered with long coarse hair, brownish in colour, and not unlike that of living sloths. The inner surface (fig. 1) is

studded with a number of irregular nodules of bone, called ossicles, looking for all the world like the broken almonds on the top of a cake. Somewhat similar nodules, but with one surface sculptured, have long been known in association with the remains of the *mylodon*; and it was inferred that these served as a coat of armour on the outer surface of the skin. To judge from the sculpturing of one surface of these ossicles, it is probable that this inference is correct; but, however this may have been, it is certain that the armour of the Patagonian ground-sloth was internal—a somewhat inexplicable arrangement.

But more remains to be told about this extraordinary animal. Careful exploration of the cave showed that it contained a mass of what may best be described as chaff, for examination with a lens showed that it consisted of fragments of grass which had evidently been cut up with a knife or some other instrument of human manufacture. Within this accumulation of chaff were discovered several damaged skulls of ground-sloths showing evident signs of having been chopped and hacked with some kind of implement, together with numerous other remains of these animals and bones of other species. From this evidence it may be regarded as a clearly established fact that the Patagonian ground-sloth was a contemporary of man; and it has been further inferred—from the accumulation of chaff and the improbability of such unwieldy creatures entering the cave of their own accord—that the early human inhabitants of Patagonia kept ground-sloths in a partially domesticated state. Strange cattle, in truth!

Soon after this curious discovery was made, at least one expedition was equipped for the purpose of searching the wilds of Patagonia in the hope of finding the creature still alive. Of one of these expeditions—fitted out and financed by Mr Pearson, the proprietor of the 'Daily Express'—Mr Prichard has given an interesting account in his beautifully illustrated work, 'Through the Heart of Patagonia.' As regards the finding of living examples of the ground-sloth, the quest was a failure; but readers of the volume will find a mine of information regarding a most interesting and little-known country. Among the discoveries was a new race of puma. In an appendix

is to be found most of the information regarding the Patagonian ground-sloth, together with excellent figures of its skin. Although Mr Prichard was unsuccessful in finding any evidence of the survival of the ground-sloth, he thinks it possible that the creature may still linger in some of the vast unexplored tracts on the flanks of the Andes. In this connexion reference may be made to a remarkable statement by Dr Fritz Müller (the author of 'Für Darwin'), published in the 'Zool. Garten' for 1877 (pp. 298-302). According to this, about eight years previously a huge animal had been seen on the Rio das Caveiras, in Paraguay, with a body almost a yard wide, the legs of which could not be distinguished. Again, it was reported that in 1849 the body of a gigantic creature, which had become jammed in trying to get through a narrow pass, was seen in Uruguay. Further, a certain river—the Pista—in the Cordillera is stated to take its name from the footprints of a gigantic animal. Unless these circumstantial accounts are pure fables, they seem to point to the existence of a ground-sloth within the last half-century; and if it lived till then, or even later, there seems no reason why it should not still survive in some remote and unexplored tract.

With the exception of the few forms which entered North America during the Pliocene and Pleistocene epochs, the ground-sloths were long considered characteristic of South America, where they appear to have died out within the human period. Monsieur Grandidier has, however, recently described the leg-bone of what appears to be another member of the same group from the superficial deposits of Madagascar, under the name of *Bradytherium madagascariense*. Assuming, as seems probable, that these gigantic edentates originated in the southern hemisphere, the specimen in question, if its affinities be rightly determined, affords evidence of a former land-connexion between Madagascar and South America, and thus supports the view that the latter continent was at one time joined to Africa.

Remains of armadilloes, some very largely exceeding all their living relatives in size, are found, as might be expected, among the fossils of the pampas deposit. More remarkable are, however, their gigantic extinct relatives, the *glyptodons*—so called from the vertical flutings on

their long teeth—some of which had a shell large enough to serve the natives as a hut, with walls of solid bone fully an inch in thickness. In all these creatures the shell differs from that of the armadilloes in having no movable bands, so that it forms a solid dome-like shield. The long tail was clad in a bony armour, while a shield also protected the top of the head. The various kinds of glyptodon differ from one another in the form of the shell and the bony plates of which it is composed, as well as in the structure of the tail-sheath. In the typical glyptodon, for instance, the plates of the shell are roughly hexagonal and display a star-shaped sculpture, which is most conspicuous in young specimens, before the component ossicles became soldered together, while the armour of the tail consists of a series of coronets of bone gradually diminishing in diameter from root to tip. In a second species, on the contrary, the shell is composed of quadrangular plates, with a granular sculpture, and the tail-sheath consists of a few large hoops near the base, followed by a long terminal tube marked on the sides with a number of large bosses on which, during life, horny knobs probably grew.

More extraordinary still is a third kind—the giant of the group—in which the plates of the shell (fig. 3) were nearly smooth and perforated with two or three holes for the passage of blood-vessels, while the terminal tube of the tail-sheath was like an enormous depressed club, some five feet in length, with still larger bosses near the tip (fig. 2). Judging from the corrugated surface of these bosses, it seems likely that they were armed in life with real horns. The length of this truly terrible, though probably pacific, monster was close upon twelve feet. Unlike others of its kind, in which each bony plate was covered with one or more horny shields, the shell of the club-tailed glyptodon was invested in a continuous horny skin. All the species of glyptodons have short and vaulted skulls (fig. 4), quite unlike the long, depressed, and pointed skulls of the armadilloes. They are likewise remarkable for the large process descending from the bar of bone below the socket of the eye.

Contemporaneously with these huge ground-sloths and glyptodons lived various large forms of hoofed mammals so strangely different from all living types that even

FIG. 3.—SKULL, SHELL, TAIL-SHEATH, AND LIMB-BONES OF THE CLUB-TAILED GUYPTODON.

(From a specimen in the La Plata Museum.)

Approximate Scale : - - - - | (1 inch) = 2 feet.

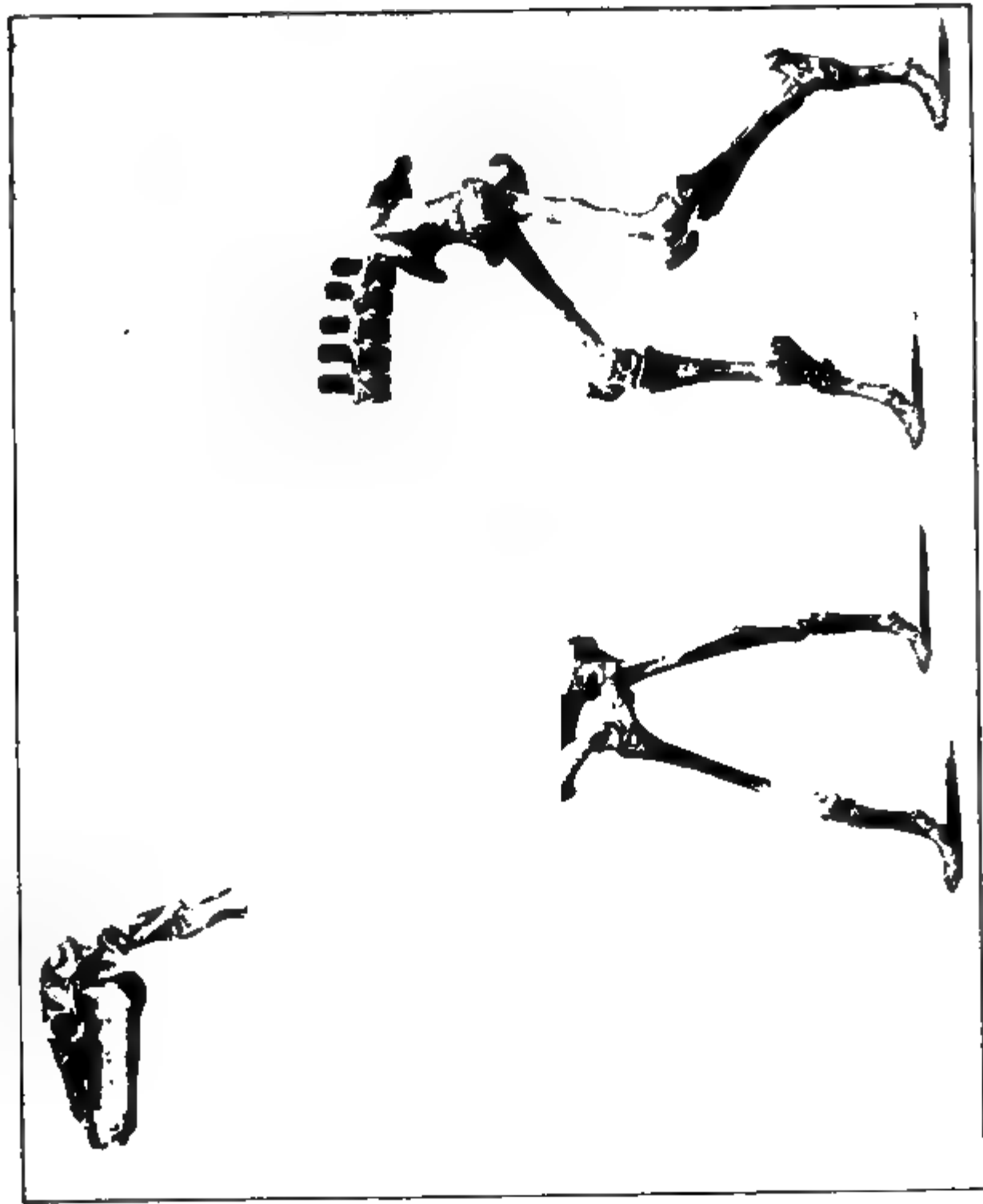


FIG. 5.—SLIGHTLY IMPERFECT SKELETON OF THE MACRAUCHENIA.

(From a specimen in the La Plata Museum.)

Approximate Scale ; ————— (1 inch) = 2 feet.

their very description is a difficult matter. Strangest and most bizarre of all is, perhaps, the *macrauchenia* (fig. 5), a three-toed ungulate of the size and proportions of a camel, with the nose-cavity opening in the middle of the forehead, and the muzzle not improbably ending in a short trunk. In spite of its three-toed feet, with the middle digit the largest, the *macrauchenia* is so unlike all modern odd-toed ungulates (horses, rhinoceroses, and tapirs) that it is placed by most naturalists in a group apart. Curiously enough, in the mode in which the arteries pierce the vertebræ of the neck, this creature resembles the camels and the guanaco and its allies, and no other living mammals. Nevertheless this cannot be regarded as an indication of affinity with that group. The teeth, which have the unusual peculiarity of forming a continuous unbroken series, are quite unlike those of all living mammals, although (as shown by certain earlier forms mentioned below) they more nearly resemble the teeth of the odd-toed ungulates than those of any other group.

In striking contrast to the slender and stilted form of the long-necked *macrauchenia* was the squat and bulky *toxodon*, a model of whose skeleton may be seen in the Natural History Museum. In dimensions and build this creature was more like a rhinoceros, which it resembled in having three-toed feet; but the head was carried unusually low, and, in addition to many peculiarities in the skeleton, the ever-growing and curiously curved cheek-teeth (whence the name *toxodon*) are of an altogether unique type. A distant relation of the *toxodon*, the *typotherium*, was a smaller animal, with a skull and teeth so like those of a rodent that it was formerly regarded as a member of that order. True rodents, more or less nearly akin to the living types now characteristic of South America, abounded during the deposition of the pampas mud. At a somewhat earlier period flourished a giant carpincho or capibara, comparable in bulk to an ox; the living species, which is the largest of existing rodents, not exceeding a small pig in size.

It should be added that some of the glyptodons wandered as far north as Texas, while one species of ground-sloth, generically identical with the mylodons (of which, indeed, it forms the type), has left its remains in

the well-known Mammoth Cave of Kentucky and elsewhere in the United States, and those of a second and generically distinct form—the *megalonix*—occur in the Big-bone Cave of Tennessee.

Brief and imperfect as has been this sketch of the fauna of the Argentine when the Plate River and its tributaries were bringing down the rich mud which now forms the pampas, it is sufficient to show that its general character was very similar to the fauna of the country at the present day. There were, for instance, certain animals belonging to groups with a wide geographical distribution, while others pertained to types more or less exclusively confined to South and Central America. It is true that at the epoch in question there flourished several groups of animals, mostly of large bodily size, which have no living representatives; but this feature was nearly paralleled in Europe at the same epoch, although many of the larger extinct forms of that area, such as elephants and rhinoceroses, have living representatives in other parts of the world.

Let the scene be now shifted to Patagonia at an epoch considerably antecedent to the one during which the pampas mud was deposited, and we shall find a wondrous change in the character of the fauna. As fossils of this epoch are met with in vast abundance in the Santa Cruz district of Patagonia, it has been found convenient to apply that name to the epoch itself, while for the period when the large ground-sloths and glyptodons flourished the term 'pampean' has been found appropriate.

At the Santa Cruz epoch cats, sabre-tooth tigers, dogs, bears, coatis, horses, tapirs, peccaries, guanaco, and deer were wanting; and the fauna was altogether unlike that of any other part of the globe. Monkeys were indeed present, as were also ground-sloths and glyptodons; but the representatives of these two latter groups were dwarfs as compared with their descendants of the pampean period, the skulls of many of the ground-sloths not being more than six or seven inches in length. Armadilloes—one of them with a full series of front teeth—were as abundant as at the present day; and hoofed mammals attained a development far beyond that of succeeding epochs. The giant toxodon of the pampean epoch was represented by

the smaller *nesodon*, a truly marvellous creature, remarkable, among many other features, for the difference between the dentition of the immature, as compared with the adult animal. If not the direct ancestor of the *toxodon*, it was evidently a near relative. Other smaller ungulates, themselves distant cousins of the *toxodons* and *nesodons*, are of especial interest on account of an apparent relationship to the little *hyraxes* or *dassies* of Africa and Syria, the miscalled coneys of the Bible, which are now the sole representatives of a distinct group of ungulates. The pampean *macrauchenia* had also several smaller forerunners. But stranger far were certain ungulates—the *prototheres* as they are called—which rivalled the horses in the specialisation of their feet, although there is not the remotest direct relationship between the two groups. One kind, for example, resembled the extinct three-toed horses of Europe and North America in the number of its digits, while in a second the toes were reduced to a single one in each foot, precisely as in modern horses—and in no other animals in the world, either living or extinct. Truly a marvellous instance of what naturalists term parallel development.

Several other hoofed mammals—and these of large size—are quite unlike those from any other part of the world, one of the most extraordinary being the *astrapotherium*, a monstrous creature with cheek-teeth distantly recalling those of the rhinoceroses, but with a huge pair of sabre-like tusks in the upper jaw, and spatulate lower front teeth of a perfectly unique type. Another species, the *homalodontotherium*, had, like the *macrauchenia*, a uniform series of teeth in the jaws, without any gaps or any tusks. Of a third type, the *pyrotherium*, the affinities are so problematical that while some naturalists have regarded it as a primitive relation of the elephants, others have thought it might be a gigantic marsupial.

Here it may be remarked as a notable circumstance that not a single one of the ungulates peculiar to South America (that is to say, exclusive of the deer, which, as we shall see, are immigrants) was furnished with horns; while nearly all, save the *astrapotherium*, had likewise the dentition of a type unadapted for attack or defence. The reason is not far to seek. Till the sabre-toothed tiger and

the bear invaded their territory from the north, they had no very large and powerful carnivora against which to contend. What proportion of them may have succumbed in later times to the sabre-tooth is an interesting problem for consideration.

The types of rodents characteristic of South America at the present day, together with a number of more or less closely allied extinct groups, abounded in the country during the Santa Cruz period; and the marsupial selvas, now reduced to a few species which maintain a precarious existence in the wilds of Colombia, were then a numerous and flourishing tribe. Most unexpected was the discovery in this Patagonian formation of remains of carnivorous marsupials so closely resembling the existing striped wolf or *thylacine* of Tasmania that there can be but little hesitation in referring them to the same group. Whether opossums lived in Patagonia during the period under consideration is not easy to determine from the materials before us.

The fossil birds and reptiles were no less remarkable than the mammals, although our knowledge of both is at present somewhat scanty. One Santa Cruz bird, the giant seriema, with a skull (fig. 6) as large and as heavy as that of a horse, is perhaps the most remarkable member of its class found in any part of the world. Apparently allied to the living seriema, and evidently quite incapable of flight, this extraordinary and gigantic bird, in which the depth of the forepart of the skull is one of the most noteworthy features, seems to have set all ordinary principles at defiance and attained a most unwieldy development of head accompanied, of necessity, by great strength of leg. What could have been the special use to its owner of such an enormous head passes conjecture. From a distributional point of view not less remarkable is the occurrence in the Santa Cruz formation of a huge side-necked tortoise belonging to the extinct genus *Miolania*, of which the only other known representative is Australian.

In the foregoing brief review of the present and past mammalian fauna of South America, full emphasis has been laid on the peculiarity of that fauna as a whole, and on its divergence from that of any other part of

FIG. 6.—SIDE VIEW OF SKULL OF THE GIANT SERPENT.
(After Dr. C. W. Andrews.)
Approximate Scale: | ————— | (1 inch) = $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

the world. But the reader will not fail to notice that this peculiarity was much more marked during the Santa Cruz epoch than in pampean and modern times. In the Santa Cruz epoch horses, tapirs, peccaries, guanaco, mastodons, cats, sabre-tooths, bears, coatis, and foxes were unknown; and the fauna of the country consisted almost entirely of monkeys, bats, rodents, edentates, hoofed animals of a type unknown elsewhere, and marsupials. Since, at the same epoch, North America had an abundant fauna of its own, totally different in character, it is evident that during the Santa Cruz epoch South America must have been cut off from the land to the north of the isthmus of Panama and have formed an island-continent by itself, where its fauna was free to develop without interference.

It is important to observe that the theory of a primitive isolation of the South American continent is strongly supported by geological evidence. It is, however, quite clear that the isolation could not have always existed, or, at all events, could not always have been complete; otherwise the ancestors of its present mammals could never have effected an entrance into the country. It has been suggested that no land communication existed between North and South America since the long-distant epoch when the chalk was deposited at the bottom of the old British sea; and that the ancestors of the edentates and ungulates of the Santa Cruz epoch must have entered South America by some other route, perhaps by means of a land-bridge connecting that country with South Africa. The apparent ancestral relationship of the extinct ganodonts to the edentates, coupled with the fact that the former have not yet been discovered in Africa, and appear to have been poorly represented in Europe, suggests, however, that there may have been a brief connexion by which these animals were enabled to enter South America from the north, where they were abundant.

As to the place of origin of the ancestors of the South American hoofed mammals—which, as already said, are quite unlike those from any other part of the world—the probability seems to be in favour of Africa. An important piece of evidence in support of this view is the fact that the *hyraxes* and their extinct allies—to which

we have already alluded as being apparently the nearest relatives of some of the South American ungulates—are to be found only in Africa, Syria, and (in a fossil state) Southern Europe. As already remarked, the present and past distribution of the greaved tortoises is suggestive of migration by the same route. Whether this presumed connexion with Africa took place in subequatorial latitudes across one of the two great oceans, or by way of the antarctic continent, is a point to which no definite answer can at present be given. But wherever it occurred it must apparently have been of but brief duration, and not very suitable to a free passage of animals, since otherwise the African and South American faunas would probably have been much less unlike than is found to be the case. The reader may here remark that if one group of South American animals reached their home from Africa, the statement that a second group came from North America requires very strong evidence; and it may eventually turn out that the ancestral glyptodons and ground-sloths also migrated to South America from the Dark Continent, some support to this view being afforded by the Malagasy edentate bone referred to above. On the other hand, it is quite conceivable that, while the earlier forms may (as suggested above) have entered South America from the north, the later giant types reached Madagascar at a subsequent date from South America by way of Africa.

The greatest puzzle of all is, however, presented by the occurrence of the aforesaid marsupials of an Australian type in the Santa Cruz deposits of Patagonia. We have already remarked that the similarity between certain fresh-water tortoises of South America and Madagascar may be explained by the independent migration of both from the northern hemisphere; and, bearing this in mind, the reader may well ask why a similar explanation might not hold good for the marsupials. To this it may be replied that, even if the explanation in question held good for the tortoises (which is improbable), fossil tortoises akin to those of South America and Madagascar are met with in many parts of the northern hemisphere (inclusive of England, Egypt, and India), while marsupials of an Australian type are unknown in the fossil condition save in Australia and Patagonia. There is consequently every

reason to believe that the Australasian marsupial group originated in the southern hemisphere.

If this be so, we have very strong evidence of a former land-connexion between Australasia and South America, possibly by way of Antarctica, or, as we should be more inclined to believe, farther north. Such a connexion would also explain the anomalous distribution of the tortoises of the genus *Miolania*, which, on account of their specialised characters, it is difficult to believe can be of northern origin. The striking difference between the faunas of Australia and South America shows, however, that any land-connexion formerly existing between the two areas cannot have permitted of much interchange of animals, and is not therefore likely to have taken the form of a wide and continuous tract of land.

Leaving conjecture, however, we may revert to the undoubted fact that, during the deposition of the bone-bearing formations at Santa Cruz, South America formed an isolated continent, perhaps still partially connected by chains of islands with Australia or South Africa, or both. Here flourished in undisturbed possession of the country the ancestral spider-monkeys, marmosets, glyptodons, armadilloes, ungulates, rodents, and selvas, some of which developed into their gigantic successors of the pampas period, while others, like the *astrapotheres* and *prototheres*, died out without descendants.

During the interval which elapsed between the epochs when the animals of the Santa Cruz and the pampas deposits were respectively at their zenith, a marked change must have taken place in the geography of the central portion of the American continent, for in formations which were deposited during this interval we have the first evidence of an invasion of South America by new forms of animal life, which could only have come from the north. This, of course, implies that the island-continent of South America had become connected by land with North America, probably in very much the same manner as is the case at the present day. Along the new land-bridge—the isthmus of Panama, we may as well call it—the cats, sabre-toothed tigers, bears, fox-like dogs, mastodons, tapirs, horses, peccaries, guanaco, deer, rats, mice, rheas, and perhaps opossums, which had for long ages been confined to North America, flowed southward in

a great stream to mingle with the animals indigenous to the old southern island-continent. Nor did the incursion seem to do much harm to the original possessors of the land; for although, as we have seen, a number of members of the Santa Cruz fauna died out before the advent of the pampas period, yet it was during the latter that the peculiar forms of South American animal life—the glyptodons, ground-sloths, macrauchenias, and toxodons—attained their maximum development in size.

While the immigrants from the north were making themselves quite at home in the southern continent, the original denizens of the latter were by no means idle, but promptly set about sending colonising expeditions into North America. In this manner the great ground-sloth of the Mammoth Cave reached Kentucky, while a glyptodon or two wandered as far as Texas, and the Canadian porcupine ranged to the more northern districts. But somehow or other the old South American animals were by no means such good colonisers as their northern rivals, and acquired but a very poor hold in their new country, which, somewhat before this time, probably received, as immigrants from the Old World, its wapiti, elk, bison, and big-horn sheep, none of which ever succeeded in getting so far south as the isthmus of Panama.

The rest of the history of South America is soon told. Shortly after the pampean fauna attained its maximum development, a great physical or climatic change appears to have taken place. The ground-sloths, as we have seen, and not improbably also the macrauchenias and mastodons, were animals which could not apparently have existed save in a well-wooded country. The pampas are now, for the most part, as bare as a billiard-table, except, of course, where trees have been planted round the homesteads. Some cause, we know not what, must have led to the disappearance of the forests, and with them of the old giant fauna. Here the reader may well remark that Brazil has always been a forest-country, and that, although the disappearance of the forests in Argentina may have been the cause of the extinction of the ground-sloths, glyptodons, and macrauchenias in that part of the continent, there is no apparent reason why they should not have continued to flourish till the present day in the teeming forests of the Amazons and the Orinoco. We

must reply that this is still one of the unsolved zoological problems of South America.

The literature relating to the extinct fauna of South America has of late years grown at a rapid rate, and the list of memoirs cited at the head of the present article includes only a very small selection from the mass of recent publications. Unfortunately a large proportion of this literature is, in our opinion, altogether superfluous. Several collectors and palæontologists residing in Argentina have done splendid work in gathering together immense accumulations of valuable remains from the Patagonian deposits. They have, however, a craze for applying strings of generic and specific names to specimens which, in many cases, appear too imperfect to allow of their true affinities being determined with any approach to certainty. In this manner has arisen a portentous list of species which, it may be confidently predicted, will have to be largely reduced in the future. Nor is this all, for many of the generic names proposed on the evidence of such specimens are not only barbarous and inelegant, but absolutely ludicrous. Not content with making anagrams of legitimate names, such as *xotodon* from *toxodon*, the writer whose name stands first on our list has proposed to use such preposterous terms as *Thomaso-huxleya* and *Gulielmo-floweria* as the designations of extinct Patagonian mammals.

But the most fruitful source of controversy relates to the geological age of the Santa Cruz and other Patagonian fossiliferous deposits, several of which are regarded by the Argentine palæontologists as of Eocene age, while others are correlated with the European Cretaceous. Unless all our generally accepted ideas of mammalian evolution are hopelessly wrong, such an antiquity for the Patagonian faunas appears an impossibility. Fortunately the palæontologists of the United States have sent at least one expedition to Patagonia; and when the materials obtained by them have been fully worked out and described, we may hope for a revision of many of the hasty theories and correlations which have been advanced in regard to the deposits in question.

R. LYDEKKER.

Art. III.—THE QUEEN OF THE 'BLUE-STOCKINGS.'

1. *The Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, with some of the Letters of her Correspondents.* Published by Matthew Montagu, Esq., M.P., her nephew and executor. Four vols. London, 1809–1813.
2. *An Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespear.* By Mrs Montagu. Fifth edition. London, 1785.
3. *A Lady of the Last Century (Mrs Elizabeth Montagu), illustrated in her unpublished Letters.* By Dr Doran, F.S.A. London: Bentley, 1873.
4. *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville (Mrs Delany).* Edited by Lady Llanover. Six vols. London: Bentley, 1861–1862.
5. *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay.* Seven vols. London: Colburn, 1842–1846.

THE origin of the term 'blue-stocking' has been a matter of some dispute. Boswell tells us in his 'Life of Johnson' that

'About this time [1781] it was much the fashion for several ladies to have evening assemblies, where the fair sex might participate in conversation with literary and ingenious men, animated by a desire to please. These societies were denominated *Blue-stocking Clubs*, the origin of which title, being little known, it may be worth while to relate it. One of the most eminent members of those societies, when they first commenced, was Mr Stillingfleet, whose dress was remarkably grave, and in particular it was observed that he wore blue stockings. Such was the excellence of his conversation, that his absence was felt as so great a loss that it used to be said, "We can do nothing without the *blue-stockings*"; and thus by degrees the title was established.'

Dr Doran, commenting on this, declares that a 'Blue-stocking Club' never existed; but that the title 'blue-stocking' was conferred in derision upon the ladies referred to by Boswell by some envious person who was not intellectually distinguished enough to gain admittance to their parties. According to Dr Brewer, however, the sobriquet is of much greater antiquity. He assures us that so far back as A.D. 1400 there was a society of ladies and gentlemen in Venice who were thus distinguished by the colour of their stockings; that this was the parent of a similar society which, about 1590,

became the rage amongst the lady *savantes* of Paris; and that, nearly two centuries later still, the craze came from Paris to London, when 'Mrs Montagu displayed the badge of the Bas-bleu Club at her evening assemblies.' The balance of probability inclines to show that it was the cerulean hose of the ladies, and not those of Mr Stillingfleet, which gave rise to the term in England, and that Dr Doran was in error in assuming it to be merely an outsider's term of disparagement. Mr Hayward, in his edition of Mrs Piozzi's 'Autobiography,' states that he was allowed to make a copy of some notes of a conversation between a lady (whose name he does not give) and Lady Crewe in 1816, according to which Lady Crewe asserted that her mother (Mrs Greville), the Duchess of Portland, and Mrs Montagu were the first to imitate the famous conversation parties of the Rue St Honoré; that Madame de Polignac, one of the first guests, came in blue silk stockings, then the newest Paris fashion; and that all the lady members of Mrs Montagu's 'club' adopted the mode. In further confirmation of this it was stated that a French gentleman, writing an account of an evening he had spent at Mrs Montagu's, expressly mentioned that 'they wear blue stockings as a distinction.'

Whatever may have been the origin of the term by which they were described, it is pretty clear that previous to 1750 no such parties, for the purpose of conversation only, had ever been held in London. There is no reference to anything of the kind in the letters or other writings of Addison, Steele, Swift, or Pope; and although Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, Lady Hervey, the Duchess of Queensberry, and others, were distinguished and courted as ladies of intellectual taste and ability, no one of them ever seems to have attempted to form anything in the nature of the French *salon*. It is equally certain, whoever may have the credit of being first in the field, that about the year 1770, eleven years, that is, before the date mentioned by Boswell, several ladies were in the habit of holding more or less celebrated assemblies of the kind in London. Hannah More says that they were composed of persons distinguished for their rank, talents, or respectable character, and that they differed from other parties only in devoting themselves to conversation instead of cards. But, whether held at Mrs Vesey's, Mrs Ord's, Mrs Thrale's,

70 THE QUEEN OF THE 'BLUE-STOCKINGS'

or Mrs Montagu's, any party presided over by a lady, or to which ladies as well as scholars were invited, became known as a 'blue-stocking' assembly. Neither Mrs Ord's nor Mrs Vesey's parties could bear comparison with those of the other London ladies, to say nothing of those of their French prototypes. But if it be true, as Mr Hayward says, that only Holland House in its best days would convey to persons living in our time an adequate conception of the circle Mrs Thrale gathered round her at Streatham, certainly no less praise must be given to 'that brilliant society which quoted, criticised, and exchanged repartees under the rich peacock hangings of Mrs Montagu,' the fashionable and intellectual lady who was emphatically designated by Johnson himself as indisputably 'Queen of the Blues.' In 1809 Mr Matthew Montagu, her nephew and heir, published two volumes of his aunt's letters; and in 1813 he followed these up with two more volumes, containing her correspondence down to the year 1761. In 1872 Dr Doran founded a memoir of Mrs Montagu on these documents, which he was happily able to supplement by a batch of her letters, written between the last-named date and her death, which had been picked up in manuscript at a sale of autographs. One wonders that these vivacious letters have never been reprinted; for, with a little judicious pruning, they would form a moderate-sized volume of exceptionally good reading. They show much wit, keen observation, and not a little wisdom; they reveal the growth, almost from childhood to old age, of a piquant as well as admirable personality; and, covering as they do a period of something like seventy-five years, they incidentally throw many an illuminating side-light on the manners and customs of our forebears in the eighteenth century.

The lady came of a good family. Her father, Matthew Robinson, was descended from a line of Scottish barons, who, from 1610 to 1769, owned the estate of Rokeby, since celebrated as the scene of Sir Walter Scott's well-known poem. Her mother was a beautiful heiress, who brought her young husband more than one substantial estate. Of the twelve children who were born to this happily circumstanced couple, nine survived; and Elizabeth and her sister Sarah grew up in the constant companionship of seven affectionate brothers. They appear to have all

been bright, lively, capable children; and we hear of a sort of family debating society which they instituted among themselves, both girls and boys taking part in the debates, and obeying the rulings of their mother, who presided as 'Mrs Speaker.' Both the sisters had a literary bent; and Elizabeth is said to have copied out the whole of the 'Spectator' before she was eight years old—a task which doubtless to some extent accounts for the precocious facility of her epistolary style. The greater number of the letters she wrote between the ages of twelve and twenty-two were addressed to a friend five years older than herself, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, who in 1734 became Duchess of Portland. Elizabeth's younger years were spent mainly in the country, at one or other of her father's several estates, and she managed to make country-life yield a good deal of amusement, both to herself and to her various correspondents. She was as fond of dancing, she says, as if she had been bitten by a tarantula, and had often gone with her brothers eight miles on a winter evening to dance to the music of a blind fiddler, returning at two in the morning, mightily pleased with her entertainment. In 1738, when living at Horton in Kent, she travelled the same number of miles (probably to the same place) to see a play; and 'after the play, the gentlemen invited all the women to supper at the inn, where we stayed until two o'clock in the morning.' Even after that hour she was able apparently to enjoy something in the nature of an afterpiece, for she says, 'before I had gone two miles (on the homeward journey) I had the pleasure of being overturned, at which I squalled for joy.' In relating a similar experience to another correspondent, she adds, 'One visits in the country at the hazard of one's bones; but fear is never so powerful with me as to make me stay at home'; contemplation, as she sagely observes, suiting prodigiously well with the gout or the rheumatism, but 'not being made for a woman on the right side of thirty.' As she was then only eighteen, the time for contemplation must have seemed far enough off. Country-life, however, even for girls, was not entirely made up of plays and dances. Writing to Miss Donellan, this precocious young lady declares:

'I endeavour to drink deep of philosophy, and be wise when I cannot be merry, easy when I cannot be glad, content

72 THE QUEEN OF THE 'BLUE-STOCKINGS'

with what cannot be mended, and patient where there is no redress. The mighty can do no more, and the wise seldom do as much.'

In the summer of 1739 she was banished from home for fear she should take the smallpox, which had already attacked her sister; and the company she was then thrown amongst was very little to her taste. 'If things were as in *Æsop's* days,' she writes, 'when beasts could talk, the country might be a place of conversation'; but although she had never yet heard a calf talk like a squire's eldest son, she has seen many a specimen of the latter who talked and looked like a calf. She was therefore, according to her own account, thrown back on former ages for her associates; Cicero's and Plutarch's heroes being the only available company. In this condition of things the prospect of a visit to Bath was regarded with enthusiasm. But, at any rate on first acquaintance, the gaiety of this celebrated watering-place did not come up to her expectations. Her friend the Duchess of Portland was soon apprised of her experiences.

'The day after I arrived I went to the Ladies' Coffee House where I heard of nothing but rheumatism in the shoulder, sciatica in the hip, and gout in the toe. I began to fancy myself in the hospital or infirmary. . . . "How d'ye do?" is all one hears in the morning, and "What is trumps?" in the afternoon. . . . As for the men, except Lord Noel Somerset, they are altogether abominable.'

A few days later there is more in the same strain:—

'I should be glad to send you some news, but all the news of the place would be like the bills of mortality. We hear of nothing but, "Mr Such-a-one is not abroad to-day." "Oh, no," says another, "poor gentleman, he died this morning." Then another cries, "My party was made for quadrille to-night, but one of the gentlemen has had a second stroke of palsy, and cannot come. . . ." Indeed the only thing one can do to-day we did not do the day before is to die. Not that I would be hurried by a love of variety and novelty to do so irreparable a thing as dying.'

Her visits to Bath and to Tunbridge Wells, however, seem to have been a welcome change from the monotony of country-house life; and she possessed the enviable faculty of being always able to carry her own gaiety and

high spirits whithersoever she went. There were visits to London also, when Vauxhall and Ranelagh were in all their glory; and in 1740 we find her at the Court of St James's, striking up what proved to be a life-long friendship with Mr (afterwards Lord) Lyttelton.

About this time Miss Robinson's friends seem to have shown some anxiety to get her settled in life. Her friend the Duchess of Portland had given her the pet nickname of 'Fidget'; and it was admitted on all hands that 'Fidget' was not only a 'most entertaining creature,' but also a beauty, who ought to make a good match. She was much admired for the peculiar animation and expression of her blue eyes; and her brilliant complexion contrasted well with dark, highly-arched eyebrows, and dark brown hair. The miniature of her, in Anne Boleyn costume, painted by Zinck when she was twenty-four, of which an engraving by Cooper is given in the first volume of her letters, certainly shows an extremely pleasing countenance. But the young lady was by no means easy to please in the matter of suitors. War was in the air then as it is now; but soldiers she scoffed at as fops who would die of a panic and save their enemy's powder. Country squires were still less to her taste. 'To love calves one should be a calf,' she contended, and declared herself perfectly assured that the young squires, like calves, really loved a dairymaid much better than the likes of her. As for modern marriages in general, she says, in language which sounds somewhat startling from the mouth of a young damsel of twenty, 'they are great infringers of the baptismal vow; for it is commonly the pomps and vanities of this wicked world on the one side, and the sinful lusts of the flesh on the other.' A year or so previously, she had drawn a sketch of her ideal lover for the Duchess of Portland, adding significantly,

'I never saw one man that I loved.' The Dean of Canterbury was gravely informed—'I have lately studied my own foibles, and have found that I should make a very silly wife, and an extremely foolish mother, and so have as far resolved as is consistent with deference to reason and advice, never to trouble any man, or to spoil any children.'

But to her sister, who supposed she had bestowed all her love on the heroes of antiquity, she wrote: 'A living man

74 THE QUEEN OF THE 'BLUE-STOCKINGS

is better than a dead hero'; and 'I believe I shall do my errand before many people think.' That errand she accomplished, very much to her own, and apparently everybody else's satisfaction, in August 1742, when she was married to Edward Montagu, Esquire, M.P. for Huntingdon, who was much older than herself, but acceptable to the young lady's taste, as being a man of culture and considerable intellectual attainments, and to her prudence, as being a very wealthy coal-owner. Young ladies of to-day will learn with some surprise that in the eighteenth century it would have been thought highly improper for a newly-married couple to go off on their honeymoon without a chaperon, and that when Mr and Mrs Edward Montagu set out for one of the bridegroom's estates in the North, the bride's sister was their travelling companion.

The day after the wedding she wrote to her Duchess:—

'I have a great hope of happiness; the world, as you say, speaks well of Mr Montagu, and I have many obligations to him which must gain my particular esteem; but such a change of life must furnish one with a thousand anxious thoughts.'

There was no need for anxiety, as it happened. Their thirty-three years of married life appear to have been highly satisfactory to both parties, though sadly clouded by the death, in infancy, of their only child in 1744. Mr Montagu was much occupied with his coal-mines, the care of his various estates, and occasionally with his parliamentary duties. His relaxations seem to have been mainly of a mathematical character; but he very wisely left his young wife to do as she pleased, with the result that, although she spent a good deal of time in paying friendly visits to most of the great houses of the country, she also threw herself with enthusiasm into her husband's business affairs. Their correspondence shows that they always remained on friendly and affectionate terms.

Mr Montagu's Yorkshire neighbours, however, were not to her liking. She tells her Duchess that they are ignorant, absurd, uncouth, and for the most part drunken and vicious, hypocrites and profligates. She has been fortunate in not having a single person overcome by drink in her house; but most of the poor ladies in the neighbourhood, she declares, have had more hogs in their

drawing-room than ever they had in their pig-sty! At Sandlesford, in Berkshire, another of her husband's houses, she found much more congenial society. But, wherever she might be, the salient characteristics of her surroundings, pleasant or unpleasant, are vividly sketched off for the benefit of one or other of her correspondents. While staying at Tunbridge Wells she met Dr Young, author of the 'Night Thoughts,' and wrote a comical account of her first interview with him. He improved on acquaintance, and she really seems to have had much admiration for his conversational power and sterling sense; but she was perpetually poking fun at him. After dining with her one day, he proposed to escort her and another lady to view some fine old ruins a few miles away from the town. The manner of their journey is thus described:—

'First rode the Doctor on a tall steed, decently caparisoned in dark grey; next ambled Mrs Holt on a hackney horse, lean as the famed Rozinante, but in shape more resembling Sancho's ass; then followed your humble servant on a milk-white palfrey, whose reverence for humankind induced him to be governed by a creature not half as strong, and I fear scarce thrice as wise as himself. By this enthusiasm of his, rather than my own skill, I rode on in safety, and at leisure to observe the company, especially the two figures that brought up the rear. The first was my servant, valiantly armed with two uncharged pistols . . . the last was the Doctor's man, whose uncombed hair so resembled the mane of the horse he rode one could not help imagining they were of kin, and wishing, for the honour of the family, that they had had one comb betwixt them; on his head was a velvet cap, much resembling a black saucepan, and at his side hung a little basket. . . . To tell you how the dogs barked at us, the children squalled, and the men and women stared, would take up too much time.'

What the ruins were like we know not, for, happily, in place of an archæological or historical disquisition, she gives us something infinitely more bright and entertaining, namely, a life-like pen-and-ink sketch of the vicar of the place.

'The good parson offered to show us the inside of his church, but made some apology for his undress, which was a true canonical dishabille. He had on a grey striped calamanco

night-gown; a wig that once was white, but, by the influence of an uncertain climate turned to a pale orange; a brown hat encompassed by a black hat-band; a band somewhat dirty, that decently retired under the shadow of his chin; a pair of grey stockings, well mended with blue worsted, strong symptoms of the conjugal care and affection of his wife, who had mended his hose with the very worsted she had bought for her own.'

From about 1750 onwards Mrs Montagu endeavoured to make her husband's town-house in Hill Street the centre of attraction, not only for people of fashion, but for all who were in any way distinguished for their intellectual powers. In fact the people of fashion were at a discount unless they had other claims to her notice. Among the ladies who were oftenest to be found there were the Duchess of Portsmouth, Mrs Greville (wife of Fulke Greville), Mrs Boscawen, and Johnson's friend, Mrs Thrale. But there is frequent mention also of Mrs Carter, the learned translator of Epictetus; of Mrs Chapone, a lady whose 'superior mental attainments' were, says Wraxall, unfortunately hidden beneath 'a most repulsive exterior'; of the estimable, if somewhat unduly moralising, Hannah More; and of the modest and retiring, but ever delightful Fanny Burney. Amongst the men, first and foremost, of course, stands the figure of the great Cham of literature, Dr Johnson. But in his suite were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Burke, Garrick, Horace Walpole, Pulteney (afterwards Earl of Bath), George, first Lord Lyttelton, Robertson, Blair, Gregory, and in fact all the scholars and literary men of the day. Rising literary aspirants were not neglected; and authors like Beattie, who came to London with his 'Minstrel' in 1771, were welcomed with no less cordiality than were distinguished foreigners such as the Abbé Raynal. Mrs Montagu began with breakfast parties—a form of literary reunion which survived down to the days of Samuel Rogers and Crabb Robinson. We are indebted to Madame Bocage, a French lady who visited London in 1750, for a description of one of these breakfasts:—

'We breakfasted to-day at Lady (sic) Montagu's, in a closet lined with painted paper of Pekin, and furnished with the choicest movables of China. A long table, covered with the finest linen, presented to the view a thousand(!) glittering

cups, which contained coffee, chocolate, biscuits, cream, butter, toasts, and exquisite tea. You must understand that there is no good tea to be had anywhere but in London. The mistress of the house, who deserves to be served at the table of the gods, poured it out herself.'

Madame Bocage adds the interesting detail that the dress of the English ladies at these breakfast-parties included a white apron and a pretty straw hat. The manners of the English ladies, however, seem to have been by no means as pretty as their dress. Mrs Montagu's sister, writing to her brother in Rome about this time, complains of the rate at which nobility are being made in England, and adds: 'Lady Townshend says she dare not spit out of her window for fear of spitting on a lord!'

In 1769 appeared Mrs Montagu's 'Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespear,' a reply to Voltaire's jealous strictures on our great dramatist. The little book at first appeared anonymously, but she soon became known as its author, and subsequent editions, of which there were several, were issued under her name. Burke, Reynolds, Lyttelton, Cowper, and others, expressed much admiration for the essay; but Johnson would not admit that there was any real criticism in it. When Reynolds observed that he thought it did her honour, Johnson replied, 'Yes, sir, it does *her* honour, but it would do nobody else honour.' And when Garrick urged that she had at least shown how much Voltaire had mistaken Shakespeare, he sarcastically asked, 'What merit is there in that?' adding, 'You may as well praise a schoolmaster for whipping a boy who has construed ill.' Johnson was always ready enough to commend Mrs Montagu's conversation; but when she ventured into the realm of serious authorship, he was equally ready with his critical bludgeon. The essay on Shakespeare, however, is not a very illuminating performance; and when Dr Doran asserts that it may still be read with pleasure, the present writer, for one, is unable to agree with him. There appear to have been others besides Johnson who could not read it through even in 1769. The Dowager Countess Gower wrote from Bill Hill in Berkshire to Mrs Delany in August of that year:—

'I'll change my subject to y^e witty and gay: fortune has bless'd y^e forest wth y^e genius's of y^e age. Mrs Montagu, Mrs

78 THE QUEEN OF THE 'BLUE-STOCKINGS'

Carter, Mrs Dunbar, &c. &c. and L^d Littleton are at Suſing Wells, and sport sentim^{ts} from morn till noon, from noon to dewy eve. I molest 'em not, contenting myself in my rustick simplicity, 'tis a stupidity y^t may be felt I don't doubt—but not by me. Mrs Montagu has commenced author, in *vindication* of Shakspear, who *wants none*, therefore her performance must be deem'd a work of supererogation; some commend it. I'll have y^t, because I can throw it aside w^h I'm tired.'

Mrs Montagu had first entered the ranks of authorship some nine years previously, when she contributed (anonymously, of course) three conversations to her friend Lord Lyttelton's 'Dialogues of the Dead.' These three dialogues may still be read with a great deal more pleasure than her essay on Shakespeare. No. xxvii in particular, between Mercury and a modern fine lady, is at least as good as anything else in Lyttelton's book. Mercury calls upon Mrs Modish to conduct her across the Styx, and is flatly told that she cannot possibly come, on account of her engagements. When he answers that conjugal attachments and maternal duties, however meritorious they may be, cannot be accepted as an excuse, she sharply tells him that she did not mean anything of that kind, but if he will look on her chimneypiece he will see that she is engaged to the play on Mondays, balls on Tuesdays, the opera on Saturdays, and to card assemblies all the other days of the week. She admits, in answer to his questions, that late hours and fatigue give her the vapours, and that she gets little pleasure out of seeing the same thing over and over again; but her friends had always told her diversions were necessary; and besides, she was ambitious to be thought *du bon-ton*. '*Bon-ton!*' exclaims Mercury, 'What is that, madam. Pray define it.' And Mrs Modish replies:—

'Oh, sir, excuse me; it is one of the privileges of the *bon-ton* never to define, or be defined. It is the child and the parent of jargon. It is—I can never tell you what it is: but I will try to tell you what it is not. In conversation it is not wit; in manners it is not politeness; in behaviour it is not address; but it is a little like them all. It can only belong to people of a certain rank, who live in a certain manner, with certain persons, who have not certain virtues, and who have certain vices, and who inhabit a certain part of the town. Like a place by courtesy, it gets an higher rank

than the person can claim, but which those who have a legal title to precedence dare not dispute, for fear of being thought not to understand the rules of politeness. Now, sir, I have told you as much as I know of it, though I have admired and aimed at it all my life.'

Mercury regrets to hear that she has neglected her husband's happiness and her children's education for this nothing which is called *bon-ton*. But she hastens to assure him that she has spared no expense on her daughters' education; they have had a dancing-master, a drawing-master, and a French governess to teach them behaviour and the French language. Mercury, unfortunately, does not give us his views on the education of girls, but contents himself with telling Mrs Modish that her system is calculated to make her daughters 'wives without conjugal affection, and mothers without maternal care.' He is sorry for the life Mrs Modish has led, and sorry for what she is likely to lead in the future; hinting that she need not look for a Vauxhall and a Ranelagh in the Elysian Fields, as Minos has little sympathy with the *bon-ton*, and will probably push the like of her into Tartarus! The Mrs Modish dialogue was a great favourite with the town; and must certainly be admitted to be both good sense and fine satire.

In 1772 she spent a few days with Burke at Beaconsfield, finding the great man in his home to be an industrious farmer, a polite husband, a kind master, a charitable neighbour, and a most excellent companion. 'I have always found,' she remarks, 'that nothing is so gentle as the chief out of war, nor so serene and simple as the statesman out of place.' We are in the habit of thinking that it was our penny-post and halfpenny-press which abolished the art of letter-writing; but in 1773 we find her complaining that the art is already in its decline. In her early days, she says, she was a punctual (and, she might have added, prolific) correspondent; but lately she has come to feel that letter-writing is wasted labour.

'When newspapers only told weddings, births, and burials, a letter from London bore some value; but now that the public papers not only tell when men are born and dye, but every folly they contrive to insert between those periods, the literary correspondent has nothing left. Lies and dulness

used to be valued in manuscript, but printing has assumed a right over the lies of the day and the amusements of the hour.'

Having no children of her own, Mrs Montagu displayed much interest in the welfare of her nephews and nieces, endeavouring to have them brought up according to her own notions of a fitting education. They always stayed at one of Mr Montagu's houses during their vacations, and there are frequent kindly references to them throughout the letters. She was also a very capable woman of business. She declares that at one time she nearly put her eyes out with accounts, as that diligent person, her steward, expected her at certain times of the year to devote many hours a day to them. Her letters contain many references to farming, as well as other cognate matters, which show that she was a most industrious helpmate to her husband. In December 1766 she writes from Denton Castle, in Northumberland :—

'Business has taken up much of my time, and as we had farms to let against next May-day, and I was willing to see the new colliery begin to trade to London before I left the country, I had the prudence to get the better of my taste for society. I had this day the pleasure of a letter from Billingsgate (a polite part of the world for a lady to correspond with) that the first ships which were then arrived were very much approved. At Lynne they have also succeeded, and these are the two great coal markets. So now, as soon as I can get all the ends and bottoms of our business wound up, I shall set out for Hill Street.'

In 1775 Mr Montagu died, leaving the whole of his fortune, with the exception of a single legacy of 3000*l.*, to his widow. Horace Walpole wrote to Mason, in his usual flippant style, 'the husband of Mrs Montagu of Shakespeareshire is dead, and has left her an estate of 7000*l.* a year in her own power. Will you come and be a candidate for her hand? I conclude it will be given to a champion at some Olympic games, and were I she, I would sooner marry you than Pindar.' Mrs Montagu, however, required nobody to manage her estate, or assist in spending her money. A month or so after her husband's death we find her travelling north to deal in person with her new possessions. 'As Mr Montagu had

been always a very good landlord,' she tells her sister-in-law, 'I thought it right to show the good people they would have a kind landlady.' She therefore went over her farms, made personal acquaintance with the tenants, and invited them all to dine with her at some neighbouring inn. The Yorkshire farmers pleased her, as being a very different sort from those to be found in the south of England, the men more alert in their business, and the wives and daughters less given to ape the fine lady. And if her tenants knew their business, so, apparently, did she know hers. 'It is wickedness to let farms too dear,' she says, 'but it is also folly to let them too cheap.' So she seems to have got as much as she could for them, assuring herself that her Yorkshire tenants, while always willing to give as good a rent as their place deserved, were much too well aware of the nature of the undertaking to give any more. She did not even shrink from visiting her colliery; although the folk in that neighbourhood were much 'too rustick' for her liking, and spoke a dialect that was 'dreadful to the nerves.' It took her some time to get reconciled to seeing her fellow-creatures descend into the dark regions of the earth, and she says she was much comforted when she heard them singing in the pits. It was one of her maxims that 'nobody lives out of the world who is fit to live in it'; and in 1781 she began the building of Montagu House, her 'palace' as it came to be called, in Portman Square, where she entertained with great hospitality and splendour until old age and growing infirmities rendered her unequal to the effort.

Mrs Montagu's acquaintanceship with Johnson lasted, off and on, for over a quarter of a century. In 1759 she began to pay an annual allowance to his old friend and pensioner, Mrs Williams. Some years later he gave her offence by taking no notice of a card of invitation which she sent him. In 1775, hearing that she was detained in London by illness, he addressed her in extremely complimentary terms:—

'To have you detained among us by sickness is to enjoy your presence at too dear a rate. I suffer myself to be flattered with hope that only half the intelligence is true, and that you are now as well as to be able to leave us, and so knid as not to be willing.'

A few days later, on hearing that she has expressed a wish to see him, he says that if she will be pleased to accept of him after a certain specified date, 'till I am favoured with your answer, or despair of so much condescension, I shall suffer no engagement to fasten itself upon me.' In 1778 he felt that he was not altogether in her good graces—perhaps because he was conscious of having been extremely rude to her. Fanny Burney notes in her diary for that year that at Streatham one day he was complaining that she would not talk, when Mrs Thrale slyly struck in—'To-morrow, sir, Mrs Montagu dines here, and then you will have talk enough.' Dr Johnson, says Miss Burney, began to see-saw, with a countenance expressive of inward fun, and, after enjoying his thoughts for some time in silence, suddenly turned to her and cried:

'Down with her, Burney!—down with her!—spare her not!—attack her, fight her, and down with her at once! You are a rising wit, and she is at the top; and when I was beginning the world, the joy of my life was to fire at all the established wits! and then everybody loved to halloo me on. But there is no game now: but then, when I was new, to vanquish the great ones was all the delight of my poor little dear soul! So, at her, Burney—at her and down with her!'

After this outburst Mrs Thrale took occasion to remind the great Cham that he had put Mrs Montagu out of countenance the last time she came, and got him to promise that on the morrow he would not contradict her. Moreover, on Mrs Thrale asserting that Mrs Montagu was 'the first woman for literary knowledge in England, and if in England, I hope I may say in the world,' the burly Doctor conceded, 'I believe you may, madam. She diffuses more knowledge in her conversation than any woman I know, or, indeed, almost any man.' The publication of his 'Life of Lyttelton' in 1781, however, gave such offence to Mrs Montagu that there was a declaration of war between them. He one day remarked to Boswell: 'Mrs Montagu has dropt me. Now, sir, there are people whom one would very well like to drop, but would not be dropped by.' Fanny Burney reports a violent quarrel which Johnson had, sometime in the course of this or the following year, at the Thrales' house, with a Mr Pepys, on

the same subject of his 'Life of Lyttelton'; and describes the concern which was felt lest he should behave in a similar manner to Mrs Montagu, whom he called the head of the set of Lytteltonians, and 'Queen of the Blues,' Mr Pepys being only her prime minister. When they met, Mrs Montagu was very stately, and turned stiffly away from Johnson, without even courtesying to him, evidently firm in her resolve to speak to him no more. But he went up to her, and said roughly, 'Well, madam, what's become of your fine new house? I hear no more of it.' And, according to Miss Burney, the great dame was so frightened that she answered him, and was as civil as ever. Certainly, a little later on, when he wrote to inform her of the death of his and her pensioner, Mrs Williams, he received a very kind answer, and peace was proclaimed again. According to Wraxall, Johnson was the mainstay of all the 'blue-stocking' parties. 'I have seen the Duchess of Devonshire,' he declares, 'then in the first bloom of youth, hanging on the sentences that fell from Johnson's lips, and contending for the nearest place to his chair.' And after his death in 1784, it was the impossibility of finding any one to supply his place which caused such assemblies to die out by degrees.

When Fanny Burney first saw Mrs Montagu, the latter was verging on sixty years of age; and the young author of 'Evelina' describes her as middle-sized, very thin, infirm looking, with a sensible and penetrating countenance, and the air and manner of a woman of great parts, who was accustomed to being distinguished. At a conversation at the Thrales' some little time after, the same writer neatly says, 'Mrs Montagu was brilliant in diamonds, solid in judgment, critical in talk.' Sir William Wraxall, who first met Mrs Montagu in 1776, says that she was in good preservation, and did not look her age. She possessed great natural cheerfulness and a flow of animal spirits; led the conversation, and talked well on almost every subject; but appeared to him satirical and severe, rather than amiable and inviting, with a manner somewhat too sententious and dictatorial. He calls her the Madame du Deffand of the English capital, whose house constituted the central point of union for all who already were known, or who aspired to be known, for their talents and productions. But, in his view, her social supremacy was

established on more solid foundations than those of intellect; and he thinks she owed her distinction not more to the lustre of her talents than to the sumptuousness of her dinner-table. There was nothing womanly about her, he says; and then, almost in the same breath, draws attention to a characteristically feminine weakness.

'Destitute of taste in disposing the ornaments of her dress, she nevertheless studied or affected those aids more than would seem to have become a woman professing a philosophic mind. . . . Even when approaching to fourscore, this female weakness still accompanied her; nor could she relinquish her diamond necklace and bows . . . the perpetual ornament of her emaciated person. I used to think that these glittering appendages of opulence sometimes helped to dazzle the disputants whom her arguments might not always convince.'

As age crept on, her parties and visits became fewer; but in 1785 we hear of her making an appearance at one of the Queen's drawing-rooms, and—happily without any serious result—falling down the stairs. Her health was not robust, and she found much comfort in a one-horse chair which was made under the supervision and according to the design of Sir Richard Jebb, her physician. About this date she announces with much complacency that her favourite nephew (who was also her heir) is to be married to a young lady who is 'so formed and qualified as to please both the fancy and the judgment,' being the fortunate possessor of 45,000*l.* and contingencies, as well as of an excellent understanding, a pleasing countenance, and gentle and unaffected manners. The young couple were duly married at 'Marybonne' Church in July 1785; and she carried them off from the church door with her, in a post-chaise-and-four, to Sandleford, whence, after a short time, she reports the party as 'three as happy people as can be found in any part of the habitable globe.' The proverb about two being company and three none, was apparently unknown in the eighteenth century, at least in Mrs Montagu's circle.

The old vivacity never altogether disappeared from her letters, though they grew fewer in number. Charles Fox was reported to be in a very bad state of health; and she writes to her sister-in-law to say:

'His rapid journeys to England, on the news of the King's illness, have brought on him a violent complaint in the bowels,

which will, it is imagined, prove mortal. However, if it should, it will vindicate his character from the general report that he has no bowels, as has been most strenuously asserted by his creditors.'

Twice or thrice a week, she says, she invites seven or eight agreeable persons to dine with her, but scarcely ever goes out of the house from fear of the cold winds. But the old entertaining spirit would occasionally flicker up. On the occasion of the opening of her two great additional rooms at Montagu House—the 'room of cupid-ons,' which was painted with roses and jasmine intertwined with cupids, and the 'feather room,' which was enriched with hangings made by herself from the plumage of almost every kind of bird—Horace Walpole reports her as more splendid than ever, and as giving a breakfast to seven hundred people. He adds, 'The King and Queen had been with her last week. I should like to have heard the oration she had prepared on the occasion.' In 1798, however, Dr Burney writes to his daughter that Mrs Montagu is broken down, very feeble, and wholly blind, receiving no company, and spending her evenings in hearing her servant read. She died on August 25, 1800, at Montagu House, when within a few weeks of completing her eightieth year. Fanny Burney thought her a character rather to respect than to love. Hannah More seems to have been able to do both. Writing some years after her friend's death, Hannah said :

'With Mrs Montagu's faults I have nothing to do. Her fine qualities were many. From my first entrance into a London life till her death, I ever found her an affectionate, zealous, and constant friend, as well as a most instructive and pleasant companion.'

A specimen or two may perhaps be given of the many lively notices of more or less well-known people which are to be found in Mrs Montagu's letters. When Lady Mary Wortley Montagu returned from the East, she appeared 'a very singular person, who neither thinks, speaks, acts, or dresses like anybody else.' And her house is said to be like the Tower of Babel.

'An Hungarian servant takes your name at the door; he gives it to an Italian, who delivers it to a Frenchman, the Frenchman to a Swiss, and the Swiss to a Polander; so that

by the time you get to her ladyship's presence you have changed your name five times, without the expense of an act of parliament.'

At the subscription masquerade, to which Mrs Montagu went in the dress of the 'Queen Mother,' we are informed that Miss Chudleigh appeared in a dress, or rather undress, which was very remarkable.

'She was Iphigenia for the sacrifice; but so naked, the high priest might easily inspect the entrails of his victim. The maids of honour (not of maids the strictest) were so offended they would not speak to her.'

A note on the death of the Duke of Bedford in 1771 is in a severer strain.

'He departed singing the 104th Psalm. This shows he had some piety, but I think his Grace sang out of tune; so I am not an admirer of his singing. I like a psalm-singing cobbler, in death as well as in life. A poor man who has maintained a wife and children by his labour, has kept the Ten Commandments, observed the Sabbath . . . and lived kindly with his neighbours, may sing his own requiem with a comfortable and cheerful assurance. Of him to whom little is given, little shall be required. But the debtor and creditor of a long account is not so easily settled. Wealth, titles, power, give a great influence in society. . . . Has the commonwealth been served equal to its great demands on a Duke of Bedford?'

Her own wealth was administered according to rigid notions of justice, which, however, did not exclude a most munificent charity. It was indeed no mere subscriber to charity-lists who annually gave a feast to the little chimney-sweepers of London, every first of May, on the lawn in front of Montagu House. When Boswell once accused her of being generous from vanity, Johnson rebuked him by saying, 'I have seen no beings who do as much good from benevolence as she does from whatever motive.' She had a wholesome horror of debt.

'My house,' she writes, 'never appeared to me so noble, so splendid, so pleasant, so convenient, as when I had paid off every shilling of debt it had incurred. The worst of haunted houses are those haunted by duns.'

And one of her letters contains a keen saying, apropos of

a school and an almshouse founded by Dr Robinson. 'Our uncle did this good while he was alive,' is her comment. 'It was not that soul-thrift that would save itself with another's money.' She had a good deal of that worldly wisdom which, as Bacon says, comes home to men's business and bosoms. 'Virtue, wisdom, honours, prosperity, happiness, are all to be found on the turnpike-road, or not to be found at all,' is one of her maxims. Another is: 'Be assured that the wisest persons are the least severe, and the most virtuous are the most charitable.' The great world, she held, can give us nothing more than vagrant amusement for idle hours; one must have one's solid comforts at home. In a letter to one of her adopted daughters she says:

'The chief honour and felicity of my life has been derived from the superior merit of my friends. Principles, opinions, habits, are acquired from those with whom we live and converse most. . . . Be cautious, be delicate, be a little ambitious, my dear niece, in the choice of your friends.'

It must be admitted that she was sometimes a trifle too pedantic in her serious moments; but it is her lighter touches which are most characteristic; such as: 'Solomon said of laughter, What is it? and of mirth, What doeth it? Vanity and a good set of teeth would have taught him the ends and purposes of laughing'; or her remark, apropos of a piece of the then fashionable shell-work ornamentation which she and a friend proposed to do: 'I think a looking-glass properest for our first work, as everybody will be sure to find something they like in it'; or the excellent reason given for the success of her parties—that no idiots were ever invited. And of her correspondence, whether gay or grave, we may say what Johnson said of her conversation—that it is always full of meaning.



Art. IV.—THE GAME OF SPECULATION.

THAT master of genteel comedy, the late Charles Mathews, created, while in his palmy days, the character of Sir Affable Hawk in 'A Game of Speculation,' adapted by George Henry Lewes from Balzac's play, 'Le Faiseur.' The aims and methods of the gay, airy, clever, but heartless and unscrupulous hero of the forgotten play are those of not a few in the modern world of finance. Wild speculation, of the kind akin to reckless gambling, has vastly increased of late years. The stakes at cards are perhaps not as high as those played for in the eighteenth century, when C. J. Fox kept a faro bank, and his brother Stephen lost 13,000*l.* in a single night. But in other insidious ways the gambling spirit has become widely rampant, as is shown by the evidence before the House of Lords Committee on Betting, and as is known even to superficial observers. This is true, not only in connexion with the turf, boat-racing, billiards, football, cricket, and other sports, but in what is known in the cotton trade and in the metal markets as purchasing 'futures,' and on the Stock Exchange as 'options' and 'speculating for differences.' The mania has infected almost every class. Many women have caught the contagion. The clerical profession has not escaped. Numerous bankruptcies occur through speculation. Criminal records testify to the frequency with which clerks and other persons in places of trust are beguiled into malversation and fraud in the vain hope of retrieving losses incurred by betting and speculation.

The moral leprosy is spreading; and it is needful to utter once more an emphatic warning, and to enter an earnest protest for the benefit of those who are as yet untainted. Certain sections of the press have helped to intensify the evil by publishing money articles in the modern style, with accompanying advice and hints to investors, and pretended financial forecasts. It is not too much to assert that in these productions, with a few honourable exceptions, the advertising influence is paramount. Favourable notices of new companies and of particular stocks are inserted for a consideration, and lengthy reports of meetings have to be amply paid for. Well-known methods are employed to influence City editors

and financial writers, as was proclaimed in open court during the Hooley and Whitaker Wright examinations. An uneasy doubt exists in the public mind as to how far notices and comments are inspired by promoters and stock-dealers. Unfortunately some journals of the baser sort pander to the desire to make money by rash and ignorant speculation. They pretend to give exclusive and authoritative information and unprejudiced advice, accepted by many with the unquestioning docility of sheep, but generally worthless if not actually deceptive. It is strongly to be suspected that the writers are not uninfluenced by mercenary motives. Philanthropy would not prompt the offer of disinterested counsel to unknown and impersonal readers. 'Nothing for nothing,' is a universal maxim. Information is not vouchsafed about a company or a stock, no reports are inserted, and no market quotations are cited without payment in journals of this kind. The recent 'Article Club' case disclosed a deplorable tissue of fraudulent practice in these respects.

It is not surprising, therefore, that many persons are tempted into speculative ventures that can end only in loss if not in ruin. Every City editor is familiar with the importunate requests which come from readers who desire to transmute a very moderate stocking into the purse of Fortunatus. They think that by some astounding concatenation of improbable circumstances a large fortune may be speedily realised. They may rest assured that, in the long run, the inevitable result of such speculation, especially in mines, is mere hopeless loss, with superadded anxiety that cannot be expressed in words. If they are able to buy the shares outright and lock them up for months, or for a year or two, regardless of market fluctuations, a time may arrive when they will probably reap a profit, always supposing that a judicious selection has been made when prices were low. On the other hand, if a man of limited means plunges into the gamble, buying in the hope of selling again quickly at a higher price—that is, going on the 'bull' tack—or adopting the opposite course known as the 'bear,' and selling on the chance of buying back at a lower figure, he may be assured that either way spells ruin in the end. One instance of success may occur out of a thousand; but the exception proves the rule. What chance has the individual speculator

against the professional dealers, or against the controlling houses and companies? These know how to circulate rumours, to create an artificial demand, and to enhance or depress prices. Then they quietly dispose, at a large profit, of as many shares as the duration of the excitement admits of ; or bring prices down by frightening small holders into selling out at any sacrifice, snapping up such little parcels for use in future market operations.

Home railways present the extraordinary spectacle of being many points below the normal prices of recent years, and of remaining almost stationary for a lengthened period with little recorded business. The price of coal and the increased cost of wages and material were made the pretext for the heavy fall. In 1899 Metropolitan Districts suddenly bounded from 28 to 42½ on rumours, diligently circulated, that the line was about to be acquired by several of the great railways ; but a relapse soon followed, and the old price again ruled. Another artificial spurt was given during 1901 to the same stock, on an alleged amalgamation with the Metropolitan Railway, and again, in March and August last year, on the scheme of electric traction under American auspices. In like manner South-Eastern Deferred, or 'Dover A,' another well-known gambling stock, has ranged during the last three years from 103½ to 51½. Supposed advantages from a working agreement with the Chatham and Dover line were used to advance the price ; but fractional dividends caused as swift a fall. Chatham and Dover stocks displayed similar mutations during the same period, the Ordinary ranging from 25½ to 14½, the Arbitration from 149 to 131, and the Second Preference from 120½ to 57. Hull and Barnsley, and the Scotch Deferred stocks, furnish other instances. The larger lines have not escaped. Great Eastern shares have been so high as 117 and so low as 91 within two years ; Great Northern have ranged from 112 to 94, and the Deferred from 47 to 36 ; Great Western from 149 to 131 ; and North-Western from 180 to 131½. The published returns of traffic are often at signal variance with the estimates. Hence the anomaly is sometimes presented of a rise or fall in the traffic producing no effect on quotations, either because these had been arbitrarily changed before, or because no genuine desire was manifested to

buy or sell. Moreover, it is notorious that directors and high officials sometimes use their early knowledge for purposes of gain on the Stock Exchange.

Colonial railways also, and such foreign railways as are dealt in here, are subject to wide and sudden fluctuations, mainly caused by rumours of bad weather, damage to crops, and traffic expectations. Hence arise spasmodic variations in market prices which, it must always be remembered, do not by any means represent intrinsic values. Investing holders of such stocks rarely trouble themselves about these mutations, which are effected solely for speculative purposes. In the case of the two principal Canadian lines, the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific, both of which have recently shown an extraordinary rise, 'the market,' meaning thereby a small knot of jobbers, usually forms a vague guess, without the slightest data to go upon, as to what the weekly traffics are likely to be. On conjectural grounds they take action in raising or lowering prices; but here again the published returns of traffic often differ widely from the estimates, and in the case of some lines they are suspected of being manipulated. It is the same with dividends. Estimates, more or less conjectural, are made weeks before the official announcement, and are employed to govern the dealings; but the actual results rarely coincide with the anticipations.

The mining market during the last three years has been characterised by stagnation, caused by the war in South Africa, about which so many confident predictions were falsified by events. This stagnation involved the stoppage of mining operations, and arrested the development of gigantic estate, finance, and investment companies. The lowest market quotations in 1901 represented an average falling-off of at least one half of the former nominal values, and in not a few cases a fall of three fourths. A drop of 10s. per 1l. share represents 75,000,000% on the 150,000,000 shares of the companies usually dealt in.

Towards the close of December, 1901, an upward movement was engineered, into which it was hoped that the public would be drawn. The prices of gold and diamond mines and of land and finance companies were artificially enhanced by well-known devices. Certain parasitic news-

papers ostentatiously proclaimed that the long-expected mining 'boom' had come at last and would certainly continue. Quotations began to 'appreciate,' for no more valid reason than that a settlement must be reached ere long, and that a specified number of stamps were to be allowed to commence working at the mines month by month. Even since the beginning of 1902 prices have shown considerable oscillation. For example, New Jagersfontein ranged from 30 to 14, Langlaagte Estates from $5\frac{1}{8}$ to $3\frac{1}{4}$, Geduld from 10 to 6, Modderfontein from $14\frac{7}{8}$ to $10\frac{1}{8}$, Anglo-French Exploration from $5\frac{1}{8}$ to $3\frac{1}{4}$, Barnato Consols from $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$, Consolidated Gold Fields from $10\frac{3}{8}$ to $7\frac{1}{4}$, 'Johnnies' from $4\frac{1}{4}$ to $2\frac{1}{8}$, Transvaal Consolidated Land from $6\frac{3}{8}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$, and Rhodesia Exploration from $9\frac{1}{8}$ to $5\frac{1}{8}$. These are only a few of the extreme changes witnessed in the course of the year 1902. Many of the low-priced shares fluctuated from 50 to 60 per cent. The fact is that the pace was forced and dangerous.

The rise was attributable mainly to professional manipulation. Amidst much outward demonstration, quotations were advanced on every rumour that peace was about to be secured, with an occasional set-back, which was euphemistically styled 'a healthy reaction.' It was loudly but falsely asserted that large blocks of shares were being taken up and paid for by the investing public. Disproof of this was supplied by the rude awakening at the mid-February account, when six days were occupied in the settlement, and enormous quantities of stock had to be sold under the hammer. This caused a steady drop in prices for several weeks and demoralised the market, until the controlling houses had to interfere, in their own interest, to prevent a further fall. Every few days an attempt was made to attract the public by the usual device of putting up prices a sixteenth or an eighth, but all in vain. Dealers were left with shares which had accumulated on their hands; and then the process was repeated of quotations slowly sinking from inanition in business. Day after day and week after week the melancholy cry was heard of nothing being done because the public would not come in. One reason was that the actual cessation of hostilities had been pretty well discounted in the Stock Exchange, as usually happens with every impending event.

For several months prior to the declaration of peace in South Africa, rumours were assiduously circulated that a mighty 'boom' would take place. It was hoped that thousands of shares might be unloaded at high prices. When the market opened on Monday, June 2nd, 1902, nearly two hours before the usual time, dealers instantly put up quotations all round, and the crowd of gamblers within the House speculated largely; but, to their dismay, the crowd of expected purchasers did not appear. A few simple and sanguine persons took limited blocks of shares; but, for once, the public were not to be tempted. They had lost too much already. Another cause operated, which explains the attitude of the 'Kaffir magnates.' It was not known at the time, but it soon transpired, that they had held a conference at which it was decided, contrary to the opinion of a strong minority, to do nothing to support the market or to promote the expected upward movement. The reason was that if this occurred, the Government and the Legislature might suppose that the war had enhanced the value of the mines, and therefore that these would have to bear a large amount of taxation. Uncertainty as to this continued to be used for market purposes for several months. An incidental advantage of standing aside and allowing prices to sink by their own weight was that shares could then be quietly bought back at a much lower price.

Shortly after eleven o'clock on that fateful morning a decline set in, until Tuesday, June 24th, when the alarming news of the King's illness and of the postponement of the Coronation caused a sudden and greater drop. This continued day by day, in the absence of business, until more than half the fictitious gains of the first five months of the year had been wiped out in as many weeks. The 'Statist' of November 22nd, 1902, estimated that the total decline, since June, in the market value of South African mining shares amounted to 50,000,000%. The 'Financial News' of November 24th, 1902, said that two fifths of the amount represented the depreciation in twelve companies. Rand Mines alone had suffered a fall of 4,500,000%, and Consolidated Gold Fields one of 4,000,000%. The process is said to have been assisted by the sale of large blocks of shares held by the late Mr Rhodes; by labour difficulties at the mines, where the

blacks would not resume the old condition of semi-slavery; and by the 'bear' tactics of the great houses, and of the gambling section within the Stock Exchange, in the hope of frightening timid holders into selling.

There are about 350 principal South African and Rhodesian companies, with a total capital of 124,598,000*l.* Of these, 301 are mining, 36 are investment, and 13 are land and estate companies. Many of them have their head offices in Johannesburg, and therefore are not amenable to English law. Of the total number, three tenths have never declared a dividend, six tenths have paid nothing for three or more years, and the remaining tenth have paid, for the most part, 5 or 6 per cent., or have declared 'rights' in the form of new shares. Nearly all of them require additional capital before fully resuming work, or for purposes of future development. Out of the 350 companies only 21 have a nominal capital of less than 100,000*l.*, while 102 range from that sum to 250,000*l.* each, 186 from that to 500,000*l.*, and 56 from 500,000*l.* to 1,000,000*l.* There are 25 having more than 1,000,000*l.*, including such plethoric companies as De Beers, with 9,750,000*l.*; Randfontein, 3,000,000*l.*; Robinson Gold, 2,750,000*l.*; Simmer and Jack, 3,000,000*l.*; the Consolidated Gold Fields, 3,850,000*l.*; Henderson's, 2,000,000*l.*; 'Johnnies,' 2,750,000*l.*; Oceana Consolidated, 1,500,000*l.*; Robinson Bank, 3,000,000*l.*; Chartered, 6,250,000*l.*; Chartered Trust and Agency, 2,500,000*l.*; and Modderfontein, 1,200,000*l.* Many of these gigantic amounts are enhanced in nominal value, although not necessarily in inherent worth, by the shares standing in the market at twice or thrice or five times the price of the original issue. The 5*s.* shares of the Rand Mines have been worth over 12*l.*, which represents a market value of 23,500,000*l.* on a capital of 490,000*l.*

This factitious and hazardous state of things has been induced mainly by the action of the controlling houses or companies holding many thousands of original vendors' shares for which little or nothing was paid, or other shares bought in the market at rubbish prices when business was stagnant. As soon as a convenient opportunity arises or a plausible reason can be invented, an artificial scarcity is produced, and quotations are put up. When buyers offer, their requirements are met out of the large stocks held in reserve by the parent companies or

by controlling persons. In this way such persons have succeeded in disposing of blocks of shares at top prices, and have also taken option money to a large extent. When the demand begins to subside they effect 'bear' sales, so as to depress prices, and then they again come in as purchasers in order to denude the market of shares which wearied or timid holders are anxious to dispose of. Promoters and large firms can risk doing this because they make such enormous profits on most of their gigantic transactions, and because, if their calculations prove incorrect, which rarely happens, they can fall back upon their vast reserves of shares, and soon retrieve a temporary loss. In the slang of the market this process is styled 'turning on the tap.' Again it may be asked, what chance has an ordinary speculator against such powerful combinations? If he buys on what seems to be a rising tendency, he may find himself left with shares which must either be taken up and held for an indefinite period on the chance of a revival, or he has to sacrifice them at a loss to avert further disaster.

There are ten or twelve controlling firms or companies in the South African market. Some of them have extensive joint interests in certain properties, so that, in their combined capacity, they can at any moment make or mar the market. Complete lists of their numerous enterprises were given in the 'Citizen' of June 7th, 1902, and in the 'Statist' of July 5th, 1902. Upwards of 200 companies are thus comprised, with an issued capital of 98,000,000*l*. This vast sum was swollen by the high premiums at which the shares were usually placed on the market, or during the craze of 1895. For example, Anglo-French Exploration touched 8½, Apex 18½, Barnato Consols 5½, Chartered 9, Consolidated Gold Fields 19½, Crown Reef 13, Ferreira 21, Gildenhuis Deep 11½, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment 6½, Jubilee 12½, Knight's 11½, New African 10½, New Heriot 12½, Rhodesian Exploration 18½, South African Gold Trust 12½, Van Ryn 11, Wolhunter 12½, and so in varying degrees throughout the list. All the above-mentioned shares are of 1*l*. each. Those of higher denomination shared in the increase. De Beers, with 5*l*. paid—they have since been split—were 32½; Robinson Bank shares, with 4*l*. paid, were 12½; Modderfonteins, also 4*l*. paid, 17½; and so forth. The entire list repre-

sented, in 1895—in a sense far wider than what Dr Johnson meant by his famous phrase about the sale of Thrale's brewery—'the potentiality of growing rich beyond the dreams of avarice.'

If any persons are inclined to embark on the treacherous sea of mining speculation they will do well to remember that such shares in general, and copper-mine shares especially, are dangerous. The market price of the latter is largely influenced by the quotations for the metal; and these are mainly in the hands of an American ring. Hence it is that Anacondas and Arizonas have been so high as 12 and so low as $5\frac{1}{4}$ within a year, Rio Tintos 61 and 38, and Utahs $7\frac{1}{2}$ and 4. Various African copper-mines have been floated recently in a manner that calls for severe animadversion. No actual workings appear to have been carried on; no surveys have been made; and the information vouchsafed to the public is of the most meagre character. During last February several such companies had their shares placed on the London market at a premium, but without the issue of a prospectus. Those of the Northern Copper Company of British South Africa were rushed up to $2\frac{3}{4}$ in three days, and to $8\frac{1}{2}$ in another week, with wild and sudden fluctuations of several points during the short interval and immediately afterwards. It is shrewdly surmised that a few gamblers inside the 'House' reaped the profits. Most assuredly the public did not. The Rhodesian Copper Company, brought out on February 10th at $1\frac{1}{4}$, rose to $1\frac{7}{8}$ the next day, and to $2\frac{3}{4}$ on the third day, but failed to reach such giddy heights as those mentioned above, soon relapsing to $1\frac{1}{4}$. The Etruscan Copper Company does not seem to have issued a prospectus; yet its shares were forced up to 6*l.* in February and March, only to fall speedily to 25*s.* or less. The capital is nearly half a million, and about 200,000*l.* debentures have been issued. Glowing statements of promoters and officials have not been confirmed by an expert sent to Italy by large shareholders.

The most impudent attempt of the kind was the Consolidated African Copper Trust, launched on February 19th, at $3\frac{1}{4}$ premium on the 1*l.* shares, but with no published details. It was said that half a dozen jobbers had 15,000 shares divided among them at 35*s.* each, which were at once placed on the market at 4*l.* The incident

furnishes another illustration of how the public is expected to pay, when shares, instead of being offered through a prospectus, are dribbled out by the process known as 'making a market.' Happily the public declined to be drawn in, and respectable brokers refused to deal in the shares, so that the scheme proved a fiasco. People remembered the notorious Barnato Bank and took warning, as they did last spring with regard to such projects as the Tanganyika Concessions, the Lomagunda Development, and the Zambesia Exploring Companies. The first jumped in a few days from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 13, the second from $1\frac{7}{8}$ to $8\frac{1}{2}$, and the third, in a few hours, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 5, with violent intermediate fluctuations, the result of clever but unscrupulous handling in the interests of allied companies and their promoters, followed by the invariable relapse. Ordinary people have no chance to get in at the beginning of such a movement. It is dexterously engineered, without notice, and in an hour or two is in full progress. Long before the intimation appears in the next day's newspaper, the price has been forced up in the hope of attracting outside purchasers. Brokers whose business is only speculative are ready enough to urge clients to buy when prices are inflated, and as ready to urge them to sell at a loss when prices are falling.

These things are on a par with the recent surrender of the hundred founders' shares in De Beers, the three or four owners of which—one of them being the late Mr Cecil Rhodes—are alleged to have netted the enormous sum of between three and four millions. The Anglo-French Exploration Company, while declaring a dividend of 15 per cent. on the ordinary shares, paid 27*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* on each of the 300 founders' shares, and proposed to extinguish them by the issue of 260 ordinary for each, thus increasing the capital by 78,000*l.* Few shareholders in the Barnato Company were aware that, after they received back their capital in dividends or bonus, one fourth of the profits accrued to the holders of the founders' shares. At a meeting held in Johannesburg, on June 19th, 1902, it was resolved to commute those shares by allotting, as fully paid, 250,000 new shares of 1*l.* each, worth nearly 4*l.* in the market at that time. The only stipulation was that they were not to be negotiable for two years.

To give yet another instance—the Consolidated Gold
Vol. 197.—No. 393. H

Fields of South Africa was a company formed in July, 1892, to take over one of a similar name which had been started in 1887 to acquire from Mr Cecil Rhodes and Mr Charles D. Rudd certain mining interests in the Transvaal, for which those gentlemen received *inter alia* 200 founders' shares. In exchange, they subsequently took from the new company 100,000 ordinary shares of 1*l.* each, credited as fully paid, the market price being 10*l.* each. They were also to act as managing directors, and to receive two fifteenths of the profits. Four years later, and not long after the Jameson raid, the shareholders were induced to commute the share of the profits by an issue of 100,000 more shares, fully paid.

Obvious inferences will be drawn from these simple statements of fact. In like manner, the De Beers Company, with certain notorious financiers, was said to be largely interested in the meat contract for the troops in South Africa; and the Cold Storage Company, which previously held the contract, is reported to have made a million sterling during the war. No wonder that the 1*l.* shares, on which the 1901 dividend was 2*l.*s., recently stood at 11½. The real history of these transactions may yet be brought to light, if ever a searching inquiry comes to be instituted into the waste, the abuse, the jobbery, and the scandals that are known to have occurred during the campaign. Similar things happened in the Crimean War, and appear to be inseparable from the existing system. In like manner concessions of vast territories, dubiously acquired in South Africa, have been transferred by syndicates to companies with enormous capital—on paper; large blocks of shares being allotted to the promoters for the purpose of 'rigging the market.' The promoters also have huge holdings in subsidiary companies. A favourite device is to make the parent concern the owner of many thousands of shares in the various offshoots, and such shares are credited in balance-sheets as valuable assets, at inflated prices. Obviously, if one member of the group fails, it is like the collapse of a house built of cards, and nothing can save the others.

A condition of things similar to that already described in South African mining companies has prevailed more

than once recently in the market for American railways. It was a repetition, on a larger scale and for a longer period, of what has been witnessed for many years. Professional dealers and speculators in Wall Street have sent up prices by leaps and bounds during the past two years, with an occasional and partial set-back. This was notably the case immediately after the Presidential election in November 1900; and the condition continued until July 1902. Not only were such solid investment stocks as the New York Central, the Pennsylvania, and the Illinois Central rapidly advanced thirty or forty points, with occasional recessions, but roads which have paid no dividends for years on the common stock, and do not seem likely to pay any, participated in the 'boom.' Erie, for example, rose in a few weeks from $14\frac{1}{2}$ to 46, Missouri, Kansas and Texas from $9\frac{1}{2}$ to 35, Ontario from $18\frac{1}{2}$ to 40, Norfolk from 22 to $59\frac{1}{2}$, Reading from $7\frac{3}{4}$ to $24\frac{3}{4}$, Southern from 11 to $30\frac{3}{8}$, Southern Pacific from $31\frac{1}{4}$ to $63\frac{1}{4}$, and Wabash from $6\frac{3}{4}$ to $26\frac{1}{4}$. Some of these have since risen even higher as a result of combinations among various railroad magnates and powerful financiers to secure what is termed 'a community of interests.' Very soon all the stocks held in England and in Europe were bought up and consigned to New York. The rest was mere gambling. The shrewdest operators on this side could not foresee which stocks were next to be taken in hand, and they were at the disadvantage of being always a day behind, owing to the difference in time. So-called 'Trusts,' like the Standard Oil and the Sugar, which do not strictly answer to the term, operate largely in railroad speculations.

The gigantic combination known as the United States Steel Corporation has a capital of 202,591,940*l.*, one half of it being common stock, the greater part of which was underwritten at 40 per cent. It was placed on the English market at 46, and was speedily rushed to 56, only to break suddenly to 36 as soon as a number of reckless speculators had been caught. They did not even take the trouble to inquire whether the denomination of the shares was fifty or one hundred dollars. Well-known professionals in Wall Street, buying or selling fifty thousand shares at a time in railroads or industrial ventures, went on the 'bull' or the 'bear' tack as suited their immediate purpose, and obtained control of the market. The amount

of business done was far beyond all previous records. On several occasions the stock dealt in on one day exceeded two million shares, or 40,000,000*l.*, being five times the usual average. The American public went delirious with excitement, and more than once numbers were ruined in a few hours by a sudden drop in prices. London was soon left far behind in this market, which sometimes opened here in the morning buoyant and full of promise, only to fall away about three o'clock, when the cable transmitted the early prices from New York. At other times, after a dull and flagging day in London, a flood of American buying orders came over, which sent up quotations. Not a few English speculators suffered enormous losses at the outset of the 'boom.'

A favourite device of Wall Street dealers is to buy or sell, by cable, large blocks of shares in one of the European markets, partly in order to awaken hopes of a further rise, but chiefly to create a fictitious effect in America, where they at once sell heavily on the transient rise produced, or buy as heavily on the artificial depression. All that London and Paris, Berlin and Amsterdam can do is to follow Wall Street, while the arbitrage houses obey instructions and perfect their plans. Sometimes prices are kept below parity, and at other times they are forced above it, according to the immediate object sought. When a large speculative buying account is known to exist here, prices are depressed; but they are inflated when a large speculative selling account is open. The design, in the former case, is to lessen profits on sales to close; and, in the latter case, to compel 'bears,' anxious to cover, to buy back at high prices. The enormous inflation has been followed, as was inevitable, by a severe fall in market prices. That this had not long before occurred to a greater extent is attributable to the powerful financial combinations in New York. Having acquired the stocks for their own immediate purposes, but with the ultimate intention of shifting the load, at a profit, on to a confiding public, they tried their utmost to retard the certain collapse until they had realised or reduced their huge holdings. It is obvious that intrinsic values were in no degree affected by the sudden and arbitrary fluctuations. The extraordinary nominal enhancement of some of the stocks had no solid basis. It was effected by bold strategy, and

for ulterior and selfish purposes. The Northern Securities Company, over which there has been, and is likely to be, prolonged litigation, was formed, not for the advantage of the railroads in the combination, such as the Northern Pacific, but to furnish an easy means whereby financiers might dispose of the enormous stocks with which they are overloaded.

In connexion with this American gamble, the committee of the London Stock Exchange introduced a dangerous innovation in May 1901, by arbitrarily fixing the price of Northern Pacific Common at 160 for two successive settlements, when it had bounded to 200 and over in New York. This was done, not in the interests of the public, who are seldom, if ever, considered by this close corporation, but in the interests of the arbitrage dealers, who found themselves unable to cope with the condition of things brought about by rivalry in America for the control of various roads. If they had declared themselves defaulters a panic would have occurred, and hundreds of jobbers and brokers must have been ruined. To avert this catastrophe the committee took action, and the public were sacrificed; but a staggering blow was administered to the market, which remained almost stagnant for six months. Then, in April last, a sudden movement in Louisvilles was initiated by some Chicago speculators, and the shares rose from 103 to 130 within a week. The London dealers became alarmed and were apprehensive of a 'corner,' as in the case of the Northern Pacific. They refused for several days to quote prices, until an assurance was given that the stock had passed into strong hands for controlling purposes. Even then the London quotations were several points below parity. The price afterwards rose to 164, and eventually dropped to 121. Much excitement was also caused at the same time by Southern Common rising on one day from 34 to over 40, and by the sale in New York on that day of no fewer than 910,000 of the shares, being nearly nine tenths of the entire stock. Various reasons were conjectured for this rise, which was speedily followed by a great enhancement of Atchison Common and other stocks; but the movement was wholly professional in New York, and it has continued to be so ever since, both there and in London.

Two circumstances, apart from political and electoral questions, mainly contributed to bring about a crisis and to arrest the wild speculation. A strike of coal-miners in Pennsylvania, involving about 130,000 men, began in May last, and continued for twenty-four weeks. Every attempt at a compromise failed; and the dispute threatened to last during the winter. All the industries that depended upon coal for fuel suffered severely, and the loss to trade and manufactures was incalculable. At length President Roosevelt intervened, and induced both parties to consent to his appointing a commission with power to inquire into and determine the points at issue. In the meantime the miners were to resume work. The other circumstance was the money stringency which occurred in New York towards the close of September, 1902. Call-loans ranged up to 35 per cent., and in many cases money was not obtainable at any price. The Secretary of the Treasury was compelled to afford temporary relief to the banks by dispensing them from the necessity, imposed on them by law, of retaining a cash reserve of 25 per cent. against note-issues, and by accepting from them other securities than United States bonds. He also purchased several millions' worth of these, and anticipated, at a discount, the next payment of interest by the Treasury. These measures were only palliatives; but perhaps nothing more could be attempted under the unsound banking conditions which exist in America. Strenuous efforts to maintain the inflated prices of stocks have failed, for the trend continues to be downwards. Banks, insurance offices, finance houses, and trusts are overladen with pawned securities, for most of the speculation during the last two years has been carried on with borrowed money. As this is called in, forced liquidation takes place, and market values are depreciated.

The table on the following page shows the variations in prices of the leading railroad stocks.

In these recent instances from the American market, as in the occurrences already described in the mining market, the knowing ones inside the Stock Exchange cleared out in time, so as to realise their gains. Later and outside purchasers found themselves burdened with shares that were unsaleable, except at much lower prices. It is not surprising that heavy losses have had to be faced

	Nov. 6, 1900.	Highest, 1901.	Highest, 1902.	Dec. 15, 1902.
Atchison	34½	92½	98½	80½
Baltimore and Ohio	78	118½	121½	95½
Chesapeake	32	52½	59½	45½
Denver	20½	55½	52½	36½
Erie	12½	46½	45½	30½
Louisville	79	113½	164½	121½
Milwaukee	120½	194½	204	172½
Missouri, Kansas and Texas	11½	35½	36½	23½
Norfolk	38½	62	82	69½
Ontario	29½	39½	38½	27½
Reading	9½	29½	39½	28½
Southern	13½	36½	42½	29½
„ Pacific	39½	64	83½	58½
Union Pacific	64½	133½	115½	97½

by the majority of those who were unwise enough to speculate largely in American railways. A very few made money by realising quickly instead of waiting for better prices, or by being able to take up and pay for stocks, holding them until they could sell to advantage; but most speculators found themselves stranded by one of the sudden reverses that befell the market. On several occasions prices dropped from three to ten points in a day; for they invariably fall more rapidly than they rise. In many cases difficulties were raised about carrying over the stock to the next settlement; and some dealers absolutely refused to make the customary arrangements. This is a common trick when it appears likely that outsiders, by waiting, may make a profit. They are therefore forced to take up the stock or sell at a loss. Where 'differences' had to be paid, these sometimes amounted to several thousand pounds in individual cases. The aggregate swelled to millions over the entire list, as was shown in the monthly tabulated statement, given in the 'Banker's Magazine,' of the market value of 325 selected securities. The money went into the pockets of professional dealers and money-lenders, who need not wonder that the British and American public, having been fleeced, are shy about resuming speculation. If any are permanently frightened and cured of the mania a great gain will have accrued to the community.

The official list of members of the London Stock Exchange comprises nearly five thousand names. Per-

haps as many are to be found in the provincial Stock Exchanges. Allowing an average of only two clerks to each, there must be at least thirty thousand persons engaged: probably there are many more. The legitimate investment transactions of the whole country could be conducted by one thirtieth of the number. A very few firms confine themselves to that class of business and refuse all of a speculative character. The mass of so-called 'dealings,' however, are merely for 'differences,' which have to be paid or received at the next fortnightly settlement. No stock changes hands, although the form is gone through of giving stamped contracts for purchases or sales. Large blocks of shares are bought with no intention of taking them up and paying for them; or they are sold without any purpose or means of delivery. The design, in the former case, is to effect a fictitious sale at a higher price, and, in the latter case, to make an equally fictitious purchase at a lower price, with the hope, in both cases, of making a profit. If the specific numbers of the shares had to be set forth, as in the sale of Bank stock, the gambling fraternity would be deprived of one weapon of offence. By a rule of the Stock Exchange, the name of the jobber dealt with should appear on the contract given by the broker; but it is commonly omitted, thus raising the presumption of a mere gamble.

In the event of the paper dealings not being completed within the limits of one account, they are usually carried over to the next. The making-up prices at each settlement are generally so contrived that the minimum 'difference' is paid by the broker, if there has been a rise during the fortnight, while the maximum amount is received by him in the event of a fall in market-values. As soon as the hour of noon is reached on the appointed day prices are usually enhanced, so as to entice fresh purchases by the semblance of an improvement. If the pretended dealings are carried over to the new account, a 'contango,' or interest, is charged, varying with the conditions of the market and with the rates for money. The charge may be so many pence a share, or a percentage on the amount of the stock. In either case the quotation is somewhat wide. On mines, for instance, it may be from seven to nine per cent. per annum. It is

often from eight to ten, and sometimes even more. The client is almost invariably charged the higher rate. He has also to pay half the original brokerage every time the carrying-over process is repeated, though, in the competition for business, the usage varies. Still, in the long run, he always stands to lose, while the broker and the jobber gain.

It is well to remember that the professional dealer always holds the tiller, and can guide the frail bark whither he chooses. Political events, foreign news, the illness or death of celebrities, money rates, a dispute between neighbouring states, a threatened revolution, labour troubles, traffic returns, dividend announcements, the silver question in South America, a blizzard in the United States or Canada, the weather, the crops, and other things, actual or rumoured, probable or ridiculous, are employed to force up or to depress prices, and are posted in the Stock Exchange long before they become known to the public. The above-mentioned causes for altering nominal quotations may have nothing to do with such alteration; but any pretext serves; and the real reasons are unknown until they appear in the next morning's newspaper. Meanwhile, the upward or downward movement has been progressing, as engineered from inside. Ordinary speculators never succeed in getting in at the lowest prices or in getting out at the top. It is also easier to lose than to win, because not only has the jobber's 'turn' to be covered—and in home railways this is often a whole point—but, as has been remarked already, the downward tendency is always more rapid than the upward.

Brokers, owing to their exclusive knowledge of the market, not only possess advantages which, naturally enough, they are not slow to use for their own benefit, but they may also be speculating on their private account, and in a contrary direction to their clients. While the latter are strongly advised to 'bull' a particular stock, it may at the same time be the object of a 'bear' attack by the brokers. They acquire at each settlement exceptional means of knowing the nature and extent of the dealings. During the temporary 'boom' in South Africans last February, impecunious inside brokers speculated in thousands of shares, for which they could not pay themselves or furnish the names of customers. The shares had to be

sold under the hammer, and this helped to precipitate the crisis. Other reasons contributed, but reckless gambling in the 'House' was a principal cause. A broker's advice, even if not interpreted in the opposite sense—as has been cynically suggested—because he has his own objects to achieve, should be accepted with extreme caution and with much reserve. It is valueless for purposes of speculation whatever it may be for permanent investment.

It may also happen that the jobbers with whom the broker deals are family connexions or personal friends, whom he is naturally anxious not to involve in loss. Therefore the interests of his client have to suffer. Moreover, his quotations in every bargain made have to be accepted without any means for verification. Tape-prices do not represent actual transactions. They are only approximate, and not official or authoritative. A strong suspicion prevails—often amounting to a moral certainty—that a small fraction is sometimes added to the purchase price, or deducted from the selling price, beyond the agreed charge for brokerage. The rate for this varies widely. Old-fashioned houses charge on a graduated but onerous scale; others charge one eighth per cent., or so many pence per mining share all round; while some, in their eagerness for business, divide the commissions with large speculators, or with those who introduce clients. There has recently arisen a detestable class of parasites, known as 'half-commission men,' who obtain a precarious livelihood in this manner. As the principals for whom they act drop off, fleeced and disgusted, other foolish gulls are inveigled by specious but impossible inducements. Every day crowds of agents and touts may be seen around the entrances to the Stock Exchange, waiting for the latest quotations from the brokers with whom they carry on the trade of gambling panders.

When a broker's name appears on the prospectus of a company, he exacts a large fee, ranging from 100*l.* to 1000*l.*, according to the capital and the loading, besides a commission on all shares placed by him, and a further fee for obtaining a Stock Exchange quotation. If a broker has only twenty dealing clients, and if each has on an average no more than 5000*l.* worth of stock open during the twenty-four settlements of the year, the brokerage, at an eighth per cent., would amount to 3000*l.*

annually. This is irrespective of carrying-over charges, and transfer fees and stamps, which are often added to the account, although the shares are not taken up. Fabulous profits are known to have been made by not a few brokers and jobbers, who have discreetly used their inside knowledge, or formed 'pools' of their own in certain stocks, or worked up quotations to a high figure before buying for clients, or depressed prices before selling, or advanced money at usurious rates for the settlement.

Another matter prejudicial to the outside speculator is the system of what are called 'one-man markets'—a result of the division and subdivision of the numerous branches of Stock Exchange business. Even if an individual jobber cannot absolutely control a particular market, he is able to exert a dominating influence on certain stocks. Two or three large jobbers acting in concert can virtually fix prices, especially when dealings are few and the market is sensitive and nervous. The absence of business on the part of genuine investors causes the sale or the purchase of a small amount of stock to produce an immediate effect upon quotations. Lately, also, in the sudden and violent fluctuations of the American and the mining markets, jobbers have, not infrequently, refused to make a price when asked by brokers, preferring to wait and watch the course of events. By the rules of the 'House,' when a jobber makes a quotation—which always includes two prices, one for buying and the other for selling, called the 'turn of the market'—he is bound to complete a bargain at the choice of the broker, either to buy or to sell. In the United States dealers are not classified as brokers and jobbers, just as lawyers are not there divided into solicitors and barristers. Any one wishing to deal can do so without an intermediary; and a settlement has to be made daily instead of once a fortnight. There is no reason, except mere conservatism, strengthened by self-interest, why the distinction should be perpetuated in England.

The relations between brokers and jobbers have become strained. A number of leading jobbers recently issued a circular complaining of infringement of their alleged rights. It stated that outside companies and firms deal in American and South African shares directly with brokers, who are said to receive a double commission.

Thus 'the jobber is deprived of his market, and is unable to quote close prices, to the injury of the public.' The brokers retort that this difficulty of obtaining a close quotation has driven them outside, where they can often secure better terms for clients, who are in no way prejudiced by the brokers receiving a second commission. They carry the war into the enemy's camp by asserting that jobbers, when short of stocks, resort to a similar practice, by anonymously advertising for them in the circulars of outside dealers. Thus stands this pretty quarrel. Whether 'honest men will come by their own,' remains to be seen. It is amusing to witness such effusive and new-born zeal on behalf of the public. Heretofore they have been the last to be considered.

Sometimes, however, by a kind of retributive justice, brokers and jobbers become entangled in the net spread by them for the unwary. This was the case recently in what is known as the Jungle market, or West African Mines, the illusory character of most of which is notorious. Alleged mines, from which not an ounce of gold has been extracted, and in which no adequate tests have been applied, were written and spoken about in exaggerated terms; and the shares were run up to ridiculous prices to the extent of ten, twenty, and thirty times the nominal capital. It was apparently thought that they could be forced much higher. Many of them now are unsaleable; or they realise scarcely as many shillings as they stood at pounds little more than a year ago. The 1*l.* shares of the Adulessa Syndicate were then 21*l.*, those of the Akinassi Syndicate 42*l.*, Ashanti Acquisitions 15*l.*, Ashanti Gold Fields 33*l.*, Gold Coast Amalgamated 18*l.*, and West African Properties 9*l.* Some of these have altogether disappeared; and the rest have sunk to one half or one fourth of the above amounts. Others, which stood at twice or thrice the nominal value of 1*l.*, are now worth from 10*s.* to 1*s.* 3*d.*; and some are even at a discount, having further liabilities attaching to them. Sixteen of the leading West Africans, with a nominal capital of 3,203,584*l.*, were inflated in a few weeks to no less than 20,147,769*l.*, according to the market quotations. They stand now at about 7,000,000*l.*, showing a decrease of 65 per cent.; and even that sum is far beyond their actual worth. Fortunately the public were not drawn in to any large extent. When

the inevitable collapse came, the wirepullers found themselves laden with unsaleable stock. For once they could not induce the public to 'hold the baby,' as professional slang defines the trick of passing on worthless shares.

Australia and British Columbia could supply many pertinent cases of a similar kind. The shares of Lake View, of Le Roi (both No. 1 and No. 2), of Golden Horse-shoe, Golden Link, Boulder Perseverance, of the Associated Gold Mines of West Australia, and of many other companies, have been made the sport of speculators, and have presented wide fluctuations during the last five or six years. Even within a few months attempts have been made to galvanise the Australian market. For a day or two prices have advanced, only to fall back to the old dead level. It is not surprising, after what has occurred with certain notorious mines, that much scepticism prevails as to future possibilities. It is needless to furnish details. It is also unnecessary to cite illustrative instances of a similar kind from other departments of the Stock Exchange, such as industrial, manufacturing, tramway, electric, brewing, and other limited companies. All of them furnish melancholy proofs of the manner in which prices are manipulated, and of the adventitious circumstances used to affect the market. The last few years have witnessed the rise and mushroom growth, speedily followed by the decay or the extinction, of hundreds of ventures that cost the public millions of money. Not a few credulous and sanguine investors have painful recollections of Barnum and Bailey Limited, of Moore and Burgess, of Pearson's Fire Alarm, of the Mutoscope Company, of Cooper and Johnson, of the Welsbach Company, and even of Allsopp's. The story of Stratton's Independence Mine is fresh in public recollection, with the heavy loss entailed upon thousands of shareholders, who were induced to invest at the issue price of 2*l.* 5*s.*, and up to 3*l.*, on the assurance of the vast wealth of the mine and the prospect of continuous quarterly dividends at the rate of forty per cent. per annum. These have vanished, and the shares are now quoted at about 6*s.* The annals of the Winding-up Court and the report of the Inspector-General in Bankruptcy furnish unpalatable reading, which might, however, prove salutary if its monitions and warnings were heeded.

The Stock Exchange is a close corporation, bound by rules as rigid and as selfish as those of any trade-union. Every member is required to observe its elaborate regulations, on pain of being haled before the committee and suspended or expelled. No member is allowed to advertise or tout for business, though this is, in effect, done by deputy, as has been shown above. Outside brokers are denounced; yet some of them appear to thrive, at least for a time, by lavish outlay on printing, postage, telegrams, and advertisements. They also incur enormous expense in preparing large pamphlets and bound volumes, descriptive of their system of dealing, which are freely sent to applicants in the hope of enticing them to embark on the stormy and perilous sea of speculation. The expressive American phrase 'bucket-shop,' applied to this sort of business, owes its origin to the slang meaning of the word 'bucket,' which has become synonymous with 'to swindle' in betting.

Some newspapers which, with loud rhetorical virtue, condemn the methods of the outside advertising brokers, and clamour for their suppression, nevertheless admit their advertisements, for which they charge onerous rates, condoning for the lucrative publicity by solemnly warning their readers against a system that is announced in costly paragraphs on the same page. Such papers 'compound for sins they are inclined to, by damning those they have no mind to.' Thousands of circulars are issued by outside dealers, in the certainty that a remunerative percentage of dupes will be found to accept implicitly the specious but lying statements about fabulous profits to be made. Even when they have lost heavily in the mad gamble, they persist in it, hoping to retrieve their losses, as singed moths still hover round a flame. Other victims are sure to offer themselves for immolation, because human folly is always abundant. Inducements are held out and promises are made which are incapable of fulfilment, but serve to deceive the unwary by arousing their cupidity. Once within the clutches of these vultures, escape is extremely difficult. They usually have a confederate in some unscrupulous attorney, often kept on the premises, for purposes of intimidation. Their transactions are 'writ large' in the law-courts, in liquidation proceedings of bogus mining

companies, in bankruptcy, in blighted lives, and in ruined homes.

In these 'bucket-shops' there is no actual buying or selling of stocks, unless it be some hopelessly rotten venture belonging to the keepers of these dens. They do not desire genuine investment business: it does not pay them. Certain low-priced mine-shares that appear daily on the tape are controlled by outside dealers. To purchase is easy enough; but, if the unwary holder wants to sell, there is no market. The usual transactions in these places, however, are mere book-entries. The chances of winning are as remote as those of breaking the bank at Monte Carlo. If, by a lucky accident, a gain be shown, an excuse is made for non-payment, or it is suggested that the profits should run on to another account, or some worthless shares are offered in settlement, or there is an absolute refusal to buy back the pretended sales, or the account is closed without any reason being assigned. If legal proceedings be taken, the Gaming Act is pleaded. Failing other means of evasion, refuge is sought in bankruptcy or discreet disappearance. Notwithstanding repeated exposures of what are known as 'blind pools,' many persons are still willing to entrust large sums to strangers, who use the money as they see fit, after stipulating for secrecy and implicit trust. It is nothing but a form of the confidence trick. Another method is to adopt what is known as the 'cover system,' whereby stock to any amount can be professedly opened on payment of ten or twenty per cent. of the face value; the money, of course, disappearing as the nominal quotations fall, until the gamble is automatically closed. Meanwhile, the free use of large sums deposited as 'cover' has been secured; and, in other cases, the victim is charged interest at the rate of five or six per cent. on the nominal balance of the stocks alleged to have been purchased, but represented only by figures in the books.

It is sometimes asked whether all this outlay for advertising and printing, amounting to many thousands annually, can be remunerative in obtaining fresh business. Certainly it would not be continued unless it paid. The lure presented is that enormous fortunes are made by this kind of gambling. If so, why do not these philanthropic advertisers employ their knowledge for their own

exclusive benefit, instead of offering to impart it to strangers? Readers are told—to quote one of these specious and dangerous circulars—that ‘such transactions can be rendered very profitable, if carried out on a sound system, with judgment tempered by discretion.’ They are assured that ‘it is not at all difficult to acquire such knowledge as may enable them to operate on the Stock Exchange in such a manner as to ensure good results.’ They are informed that ‘profits are perpetually made by those who study closely the rise and fall in the prices of stocks, and who select the best time to buy cheap and to sell dear.’ If the recipient of the gratuitous advice couched in this turgid bombast objects that he has not the money to pay for the stocks which he is urged to purchase, he is assured that ‘this is a matter of arrangement,’ which means that he is made to pay for the use of money never really lent, and for the nominal acquisition of stocks having no existence except as book-entries.

Without degrading these pages by mentioning names, and thereby giving a gratuitous advertisement to outside brokers of the worst type, the following extracts from recent circulars will denote the character of their nefarious business. One of them states, with almost brutal frankness:

‘We of course give primary consideration to our active dealers. We are not keen upon giving away so valuable an asset as our early and exclusive information unless we are to receive a *quid pro quo*. Some of our customers may grumble because they have had no information. We wish them to understand that the omission is due to the fact that their accounts have been stagnant or dormant. We often have accounts in which no bargain is entered for weeks.’

The obvious meaning is that, unless the gudgeons persist in swallowing the bait and allow themselves to be hooked, they are not wanted. Another of these impudent effusions urged large purchases of American railroad stocks when they were steadily falling, which meant, of course, that the ‘cover’ would speedily be exhausted, and the money swept up by the insatiable keeper of the ‘bucket-shop.’ In a third instance the terms of business are set forth very speciously, but the cloven hoof cannot be hidden. At the outset there is a disclaimer of ‘un-

necessary payments of deposits for purchase-money on account'; but a list of existing investments is required, or, failing this, references to bankers or solicitors, or, failing these, 'a deposit of at least 100l.' This is on a par with the usual style of advertisements emanating from money-lenders, who state that loans are granted from five per cent. on personal security, without sureties or bills of sale or any publicity or delay. Impecunious applicants are sure to find that the reality in no sense corresponds to the benevolent description.

For receiving and converting into cash a large number of stolen bonds from a solicitor's clerk, who had abstracted them from a safe and forged the transfer in order to meet enormous losses through speculation, one man, who had an office in Cornhill, has recently undergone a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour. It is strange that he was not condemned to penal servitude, seeing that he must have known throughout the nature of the transaction, and that he disposed of some of the bonds after notice had been served on him that they were stolen. In another case, eighteen months ago, a lady obtained a verdict for upwards of 6000l., with interest at four per cent., for the illegal sale of securities deposited as collateral. The decision was upheld on appeal, and then the business was stopped and the concern wound up. Happily for the good of the community, not a few other places of the kind have had to close their doors of late, for the business proved unprofitable or became risky. In some cases, besides the one above mentioned, the principals have been made to feel the strong arm of the law, though the feet of the Public Prosecutor seem to be shod with lead, so tardy are his movements. The attention of the City Solicitor might be directed, with public advantage, to places within the City area where impudent swindles are carried on. The proper place for their mendacious circulars is the waste-basket or the fire. Hardly one of these advertising brokers is to be trusted. The only difference between them is in the degree of turpitude and rascality. A moralist would say, with regard to Stock Exchange speculation generally, that if one man makes money by a sudden change in the artificial value of securities, another man must lose it, because not one penny is added to or subtracted from the actual value,

The chief evil, however, is that people are tempted to abandon the safe and beaten paths of industry and thrift, and to plunge into a vortex of speculation, in the vain hope of achieving wealth at a bound. It will be well if all who possess influence use it in order to dissuade inexperienced persons from entering upon such dubious and pernicious courses. Even if there be temporary good-luck, it is sure to turn and lead to disaster, and probably to irretrievable ruin.

It is perhaps too much to expect that this article will have the effect of alarming and warning off the confirmed 'punter,' who snatches a fearful joy and finds a perilous fascination in the gambling practices that have ruined so many. He cherishes the delusion that a turn must come in the wheel of fortune, and solaces himself under heavy losses by thinking that if he had adopted or refrained from a particular course, if he had bought or sold on some other day, if he had speculated in a different stock, if he had not been misled by some false 'tip,' or if untoward news had not arrived, he would now for certain be a millionaire. For such a miserable victim of the speculative mania nothing can be done. His case is as hopeless as that of a confirmed dram-drinker, or of one addicted to the use of opium or morphia. But for those who have not been drawn into this terrible whirlpool, and yet have been tempted to embark on its outer edge, enough may have been said to warn them of the certain danger, misery, and loss, that await all who attempt the impossible task of making money by speculating for differences on the Stock Exchange, especially if they follow the interested advice of advertising outside dealers.

Art. V.—ÉMILE ZOLA: HIS LIFE AND WORK.

1. *Les Rougon-Macquart. Histoire naturelle et sociale d'une famille sous le second Empire.* By Émile Zola. Twenty vols. Paris: Charpentier, 1871-93. (*La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*, 1875; *L'Assommoir*, 1877; *Nana*, 1880; *Pot-Bouille*, 1882; *La Terre*, 1887; *La Débâcle*, 1892.)
2. *Les Trois Villes.* By the same. (*Lourdes*, 1894; *Rome*, 1896; *Paris*, 1898.)
3. *Les Quatre Évangiles.* By the same. (*Fécondité*, 1899; *Travail*, 1900; *Vérité*, 1902.)
4. *Le Roman Expérimental.* By the same. 1880.
5. *L'Affaire Dreyfus; La Vérité en Marche.* By the same. Paris: Charpentier, 1901.
6. *Le Roman Naturaliste.* By F. Brunetière. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1883.
7. *Les Contemporains.* By Jules Lemaître. Series I and IV. Paris: Lecène et Oudin, 1886 and 1889.
8. *La Vie Littéraire.* By Anatole France. Series I and III. Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1880 and 1891.
9. *Vie de Zola.* By G. de Maupassant. Paris: A. Quantin, 1883.

THE sad and untimely death of M. Zola deprives France, and indeed the whole civilised world, of one of its most celebrated men of letters, as well as of a notable man of action. The story of the accident which led to his death reads not unlike a page out of one of his own books, and supplies a fresh demonstration, if any were needed, of the way in which the greatest intellects are at the mercy of the meanest and most commonplace circumstances.

Émile Zola, who was destined to acquire so curious and exceptional a reputation both as man and author, was born in Paris on April 2, 1840. His father was François Zola (1795-1847), a native of Venice and an engineer, who carried out some important works at Aix, in Provence—where a canal and boulevard are still called by his name—and whose ability in designing military fortifications was well known to the military authorities. His mother was a Frenchwoman, Émilie Aubert, who survived till 1880.

The death of the elder Zola in 1847 left his widow and child in extreme poverty. They came to Paris; and

young Zola was put to school at the Lycée St Louis. His education was anything but a success. He failed twice in obtaining his bachelor's degree, on the first occasion being 'ploughed' in the literary *viva voce* examination; and he was thus cut off from those petty official employments which are so numerous in France, and are the support, and at the same time the snare, of so many young Frenchmen. Between the years 1860 and 1862 he was without any regular employment, and reduced almost to the last limits of starvation and misery. He has himself told how one winter he lived on bread soaked in oil sent to him from Aix, and on the sparrows which he caught on the roof of his wretched attic. At length he obtained employment with Messrs Hachette, the publishers, as packer, and very soon afterwards (1865) was promoted by the firm to a position in their publishing department, receiving a salary of 2400 francs, which to Zola then must have seemed a fortune. His position at Hachette's brought him into communication with several writers and journalists, and appears to have been highly valuable to him as an introduction to the literary world. He found time to write a few stories, and to contribute to the newspapers; and by the end of 1865 his literary efforts had met with sufficient success to enable him to give up his appointment. The first volume of the celebrated Rougon-Macquart series was not published in book form till 1871; but the author had already made some sensation in the literary world. His 'Salon,' which consisted of articles in the 'Évènement,' had to be discontinued on account of his attacks on the judging committee; and 'Thérèse Raquin' startled the public by its lack of reticence.

The inference is well-nigh irresistible that the necessity of attracting the public at the beginning of his career was the chief cause of his entering upon the production of the so-called naturalistic literature. The author himself allowed as much when he announced his intention to 'violier le public.' But it would be contrary to all that we know of his life and character, as well as of his literary ideals, to suppose that this was his real incentive in after years. His literary and moral principles were extremely simple and strong, were obstinately adhered to without any variation through life, and defended with great

warmth against those that attacked them. These principles formed the real foundation of his work. He was chiefly inspired by an unlimited and violent hatred of the romantic writers of the day, whom he accused, not without some justice, of corrupting the youth of the nation by the specious forms in which they represented vice. Acting under the strongest repulsion, he devoted his entire literary career to depicting vice under its ugliest and most unattractive aspects, and to the sweeping away of dangerous and optimistic delusions in general. With a child-like admiration for science, absolute confidence in the power of knowledge, and a curious but characteristic ignorance of human nature, he imagined that if men knew right they would necessarily do right. This mistake is illustrative of his whole literary career. It is a singular fact, to which we shall return, that this enthusiastic apostle of truth should, through his own artistic temperament, have been incapable either of perceiving it or of reproducing it. But, confident in the value of his work as revealing the fundamental truths of human society, he continued to pour forth a long series of books, in which all idealisation was carefully suppressed, the pictures and incidents were rigorously 'scientific,' and the descriptions of depravity were sufficiently horrible to drive all those that read them into a cloister. The moral purpose and didacticism of his work were, however, entirely thrown away upon the public; while the novels were read widely on account of their original and startling character and the wonderful imaginative pictures they contained, the author himself rising to a height of literary fame which was not surpassed by any of his contemporaries.

Meanwhile, his success met with by no means universal approval or assent. He was involved in constant paper warfare, in which he defended his literary theories with great courage and audacity. In 1880 he joined in the political fray, declared that '*la république sera naturaliste ou elle ne sera pas*,' and attacked the government in the '*Figaro*.' Some few years later Zola's novels were the subject of a debate in the House of Commons, when Mr Vizetelly, who had published slightly expurgated translations in England, was sentenced to imprisonment, and the books were ordered to be suppressed,

Zola's life, outwardly, was the centre of incessant dispute and turmoil; inwardly, and in reality, it was one of uninterrupted domestic happiness. Guy de Maupassant, amongst others, has described Zola's *intérieur*. From the depths of poverty he had risen to great affluence; and his villa at Médan, and his house in the Rue de Bruxelles at Paris, were filled with valuable pieces of furniture and works of art. His life was one of quiet retirement, simplicity, and of almost unbroken regularity, devoted to the carrying out of his literary work, which he regarded as a moral duty; scarcely ever failing to accomplish daily his dozen pages of manuscript, walking out with his dogs, and receiving with his wife the many friends whom his simple, unaffected, and amiable disposition had endeared to him.

But the great action which was to place the coping-stone on Zola's career was yet to come. In the celebrated Dreyfus case Zola played a part of transcendent importance by bringing about the release of the condemned officer. It will be remembered that several persons had already tried in vain to move the authorities to examine the case anew; and the fate of the unfortunate man seemed sealed when Zola addressed his famous letter, 'J'accuse,' to the President of the Republic. In this he charged the highest military authorities with the odious and atrocious crime of deliberately sending to imprisonment and torture a fellow-officer whom they knew to be innocent. His courageous action entailed some severe and painful sacrifices. He was torn away from his pleasant literary ease, and from his circle of friends. 'J'ai dû m'arracher à tout ce que j'aimais, à toutes mes habitudes de cœur et d'esprit.' He, who was said to be so timid as never to be able to make a speech in public with equanimity, faced resolutely and almost alone, in open court, the united hostility and menaces of the government, the Church, the army, and the mob. A verdict was obtained against him. He was degraded from his membership of the *Légion d'Honneur*, and obliged, in order to avoid imprisonment, and to maintain his liberty of speech and action, to fly to the hospitable shores of England.

But Zola had lighted a candle in France which could not easily be put out. Events followed one another

in quick succession; the discovery of Esterhazy's and Henry's forgeries, and the suicide of the latter; the demand for revision accorded; the new trial at Rennes, resulting in a further condemnation of the prisoner; and finally, in spite of all, the pardon of Dreyfus and his return to his wife and family. Zola's writings on these occasions, the chief of which are collected in the volume entitled '*La Vérité en Marche*,' eloquent as they are, and at the same time manifestly genuine and sincere, deserve special attention in a study of Zola's life and work. He appealed to the students of Paris, who had been especially violent and noisy in their threats and abuse of him:

'Où allez-vous, jeunes gens, où allez-vous, étudiants, qui courez en bandes par les rues, manifestant au nom de vos colères et de vos enthousiasmes, éprouvant l'impérieux besoin de jeter publiquement le cri de vos consciences indignées?

'Allez-vous protester contre quelque abus du pouvoir, a-t-on offensé le besoin de vérité et d'équité, brûlant encore dans vos âmes neuves, ignorantes des accommodements politiques et des lâchetés quotidiennes de la vie?

'Allez-vous redresser un tort social, mettre la protestation de votre vibrante jeunesse dans la balance inégale où sont si faussement pesés le sort des heureux et celui des déshérités de ce monde?

'Allez-vous, pour affirmer la tolérance, l'indépendance de la race humaine, siffler quelque sectaire de l'inintelligence, à la cervelle étroite, qui aura voulu ramener vos esprits libérés à l'erreur ancienne, en proclamant la banqueroute de la science?

'Allez-vous crier, sous la fenêtre de quelque personnage fuyant et hypocrite, votre foi invincible en l'avenir, en ce siècle prochain que vous apportez et qui doit réaliser la paix du monde, au nom de la justice et de l'amour?

'— Non! non! nous allons huer un homme, un vieillard, qui après une longue vie de travail et de loyauté, s'est imaginé qu'il pouvait impunément soutenir une cause généreuse, vouloir que la lumière se fit et qu'une erreur fût réparée pour l'honneur même de la patrie française!

Zola's self-sacrificing action was all the more remarkable since Captain Dreyfus was at the time unknown to him, and he was moved by no personal sentiments of friendship or acquaintance. It irresistibly recalls Voltaire's advocacy and defence of the Calas family. Calas, it will be remembered, an old, prosperous, and

inoffensive tradesman of Toulouse, and a Protestant, was accused in 1761 of having murdered his son—who, in reality, had committed suicide—in order to prevent his abjuring his religion. No evidence whatever was adduced of the crime. Nevertheless, the Church and clergy, by violence and perseverance, succeeded so well in inflaming the passions of the public, that Calas was actually condemned and broken alive upon the wheel; the family was dispersed and ruined, the sons banished, and the daughters forced into convents. Voltaire, by the unsparing, generous, and able support which he gave to the unfortunate family, won everlasting renown. This was the brightest incident in his career; and the universal and enthusiastic homage of which he was the recipient in later years was paid more to 'l'homme aux Calas,' than to the great wit, poet, and dramatist. In a few years, by Voltaire's intervention, the innocence of Calas was pronounced by a judicial verdict, and his property restored to his children, while the particular official who had been chiefly instrumental in obtaining his condemnation committed suicide.

The part which Zola played, however, in the Dreyfus affair was really far greater and more striking than Voltaire's defence of the Calas family. Voltaire incurred no popular odium, made few or no personal sacrifices, and exposed himself to no danger by his action. In the eighteenth century, when once it was known that a terrible mistake had been committed, the nation was instantly moved to redress the injury, and to honour the protector of the victims of injustice. In the nineteenth century Zola's action met with a very different reception. All classes and professions in the nation were arrayed against him in fierce and unintelligent antagonism; and it was with difficulty that he was protected from the fury of the mob. A further obstacle presented itself in the superciliousness of some superior men of letters, M. Brunetière for instance, to whom 'l'intervention d'un romancier, même fameux, dans une question de justice militaire' appeared 'déplacée.' Not content with the most outrageous attacks upon Zola, his enemies essayed to wound his feelings by unearthing supposed scandals which were said to have occurred seventy years ago, in connexion with his father, then a young officer. Papers

which were denied to the son were communicated to the gutter press. When at last Zola obtained permission to examine them, some curious facts transpired. The documents had been withdrawn from the custody of the War Office by a mysterious individual; and no official examination of them had been made previous to their removal or after their return. There were signs that they had undergone manipulation. Finally, it became known that the mysterious individual in whose hands the War Office had placed the papers was none other than the forger and suicide, Henry.

‘Les pauvres gens! Ils ne savaient même pas, en allant réveiller mon père dans sa tombe, quel homme d’intelligence et de travail, d’activité et de bonté, ils allaient en faire sortir.

‘Ils ne lui en voulaient point, à lui; ils n’avaient que l’idée de m’assassiner, moi. Ce n’était qu’un mort, on pouvait l’outrager, il ne répondrait pas. Leur noire ignorance ne s’était pas même inquiétée de savoir quel mort ils choisissaient, si ce n’était pas un mort difficile, dont la mémoire évoquée pourrait les confondre. Non! ils culbutaient en pleine boue, s’en éclaboussaient eux-mêmes, en voulant en couvrir les autres, tandis qu’ils se débattaient, éperdus, dans leur terreur du châtiment. Et voilà que le mort, réveillé, s’est fait leur accusateur.’ *

Zola’s mind was inevitably embittered by these events; the circle of his friends was broken up; his life, hitherto engrossed in his literary pursuits, was distracted and disturbed. Still, we may well think there must have been full compensation in the consciousness of duty nobly performed, in the success which attended his efforts, and in the happiness which he was the means of restoring to a whole family.

To Madame Dreyfus he wrote, on the return of her husband:—

‘Madame, on vous rend l’innocent, le martyr; on rend à sa femme, à son fils, à sa fille, le mari et le père; et ma première pensée va vers la famille réunie enfin, consolée, heureuse. Quel que soit encore mon deuil de citoyen, malgré la douleur indignée, la révolte où continuent à s’angoisser les âmes justes, je vis avec vous cette minute délicieuse, trempée de

* ‘La Vérité en Marche,’ p. 313,

bonnes larmes, la minute où vous avez serré dans vos bras le mort ressuscité, sorti vivant et libre du tombeau. Et, quand même, ce jour est un grand jour de victoire et de fête.

‘Je m’imagine la première soirée, sous la lampe, dans l’intimité familiale, lorsque les portes sont fermées et que toutes les abominations de la rue meurent au seuil domestique. Les deux enfants sont là, le père est revenu du lointain voyage, si long, si obscur. . . . Une douceur endort la maison close, une infinie bonté baigne de toutes parts la chambre discrète où sourit la famille, et nous sommes là dans l’ombre, muets, récompensés, nous tous qui avons voulu cela, qui luttons depuis tant de mois pour cette minute de bonheur.’

The literary genius of Zola, powerful and original as it is, nevertheless is perhaps more easily comprehended than that of many writers far inferior to himself. It never varied or underwent any transformations or developments. It is essentially massive, coarse, direct, with none of those deviations, phases, and fitful charms which make the work of many writers so difficult to seize and to characterise. His literary ideals and methods were extremely limited and concise; and to these he obstinately adhered. Nor need the technical name which Zola chose to apply to his work lead us to expect anything profound or intricate in his view of life.

For what is this so-called Naturalism invented by Zola? Merely the representation of man exclusively from the physical or animal standpoint, under the guise of scientific observation.

‘La pensée, la pensée, eh! tonnerre de Dieu! la pensée est le produit du corps entier. . . . Qui dit psychologue dit traître à la vérité.’ (Sandoz, in ‘L’Œuvre,’ p. 209.)

Zola’s materialism, for it is nothing else, has a crushing effect upon his conception of human character. Man, of course, has animal instincts, but he has others also which animals have not, and it is by these that he is constituted man and not beast; while even in the case of those which he shares with the brutes, they are in him so complex, so refined, and so much restricted by regulation as to be hardly recognisable as the same. No such gap exists anywhere in nature as between man and beast; and to ignore this marvellous difference entirely, and to write of men merely as animals, is to preclude at

once all possibility of drawing human character. Consequently, in Zola there is no characterisation whatever. The numerous creatures of flesh and blood who, in his immense work, pass before us in long and gloomy procession, have little similitude to men or women. They are moved entirely by the rudimentary appetites, and are pushed along down their slow descent into inevitable damnation by the powerful hand of the author himself. They are merely incarnations of the vices; and their actions are limited to the task of illustrating the hideous lessons and theories of the writer. They do not work out their own lives naturally. We find none of the tremblings, aspirations, failures of weak human nature; none of the struggles and triumphs of strong human nature; none of the inner workings of the human mind, its varying phases, complexities, hesitations, and inconsistencies; and, it is almost superfluous to say, we have nothing of the higher or spiritual side of man. All this, the very essence of human character and action, was completely hidden from Zola. We can read through reams of Zola with our feelings quite untouched by the various calamities which overtake the personages of his novels. We feel all the time that they are essentially unreal, 'faits à plaisir,' mere abstractions, and not actual living impersonations of human experience. Besides, it is especially in the finer and higher qualities which man does not share with the beast that his individuality chiefly consists, and that one man can be distinguished from another. And again, just as it is these same qualities which separate and distinguish one man from another, so it is these which draw them together and make the whole world kin. It is the mystery of life, and not its physical and crude manifestations, that prompts the feelings of union and sympathy with one's fellows, the conviction that the lives and fates of others have, in some unknown way, something in common with ourselves:

'One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves.'

Thus Zola's characters fail to inspire us with any sympathy for their fate. They provoke no tears, for there is nothing human; and we watch them pass on to

their doom much in the same way that we see a procession of cattle driven through the streets to the slaughter-house. Zola is a *La Fontaine retourné*. The latter, with the true poet's feeling for the unity and mystery of nature, draws animals and even plants within the magic circle of human sympathy. His animals are human; even the trees and plants have something human in them. 'La plante respire.' 'Il n'est rien qui n'ait son langage.' All nature is one in the spiritual sense. With Zola it is just the opposite. To him all nature is one only in the material sense. He treats man exclusively as the *bête humaine*: he cuts him off from the universe to which he belongs: he destroys in him all distinction and all distinctiveness. Regard man as nothing but a beast, a huddled unit of a herd, unrecognisable apart from his fellows, and the reality, individuality, and pathos of his character are extinguished instantly and irrevocably.

To call such a misrepresentation of man realism or naturalism is really a misuse of terms. It affords no more a scientific or veritable picture of humanity than the rhapsodical visions of mysticism, the abstractions of didacticism, or the exaggerations and deceptions of romance. It is not naturalism, for not only does it proceed from the first on an incomplete and false conception of the nature of man, but it withdraws man from that very world of nature in which it is its boast that it places him. It is not realism, for it deals, not with real men and women, but with a series of personified abstractions, forced upon us by the didactic character of the work, or the author's conception of his art. We realise nothing, because there is no verisimilitude in the characters, and no artistic truth.

The naturalists in literature, and Zola in particular, as we are aware, do not profess to give us art. The 'roman expérimental' has a more important aim in view—the popularisation of science. Truth is to benefit the morals in the same way that medicine heals the diseases of the body.

'Puisque la médecine,' says Zola, 'qui était un art, devient une science, pourquoi la littérature elle-même ne deviendrait-elle pas une science, grâce à la méthode expérimentale?'

It would be difficult to include more delusions or more

unmeaning expressions in a single sentence. We need not dwell on the futile jangle about arts and sciences. But who, in their senses, would ever think of consulting a novel for science or facts on which to build conclusions, or a standard of conduct? The only truths that can be found there are artistic truths, the result not so much of the knowledge of the writer as of his imagination and literary ability, though, if really faithful to nature, and presented in a vivid and artistic manner, they may have a powerful influence on the mind and morals of the reader. Of science he will find only echoes, no matter how strenuously the author may put forth his pretensions to be scientific. The very trade of novelist, and the exigencies of the novel, exclude the possibility of dealing with science in the necessary spirit of accuracy and independence. Some scientific principle, it is true, may be made the basis of the narration; but this can be no guarantee that its results, as shown in the fictitious lives of the characters of the novel, are those which inevitably would ensue in the course of nature. Zola, for instance, has described the terrible career and death of a hopeless drunkard in 'L'Assommoir'; but it would be absurd to conclude from this vivid and horrible picture that all drunkards meet inevitably with the same fate. Indeed, we know that, whatever ought to be their fate, many drunkards live prosperous lives and die comfortably in their beds.

In the same way Zola has employed the theory of heredity on which to build the whole history of the Rougon-Macquarts. This may do admirably from the literary point of view, but from a scientific standpoint the whole narrative is obviously absurd. Nothing, we suppose, could conceivably be more opposed to the scientific spirit than the habit of thus generalising from one particular instance, and that too, perhaps, merely an isolated phenomenon, chosen because of its striking character, and because it captivates the imagination. Medical, obstetric, and other manuals, criminal reports and police news, were diligently ransacked by Zola. Anything which was exceptional, startling, monstrous, or unheard of, was instantly seized upon and appropriated, while the normal or frequent was passed over in silence. With Zola, exception literally proved the

rule; and a few strange facts in criminal statistics are presented as generally true of the state of society during the Second Empire. A vivid and powerful fancy transforms, exaggerates, and confuses the whole, and leaves a picture effective, dramatic, and thrilling, perhaps, but grotesque and hopelessly untrue to fact and nature.

Again, the analogy of medicine and literature is a false one. Medicine holds by no means the same place as a remedy for the body that literature holds as a remedy for the moral character. Bodily ailments, we may safely suppose, no one in his right senses would desire to be afflicted with; and effectual remedies (when such exist) are eagerly sought and employed. With the moral nature it is far different. It is not a case of not knowing a remedy—which in most cases is merely to desist—but of deliberately choosing an immoral course of conduct because the sense of immediate enjoyment overpowers the higher feelings or the fear of future suffering or deterioration. Vices are clung to long after they are known to be vices, and are not easily exchanged for virtues. '*Video meliora proboque; Deteriora sequor.*'

But allowing, for the moment, that knowledge of the inevitable results of sin and folly can be obtained from Zola's writings, it does not necessarily follow that those who are in most need of the lesson will ever profit by it. Of Zola's intense moral purpose in writing as he did we have no doubt; his sincerity is unquestionable. Vice is invariably held up by him to horror and detestation, and made to appear in its ugliest and most revolting forms. Still, we may doubt whether many have benefited by the hideous pictures which his works unfold. The tendency must be rather to accustom the mind to the crude forms of the sensual appetites, and to impress the reader with the notion that, after all, he is merely an animal without man's higher ideals and aspirations; while the fact that the works which contain the most numerous or most glaring improprieties have almost invariably attained the largest sale, might perhaps be used as an argument that they have done actual harm. The unreality of the lesson, also, is generally too apparent for it to make any serious impression. Besides, Zola's pessimism and fatalism are so pronounced that all question of morality would seem thereby to be excluded from

life. 'Voyez un salon, je parle du plus honnête; si vous écriviez les confessions sincères des invités, vous laisseriez un document qui scandaliserait les voleurs et les assassins.' There is no place for the will; his characters are 'êtres souverainement dominés par leurs nerfs et leur sang.' And again, 'le vice et la vertu sont des produits comme le vitriol ou le sucre.' It is in vain that vitriol wishes itself sugar, in vain that vice seeks to raise itself to virtue. For what purpose then, it may well be asked, the lessons and warnings of the experimental novel?

Leaving, however, the question as to the moral results of Zola's work—results which, after all, can only be surmised—and returning to the author's claims to scientific consideration, we must remember, in addition to what has been already said, that in order to accept statements as scientific facts we must be perfectly sure of the capacity of the individual who makes them to carry out such researches and observations, and of his thorough disinterestedness and accuracy. To apply the argument *ad hominem*, apart from Zola's good faith, there is nothing in the character of his genius to fit him for careful observation or deduction. His education had been incomplete and interrupted; and in later years, when fame and prosperity came to him, he was immersed entirely in his own work. Beyond the handbooks and statistical works of reference on which he drew largely for the construction of his novels, he appears to have read scarcely anything except the works of contemporary authors that he reviewed in the journals; and his literary criticism, though always intelligent, shows little or no sign of familiarity with the great French or classical writers, and no knowledge of the history of literature. With philosophy, science, and history he appears to have been equally unacquainted. Unlike most writers who rose to fame in the last century, his mind was not trained or developed by the study of the great writers of the past. Had it been so trained, the work which he has given us would probably have been of a very different character, not only in idea and inspiration, but also in form and style. Just as, in the matter of style, a proper proportion of idea and phrase was never attained or even aimed at by him, so in the same way he was completely devoid of the true scientific spirit; nor had he the least

conception of the importance of phenomena relatively to one another or to a general theory, without which it is impossible to present facts intelligibly or rationally. The confusion of thought and language is very noticeable when he attempts to write on abstract topics, as, for instance, in 'Le Roman Expérimental'; and this, united as it is with an obviously sincere and touching passion for truth and the good of his fellows, reveals, in a curious way, the secret and peculiarities of Zola's genius.

'Dans mes études littéraires, j'ai souvent parlé de la méthode expérimentale appliquée au roman et au drame. Le retour à la nature, l'évolution naturaliste qui emporte le siècle, pousse peu à peu toutes les manifestations de l'intelligence humaine dans une même voie scientifique. Seulement, l'idée d'une littérature déterminée par la science, a pu surprendre, faute d'être précisée et comprise. Il me paraît donc utile de dire nettement ce qu'il faut entendre, selon moi, par le roman expérimental.

'Je n'aurai à faire ici qu'un travail d'adaptation, car la méthode expérimentale a été établie avec une force et une clarté merveilleuses par Claude Bernard, dans son "Introduction à l'étude de la médecine expérimentale." Ce livre d'un savant dont l'autorité est décisive, va me servir de base solide. Je trouverai là toute la question traitée, et je me bornerai, comme arguments irréfutables, à donner les citations qui me seront nécessaires. Ce ne sera donc qu'une compilation de textes; car je compte, sur tous les points, me retrancher derrière Claude Bernard. Le plus souvent il me suffira de remplacer le mot "médecin" par le mot "romancier," pour rendre ma pensée claire et lui apporter la rigueur d'une vérité scientifique.'

Such are the opening passages of Zola's treatise on 'Le Roman Expérimental,' one of the most curious compositions on the theory of literature that have ever appeared. The naïve admiration which he so often expressed for science reminds us of the appreciation by a rustic congregation of a sermon, in which the preacher quotes texts in the original Greek, and makes plenty of references to the Revised Version. Occasionally, also, we find Zola making curious statements which we should not expect to discover in a scientific work. Shanghai is represented as a town in Japan; lizards sit upon their eggs, and so on. On the whole, we cannot

help sympathising a little with the unfortunate journalist on whom, as related in the following passage, M. Zola's indignation and contempt descended.

'Un jour, je donnais à un journaliste de beaucoup d'esprit ces explications. . . . Enfin, je faisais remarquer que l'erreur sur mon prétendu orgueil venait sans doute de ce que j'étais le porte-drapeau de l'idée scientifique . . . Or, pendant que je parlais, le journaliste devenait grave, prenait un air désappointé et ennuyé. Lui qui, jusque-là, s'était beaucoup amusé du naturalisme, finit par m'interrompre en s'écriant: "Comment! ce n'est que cela; mais ce n'est plus drôle!" ('Lettre à la Jeunesse,' p. 90.)

The fact is that the whole of this discussion about science and naturalism is exceedingly tiresome; but Zola, to speak frankly, has never scrupled to fatigue his readers. The style of his novels is ponderous, awkward, and monotonous in the extreme; the characters, as we have shown, have no life or interest; and the narrative itself is generally anything but absorbing. Few of his readers, we imagine, arrive at the last of his six or seven hundred pages without a sense of relief.

His naturalism is nothing but a materialism so limited and so consistent as to constitute a veritable deformation of nature; his science, nothing but a materialism exaggerated and distorted by an extraordinarily vivid, and often morbid imagination. There is no nature, no science, and, notwithstanding the author's struggles in that direction, no morality. We, at least, can see in the series of vicious pictures of low life nothing to attract virtue; and in Zola's whole work no 'haute morale' and no 'utilité pratique.'

It seems plain that Zola failed entirely in his self-appointed task, consistently, conscientiously, and strenuously carried on as it was for more than thirty years. From a literary point of view, also, his novels are characterised by exactly the defects which would inevitably have damned any ordinary writer. How then is it that his reputation has survived? that up till the moment of his death he remained the most celebrated novel-writer of his time, enjoying a world-fame such as no other contemporary novelist can now boast of, while his books are circulated in thousands all over Europe, and translated into nearly all the European languages?

The truth is that the merits of Zola's work—in spite of the defects already dwelt upon, and notwithstanding the false and misleading label which he has persisted in attaching to himself throughout his career—are too great and striking to fail in arousing admiration, or making a profound impression. In blind deference to the bidding of the author himself, Zola's writings have almost always been regarded from the realistic point of view, and compared with, and judged by the side of, those of Balzac, Stendhal, and Flaubert. No doubt there was much justification for this. Zola's work in certain respects, in its gigantic scope, ponderousness, and uncouthness, in its ostentation of knowledge and its parade of description, in its professed ambition and effort to hold up the *speculum vitæ*, has outwardly much in common with the work of Balzac, and indeed is confessedly an imitation of the earlier writer. But these similarities are only superficial traits in Zola, of inferior interest and importance in the appreciation of his talent, and manifestly insufficient to explain his great position in literature. Considered merely as a realist, Zola would undoubtedly be eclipsed by many of his predecessors and contemporaries. The Rougon-Macquart series, in spite of all its pretended science and its glowing detail of description, presents no real picture of life like that contained in the 'Comédie Humaine.' The whole is presented in an atmosphere of unbridled exaggeration, and there is an entire absence of that restraint of feeling and expression necessary for true realistic representation in literature, which was practised with so much success by the writers already mentioned.

Zola's title to fame and immortality we believe to depend almost entirely on his immense imaginative powers. By temperament he really belonged to the Romanticists. He himself would have repelled the insinuation with scorn and indignation; and to many, such a statement may appear a paradox. Yet, if we consider Zola's work as a whole—and it is thus 'the master' himself regarded it ('L'Histoire des Rougon-Macquart,' 'Les Trois Villes,' 'Les Quatre Évangiles')—with all the inherent defects which we have already noticed, it makes an impression such as only the greatest achievements of literature, or some tremendous catastrophe in actual life,

can produce. Even those to whom the style and matter of his novels are most distasteful cannot help being sensible of this. For example, it is M. Jules Lemaître who says, 'J'ai beau m'en défendre, ces brutalités mêmes m'imposent, je ne sais comment, par leur nombre, et ces ordures par leur masse.'

Zola is, in fact, a great, if brutal, tragic poet. The effects he produces are entirely those of the imagination, and have nothing to do with so-called science or naturalism. Compare Zola in essentials with his supposed prototypes, Stendhal and Balzac, and he will be found to have little in common with these writers beyond choice of subject, and a general pervading tone of materialism. The great feature of these authors' works, as of those of Flaubert and of all the successful realistic writers, is their power of depicting character, and of creating veritable men and women who exist for us in their pages in all their living reality. Nowhere do we find such creations in Zola. But compare him with the Romanticists, and it will be seen that they have much in common. The Romanticists were never famous for their power of depicting human character. In all the dramas and novels of Victor Hugo you will hardly find one drawn true to life. The poet's imagination invests all with an exaggeration, magnificent indeed, but untrue to nature. He cannot efface himself and let his characters develop themselves in their own way; he inspires them with himself; they are merely personified abstractions representing his own ideas, often inconsistently with themselves and with their surroundings. Similarly, in Zola there is no single character that truly resembles a human being. He never painted from real life like Flaubert and the De Goncourts. Instead, we have figures which represent the various vices and calamities of the human race—greed, drink, famine, murder, lust, cruelty, and so on—all coloured and quickened by his vivid and powerful imagination. By the absence of characterisation, the novel or drama loses personal interest, but its effect as an immense poem of human tragedy is much enhanced. The canvas is too vast for individuals to be distinguished in it. Detail, a close adherence to nature, would be misplaced, just as, in a great picture representing some tremendous natural or human catastrophe, the effect upon the

spectator would be diminished, and his attention distracted, by a series of portraits painted in the foreground.

Zola's books, then, are not novels in the ordinary sense of the word, but parts of a great epic poem in prose, so to speak, of which the heroes are the human vices; and, so regarded, they compel admiration. Even his style, uncouth, blunt, and brutal as it is, conveys an impression of weight, power, and irresistibility, admirably in keeping with the huge and gloomy subject treated, and produces an effect which a lighter, more varied, polished, and concise style could not attain; while the iteration, the slow piling-up of phrases and massing of effects, together with its impassiveness and monotony, give it the character of a sombre recitation, '*une litanie de phrases massives.*'

While his portraits of men and women are unreal, and while his ignorance of the inner workings of the human mind, of the subtler, finer elements of human character—an ignorance characteristic of the Romanticists—is very marked, he shows all their knowledge of the exterior world. His pictures and descriptions of things are extremely eloquent and powerful. That they are often exaggerated is doubtless true. As in Hugo and (as Taine observed) in Dickens, so in Zola, external things are frequently given a huge and unreal importance. Like the cathedral in '*Notre Dame*,' or the river in more than one of Dickens's stories, the house in '*Pot-Bouille*,' the park in '*La Faute de l'Abbé Mouret*,' the market in '*Le Ventre de Paris*,' the gin-shop in '*L'Assommoir*,' have almost human, or rather superhuman, qualities ascribed to them, and rise up like monsters in the midst of the narrative, overshadowing and destroying all that approach by their irresistible and unnatural influence and power. Can anything be imagined more utterly untrue to sober fact, science, or nature?

But with this tendency to violence and exaggeration an intimate sense of beauty was conjoined; and in one, at least, of his novels Zola shows powers and perceptions for which the bulk of his work would deprive him of all credit. No prose poet of modern times, not even Chateaubriand in his nature-hymns, or George Sand in her rustic stories, was more sensible than Zola to the beauties of nature when he penned the following descrip-

tion of the park in which Serge and Albine wandered during their idyll of semi-conscious love.

‘Cependant, à cette heure, le parc entier était à eux. Ils en avaient pris possession souverainement. Pas un coin de terre qui ne leur appartînt. C’était pour eux que le bois de roses fleurissait, que le parterre avait des odeurs douces, alanguies, dont les bouffées les endormaient, la nuit, par leurs fenêtres ouvertes. Le verger les nourrissait, emplissait de fruits les jupes d’Albine, les rafraîchissait de l’ombre musquée de ses branches, sous lesquelles il faisait si bon déjeuner, après le lever du soleil. Dans les prairies, ils avaient les herbes et les eaux : les herbes qui élargissaient indéfiniment leur royaume, en déroulant sans cesse devant eux des tapis de soie . . . Et ils jouissaient encore du ciel . . . Jamais il n’avait le même visage. Chaque soir, surtout, il les émerveillait, à l’heure des adieux. Le soleil glissant à l’horizon trouvait toujours un nouveau sourire. Parfois il s’en allait au milieu d’une paix sereine, sans un nuage, noyé peu à peu dans un bain d’or. D’autres fois il éclatait en rayons de pourpre, il crevait sa robe de vapeur, s’échappait en ondées de flammes qui barraient le ciel de queues de comètes gigantesques, dont les chevelures incendiaient les cimes des hautes futaies. Puis, c’étaient, sur des plages de sable rouge, sur des bancs allongés de corail rose, un coucher d’astre attendri, soufflant un à un ses rayons . . . Albine et Serge marchaient royalement dans la foule des animaux qui leur rendaient obéissance. Lorsqu’ils traversaient le parterre, des vols de papillons se levaient pour le plaisir de leurs yeux, les éventaient de leurs ailes battantes, les suivaient, comme le frisson vivant du soleil, comme les fleurs envolées secouant leur parfum. Au verger, ils se rencontraient, en haut des arbres, avec les oiseaux gourmands ; les pierrots, les pinsons, les loriots, les bouvreuils, leur indiquaient les fruits les plus mûrs, tout cicatrisés des coups de leur bec . . . Cette vie du parc, Albine et Serge ne la sentaient grandir autour d’eux que depuis le jour où ils s’étaient senti vivre eux-mêmes dans un baiser.’ (‘La Faute de l’Abbé Mouret,’ p. 242.)

If the source of this quotation were not known, would not one imagine that it had been taken from a page of ‘Atala’ or ‘Paul et Virginie’?

‘Atala me fit un manteau avec la seconde écorce du frêne, car j’étais presque nu. Elle me broda des mocassines . . . je prenais soin à mon tour de sa parure. Tantôt je lui mettais sur la tête une couronne de ces mauves bleues que nous

trouvions sur notre route, dans des cimetières indiens abandonnés; tantôt je lui faisais des colliers avec des graines rouges d'azalea, et puis je me prenais à sourire, en contemplant sa merveilleuse beauté . . . Souvent dans les grandes chaleurs du jour, nous cherchions un abri sous les mousses des cèdres . . . Une foule de papillons, de mouches brillantes, de colibris, de perruches vertes, de geais d'azur, vient s'accrocher à ces mousses, qui produisent alors l'effet d'une tapisserie en laine blanche, où l'ouvrier européen aurait brodé des insectes et des oiseaux éclatants.'

But the writer suddenly recollects his moral and scientific mission, blames himself for indulging in an idyll, and hastens to desecrate it and destroy it by adding some descriptions of the grossest materialism and sensuality. In spite of all his efforts, however, the poet is constantly discovering himself. Even in the passage in which Zola, by the mouth of Sandoz, defines his own conception of life and literature, and which we have already quoted as especially characteristic in its materialism, the whole soliloquy ends with a lyrical invocation:

“ Ah! bonne terre, prends-moi, toi qui es la mère commune, l'unique source de la vie!” Les yeux se mouillèrent; et pour cacher cet attendrissement, il ajouta d'une voix brutale, avec un vaste geste qui embrassait l'horizon :

“ Est-ce bête, une âme à chacun de nous, quand il y a cette grande âme!” (‘L'Œuvre,’ p. 209.)

It is curious and instructive to observe the poet's violent struggles and efforts to subdue his natural inclinations, his obstinate persistence in keeping his eyes fixed upon the ground, on the low, the vulgar, and the ignoble, and his continual insistence on the scientific character of his work, forcing his art even into preposterous analogy with the medical science, and throwing over it a didactic garb whenever possible. His Pegasus, however, invariably proves restive and unmanageable, and soon bears him up to the heights.

‘ Il n'a pas réussi à étouffer sa robuste imagination. Il est poète à sa manière, poète sans délicatesse et sans grâce, mais non sans audace et sans énergie. Il voit gros; quelquefois même il voit grand. Il pousse au type et vise au symbole. En voulant copier, le maladroit invente et crée! Sa conception des Rougon-Macquart, qui est de montrer tous les états

physiologiques et toutes les conditions sociales dans une seule famille, a en soi quelque chose d'énorme et de symétrique qui révèle chez son auteur le plus ardent idéalisme . . . Il a des visions, des hallucinations de solitaire. Il anime la matière inerte, il donne une pensée aux choses. Du fond de sa retraite, il évoque l'âme des foules. C'est à Médan que se cache le dernier des romantiques.' (Anatole France, 'La Vie Littéraire,' p. 75.)

Zola's imagination is prodigious; its power is unlimited; and contact with it transforms everything instantly. He sees entirely with the eye of the poet, *en grand*, types, masses, influences, fates, not individuals or incidents. And if the power of his imagination is perhaps unparalleled, so also is its continuity and its steadiness. There are no ebbs and flows, no great outbursts followed by commonplace and uninteresting passages, such as occur in the work of so many imaginative writers. Zola's imagination is a constant force; in fact, he only sees through the eye of imagination. Nothing in the whole work of this writer is more remarkable than the facility with which he deals with enormous subjects—subjects formidable from their multiplicity of detail, such as the Franco-German War; forbidding on account of what we may call their staleness of material, such as Rome or Paris, or uninviting owing to their vagueness, such as 'Travail' or 'Fécondité.' The realist would have found the treatment of these vast subjects an impossibility. He would have been overwhelmed by the countless observations and details from life necessary in order to present a true picture of a great town or a great battle. The great realistic writers, like Stendhal and Tolstoi, have never attempted to draw a picture of war as a whole, and what they give us is a slice of the action which can be described in full detail and vividly enough to make an impression of reality. The centre of interest is the hero of the narrative, his feelings, experiences, the development of his character. We have no impression of the tragedy of war in general; so long as the characters demean themselves honourably and come safe out of the crisis, the reader is satisfied. The picture of war drawn in what we regard as Zola's greatest and most characteristic work, 'La Débâcle,' is a very different one. Here, in the description of the battle of Sedan, we have war in

the abstract, in its entirety, not noted down and observed by the realist, but created by the imagination of a tragic poet.

‘Mais, à ce moment, comme l’ennemi, de l’autre côté du vallon, paraissait en effet se replier, une fusillade terrible éclata sur la gauche. C’était l’éternel mouvement tournant, tout un détachement de la garde qui avait fait le tour par le Fond de Givonne . . . Déjà des Prussiens franchissaient le mur du parc, accouraient par les allées, en si grand nombre, que le combat s’engagea à la baïonnette. Tête nue, la veste arrachée, un zouave, un bel homme à barbe noire, faisait surtout une besogne effroyable, trouant les poitrines qui craquaient, les ventres qui mollissaient, essuyant sa baïonnette, rouge du sang de l’un, dans le flanc de l’autre; et comme elle se cassa, il continua, en broyant des crânes, à coup de crosse; et comme un faux pas le désarma définitivement, il sauta à la gorge d’un gros Prussien, d’un tel bond, que tous deux roulèrent sur le gravier, jusqu’à la porte défoncée de la cuisine, dans une embrassade mortelle. Entre les arbres du parc, à chaque coin des pelouses, d’autres tueries entassaient les morts. Mais la lutte s’acharna devant le perron, autour du canapé et des fauteuils bleu-ciel, une bouscalade enragée d’hommes qui se brûlaient la face à bout portant, qui se déchiraient des dents et des ongles, faute d’un couteau pour s’ouvrir la poitrine.

‘Et Gaude, alors, avec sa face douloureuse d’homme qui avait eu des chagrins dont il ne parlait jamais, fut pris d’une folie héroïque. Dans cette défaite dernière, tout en sachant que la compagnie était anéantie, que pas un homme ne pouvait venir à son appel, il empoigna son clarion, l’emboucha, sonna au ralliement, d’une telle haleine de tempête, qu’il semblait vouloir faire se dresser les morts. Et les Prussiens arrivaient, et il ne bougeait pas, sonnant plus fort, à toute fanfare. Une volée de balles l’abattit, son dernier souffle s’envola en une note de cuivre, qui emplit le ciel d’un frisson.

‘Debout sans pouvoir comprendre, Rochas n’avait pas fait un mouvement pour fuir. Il attendait, il bégaya : “Eh bien ! quoi donc ? quoi donc ?”

‘Cela ne lui entraît pas dans la cervelle, que ce fût la défaite encore. On changeait tout, même la façon de se battre. Ces gens n’auraient-ils pas dû attendre, de l’autre côté du vallon, qu’on allât les vaincre ? On avait beau en tuer, il en arrivait toujours. Qu’est-ce que c’était que cette fichue guerre, où l’on se rassemblait dix pour en écraser un, où l’ennemi ne se montrait que le soir, après vous avoir mis

en déroute par toute une journée de prudente canonnade? Ahuri, éperdu, n'ayant jusque-là rien compris à la campagne, il se sentait enveloppé, emporté par quelque chose de supérieur, auquel il ne résistait plus, bien qu'il répétât machinalement, dans son obstination: "Courage, mes enfants, la victoire est là-bas!"

'D'un geste prompt, cependant, il avait repris le drapeau. C'était sa pensée dernière, le cacher, pour que les Prussiens ne l'eussent pas. Mais, bien que la hampe fût rompue, elle s'embarrassa dans ses jambes, il faillit tomber. Des balles sifflaient, il sentit la mort, il arracha la soie du drapeau, la déchira, cherchant à l'anéantir. Et ce fut à ce moment que, frappé au cou, à la poitrine, aux jambes, il s'affaissa parmi les lambeaux tricolores, comme vêtu d'eux. Il vécut encore une minute, les yeux élargis, voyant peut-être monter à l'horizon la vision vraie de la guerre, l'atroce lutte vitale qu'il ne faut accepter que d'un cœur résigné et grave, ainsi qu'une loi. Puis, il eut un petit hoquet, il s'en alla dans son ahurissement d'enfant, tel qu'un pauvre être borné, un insecte joyeux, écrasé sous la nécessité de l'énorme et impassible nature. Avec lui finissait une légende.' ('La Débâcle,' p. 374.)

It would be difficult, we think, to surpass the poetical grandeur of the above passage; and, throughout the whole work, the overwhelming description of suffering, brutality, and crime, in the midst of which a great nation moves slowly down to its doom, constitutes one of the most stupendous representations of the great human tragedy ever attempted on the written page.

To examine even a few of the novels in detail would take us too far afield. We prefer to regard the work of this prose-poet from a general point of view, from a distance and from a height. Looking back on Zola's life and work as a whole, we can see that the various cross-currents which existed in it led inevitably to a series of contradictions and paradoxes. In the first place, we are given a philosophical study of humanity which contains nothing but the visions of a tragic poet, while an imagination of exceptional force and compass appears disguised in the modest garb of scientific research. A passionate desire for truth and reality leads directly to the presentation of the essentially false; and an intense moral aim only to the production of literature which is almost unanimously regarded, under some aspects at least, as

degrading. Sincere, simple, and modest in his private character, and fitted by nature for a life of retired literary ease and domestic happiness, this author has appeared to the world at large as a man of vicious temperament, a *tapageur*, and often as a charlatan. It is only part of the irony which seems to enter so curiously into all Zola's life and work, that the truth and morality which he in vain strove, during a conscientious and laborious literary career of more than thirty years, to inculcate by his pen, should, through a pure accident in his life, have been taught by his example in a manner far more striking and effective than is possible in written words.

No man of letters during his lifetime has been the centre of so many stormy disputes and bitter recriminations. Guy de Maupassant wrote many years ago :

‘Qui donc a attaqué plus brutalement ce qu’il croyait injuste et faux? Qui donc . . . a combattu plus furieusement pour ses idées? Qui donc a triomphé plus bruyamment de l’indifférence d’abord, puis de la résistance hésitante du grand public?’

As the same author declares, his very name had something in it that was aggressive, and sounded continually as a trumpet-blast to dissension and battle. Now that he has gone, we may hope that the angry discussions which surged around him may cease, that the false literary ideal created by him may disappear, and that we may hear no more of the ‘*littérature déterminée par la science*.’ At the same time, we feel confident that his work will survive for its splendid poetical imagery and vision, and that his name will be remembered as that of one who on a great occasion, at the cost of all he held dear, chivalrously raised his voice on behalf of the oppressed, and recalled his country to a sense of justice.



Art. VI.—A CONSPECTUS OF SCIENCE.

1. *International Catalogue of Scientific Literature. First Annual Issue. Botany (Part I); Chemistry (Part I); Mechanics; Physics (Part I); Physiology (Part I); Meteorology.* London: Harrison and Sons, 1902.
2. *Reports of the Proceedings at the International Conferences on a Catalogue of Scientific Literature.* Royal Society, London; 1896, 1898, 1900.

THE volumes whose titles are given above are not books to be read; they are simply lists to be consulted. Moreover, they are so wholly technical in character as to be absolutely unintelligible to the general reader; they are intended solely for the man of science, and he alone can make use of them. Yet, as the first-fruits of a combined international effort to provide a ready practical analysis of the current scientific literature of the whole world, such as can be used by any man of science, wherever he dwells and whatever be the language he speaks, the volumes possess an interest which reaches beyond science and men of science, and deserve consideration from more points of view than one.

The first volume mentioned above—that on botany—consisting of some four hundred closely printed pages, will, with its second part, furnish a complete index to the botanical literature—books, papers, memoirs, etc.—of 1901. The other volumes are similarly concerned with other sciences; and seventeen sciences, or branches of science, in all are to be treated in like manner, each science having a volume, in some cases two, devoted to itself. These volumes are published for the purpose of enabling any one interested in science to find out, with the least possible trouble, what books or what papers published in 1901 dealt with this or that scientific theme—this and nothing more. The enquirer is not told how the theme is dealt with, or what are the results thereby gained; to learn these he must go to the book or to the paper itself; the index only tells him where to look.

These seventeen or twenty closely packed volumes, devoted to the publications of a single year, present a striking proof of the scientific activity which is going on

in the various countries of the world; for in them are indexed those books and papers only which contain, or profess to contain, the results of what is usually called original investigation. Many of the books bearing scientific titles which are found in publishers' lists, and many of the articles dealing with scientific subjects which appear in scientific or other periodicals, are merely of an expository nature. The object of these is, by attractiveness of style and simplicity of statement, to make the general reader understand and appreciate the scope and importance of discoveries and observations which, in the original records, are hidden from the lay public by the thick veil of technical terms. Though at times containing valuable criticisms and suggestions, such writings are not regarded by scientific workers as definite 'contributions to science'; they do not form links in the chain of actual scientific progress; they may as a rule be neglected by the scientific worker. Consequently, the 'International Catalogue of Scientific Literature,' whose main aim is to assist the scientific worker, takes no notice of a book or paper which is not in some way the record of an original scientific discovery, observation, method, or idea.

In its choice, moreover, of what to notice, the catalogue is further restricted. The word 'scientific' bears more meanings than one. 'Science' is sometimes, and perhaps most commonly, used to denote a particular kind of knowledge—the knowledge which deals with numbers, or with the properties of matter, or with the features of living things; the knowledge which may be divided into mathematics, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, and the like. And 'scientific' is then understood to mean what pertains to this kind of knowledge. That is to say, the term is defined by its subject-matter. On the other hand, the word 'scientific' is often used with a wider meaning; the term is defined, not by the subject-matter treated of, but by the method employed. In this sense, whatever knowledge is gathered in by means of reasoned investigation, whether deductive or inductive in character, may be spoken of as scientific; and treatises which deal in this way with the history of man, with art, and even with theology, are to be regarded as scientific productions.

The promoters of the International Catalogue adopted the more restricted meaning; they took subject-matter

as their guide, and confined their efforts to the kind of knowledge which constitutes science as commonly understood. In adopting this course they necessarily had to accept artificial limits; and in determining what they should take in and what they should leave out they allowed themselves to be led by considerations of practical convenience. So long as the works relating to the knowledge of the non-living universe, and even of living things other than man, had to be dealt with, no difficulties were likely to occur. All works recording original investigations in these subjects would naturally be included in the Catalogue. But man himself at once introduced a stumbling-block. Human physiology, for example—that is to say, the knowledge of the human body—naturally found its place in the Catalogue; but physiological investigations are apt to ignore distinctions between body and mind; and indeed there are some physiologists who maintain that psychology is in reality a branch of physiology. Hence it seemed reasonable to include psychology in the Catalogue, in order to ensure that all physiological literature should find a place there. If, however, psychology were to be admitted *en bloc*, a large amount of literature would have to be indexed, which, though its method might entitle it to be called scientific, would be relegated by its subject-matter to a different category. Similar difficulties occurred in regard to human anatomy and geography.

The promoters of the Catalogue resolved, as we said, to be guided by practical considerations. The main object of the Catalogue, in their view, was to assist the scientific worker, to enable him to find out what has been done, or is being done, in the matter about which he is interested, and not to provide a theoretically perfect list of everything which has been published. Moreover, considering the vastness of the task before them, they felt justified in confining themselves, at all events for the present, to the assistance of the scientific worker as commonly understood—to the mathematician, the astronomer, the physicist, the chemist, and the worker in one or other of the various branches of biology. Hence, not without reluctance, and acknowledging that their course was determined by practical, not by logical, considerations, they decided not to attempt to include psychology as a whole,

but, under the name—not, perhaps, wholly a suitable one—of ‘experimental psychology,’ to take in those works on psychology of which the worker in physiology ought to be aware. For similar reasons they decided to limit anthropology by the title of ‘physical anthropology,’ and geography by the title of ‘mathematical and physical geography.’

Such a decision is, of course, open to many and serious objections. But this, at least, may be said for it, that, while, in so complicated a business, the attempt to include too much at the outset might have proved disastrous to the whole undertaking, it will not be impossible, when the machinery has, after some experience, got into good working order, so to enlarge the Catalogue as to satisfy demands which cannot be regarded otherwise than as both logical and just. Indeed, both psychology and anthropology are now taking such shape as definitely organised sciences, on the level of those supplying the bulk of the Catalogue, that their full recognition may reasonably be expected before very long.

The necessity of confining their efforts within reasonably practical limits brought the promoters of the Catalogue face to face with another serious difficulty. The current phrase, ‘pure and applied science,’ denotes a distinction which, though real and necessary, is not always easily carried out in practice, and which is apt to bring difficulties in its train. By ‘pure science’ is meant the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, the desire to know without regard to consequences. In the language of the scoffer, pure science is science which is not defiled by being put to practical use. That science in its pure first state possesses no direct utility is indeed obvious. The newly acquired knowledge, the law of nature newly found out, is an impalpable idea floating in an intellectual atmosphere above the heads of common folk. To be made use of, it needs, so to speak, to be brought down to the ordinary level of daily life. The latter task is the work of ‘applied science.’ For instance, engineering is an ‘applied’ science, the ‘pure’ basis of which is found in mechanics, physics and chemistry. Now the books and papers on engineering exceed in number those on the parts of the pure sciences which form its basis; and the same is the case with other sciences.

In dealing with this question of pure and applied science, the promoters of the Catalogue were again guided by practical considerations. If they had attempted to take in all applied science, to index all books and papers on engineering, on medicine and surgery, on chemical industry, on agriculture, and the like, they would undoubtedly have undertaken a task too colossal for any new organisation, however skilfully devised, to carry out. Hence they decided, and, it must be conceded, wisely decided, to limit their efforts to 'pure' science, at all events at the outset.

This decision, however, plunged them into a difficulty of another kind. On the one hand, it often happens that the worker in applied science, in endeavouring so to shape the truth, rough-hewn by the worker in pure science, as to make it available for immediate practical needs, changes the features of the truth in such a way that it is seen to be something very different from what it was when it left the hands of the man of pure science, and indeed sometimes appears to be almost a new truth. On the other hand, and perhaps still oftener, the worker in applied science, in attempting to turn to practical use knowledge already won, comes himself upon knowledge wholly new; in seeking for a beast of burden he finds a crown, often of the greatest value, of the pure gold of 'pure' science. Hence, not once or twice, but often the announcement of a discovery of new knowledge, of a contribution to pure science, is to be found buried amid the technical details of some paper devoted to the account of an effort to secure an end of the most practical and—*sit venia verbo*—sordid kind.

Such results of 'pure' science, cropping up amid the results of 'applied' science, must be known to the worker in pure science no less than to him who is applying science. Consequently, the Catalogue, which, as we have already said, is intended to help, in the first instance, the worker in science, must, in its endeavour to collect all purely scientific results, go beyond the books and periodicals ostensibly devoted to pure science; it must search through the corresponding periodicals of applied science—engineering, medical, industrial, and the like—picking out the shining bits of pure ore which lie embedded in the rock of technical discussions.

The task, then, which the Catalogue essays is to take out from the scientific literature of the world, whether that literature professes to belong to pure or to applied science, whatever new things in the way of pure science appear therein, and to present these things in such a way that they may easily be found by him who seeks. Nor indeed does it absolutely confine itself to scientific literature technically so called; for scientific truth, like other truth, turns up in all sorts of places; and it frequently happens that some bit of new knowledge, of a purely scientific kind, is contributed by a writer when dealing with topics which seem far removed from science, commonly so called. To accomplish this task the Catalogue has to go far afield, its field consisting of two parts—books published occasionally, and periodicals published at regular intervals; and it need hardly be said that the latter is by far the larger part. Indeed it is interesting to note how largely, in modern times, as regards the news of science no less than as regards nearly all other kinds of news, the recurring periodical has supplanted the occasional book.

In the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth centuries the man of science, after communicating a discovery to his more immediate friends by word of mouth or by letter, gave it to the public in the form of a book, either large or small according to the nature and scope of the enquiry leading up to the discovery. Sometimes the book was a thick folio, embodying the labour of many years; sometimes it was a thin pamphlet, giving an account of a single observation which the author thought of such importance as to demand immediate publication. Whether large book or thin pamphlet, it was an occasional and independent publication. When, in the course of the seventeenth century, learned societies were established with the view that learned men, by associating together, might help each other in their enquiries, it was soon found that such help could be powerfully afforded, not only by holding meetings at which members could encourage and correct each other by discussion and criticism, but also by undertaking the task of publication. For then, as now, a scientific book was not necessarily a financial success for author or publisher; and, unless a rich patron came to the rescue, a poor scientific worker often found it difficult

to make the results of his labours known beyond his immediate circle by getting them printed.

One of the earliest of such learned bodies, the Royal Society of London, held it from the first to be one of its main duties to assist the publication of philosophical works. This it did in two ways. It intervened between the printer or publisher and the author of a large and expensive work recording the results of prolonged investigations, and, by giving its *imprimatur*, encouraged the former to undertake a risk from which he might otherwise have shrunk. It thus helped to bring out the 'Principia' of Newton and many other great books, such as the works of Hooke, Grew, and Malpighi. Besides this, it authorised its secretaries to publish, under the name of 'Philosophical Transactions,' brief accounts of important communications made to the society. As time went on, assistance to the publication of large books was more rarely given, and indeed may be said to have been abandoned; and the publishing energy of the Society was concentrated on its periodically appearing Philosophical Transactions.

Much the same thing happened in the case of the other learned societies; they all at least undertook the task of publishing, under one title or another, at recurring periods, accounts of the communications made to them. This soon came to be recognised as one of the main functions of a philosophical or scientific society. The facility of publication thus afforded has brought about, at the present time, a condition of things contrasting strongly with that of the sixteenth century. Then, as we have said, a man who wished to make his views known had to write a book and find a publisher. Nowadays, almost wherever he be, there is always a society at hand, before which he can bring what he wishes to say; and the society, as a rule, is ready to publish in its periodically appearing transactions or proceedings or journal whatever of real value is brought before it. For the number of such societies, each with its periodical scientific publication, is almost as the sands of the sea. There are local scientific societies of the most varied area—societies belonging to a country, to a province, to a city, or to a district; and each such society, for the most part, holds it its duty to have its own periodical publication. Then

there are special societies, societies devoted to the advance of some particular branch of science—mathematical, physical, chemical societies and the like; and these exist, not only in the different countries of the world, but often in different parts of the same country. Natural history societies, for instance, abound everywhere; and many, if not most, of these have their own ‘organs.’

Besides all these periodicals thus issued under the patronage of learned societies, which, beginning in the sixteenth century, have subsequently gone on increasing in number in something like geometric progression, the later years of the eighteenth century gave birth to a scientific periodical of another kind. A worker in science, especially a young worker who had just put his hand to the plough, might belong as yet to no scientific society, and might know no one who would act as godfather or midwife to his work. Moreover, a society only published what it thought worthy of publication, and sometimes its judgment was at fault. It was occasionally led to reject as rubbish what turned out in the end to be a pearl of great price. Further, the machinery of the society involved delay; and, as the stream of scientific discovery grew more and more voluminous and rapid, the discoverer ran a greater risk of being forestalled, and therefore grew more and more impatient of delay. Hence arose the independent scientific periodical, started by some enterprising publisher, with the aid of some well-known and zealous man of science as editor—a periodical which was ready to publish what seemed to the editor to be really worthy stuff, from whatever source it might come. The publisher was willing to undertake the financial risk, recouping himself by the proceeds of the circulation. The editor, in view of the advantages of an editorial position, or simply from his desire to assist the science to which he was devoted, often gave his services as a labour of love, or was content with a very moderate remuneration. The writer, on his part, was content that his work should see the light of day, without expecting any pecuniary reward, being, indeed, often not unwilling to bear part of such expense as special illustrations might involve. It is indeed a marked feature of scientific periodicals devoted to the record of original work, as distinguished from mere popular exposition, that, as a rule, the

contributor receives no remuneration; he is content with the opportunity of making his new facts or his new views known to the world of science.

In the early years of their existence each of these scientific periodicals embraced the whole of a large branch, or even several branches, of science; but, as time has gone on, division of labour has asserted itself. The journal with the larger scope has split into two or more journals. New journals, each with a more and more restricted field, are continually being started. Few, very few, which have thus been started have come to an end in consequence of their field being too narrow. Hence it has come about that in every country where science is pursued, in every language in which its results are made known, in addition to the vast number of periodicals issued by scientific societies of one kind or another, there is also a vast number of independent periodicals devoted to some more or less specialised branch of science.

Hence, also, it has naturally come about that, as a rule, the results of scientific discovery are made known, not in an independent book, but in the pages of some periodical. In the descriptive sciences of botany, zoology, and geology, elaborate monographs occasionally appear; but in other sciences these are rare. When a man of science writes a book, he writes, as a rule, either a text-book, in which original matter is out of place or even dangerous, or a lengthened essay in which he develops general views at a greater length than he is at liberty to do in a periodical; he rarely uses such a book as a means of making known his new results. The method adopted by Darwin, who embodied the results of long years of observation and reflection in a series of books, was exceptional; and even he made known the main points of his 'Origin of Species' by a preliminary communication to the journal of the Linnean Society. The writings of Huxley furnish an example of the more common mode of publication adopted by men of science. Nearly all his important contributions to science were published in periodicals; and to judge of Huxley's worth as an investigator, one must go to his 'collected papers' in the four large volumes, the noble memorial gift of Messrs. Macmillan. His 'books,' as distinguished from his 'papers,' were either text-books, in which he displayed his power,

not by introducing that which was new, but by treating in a masterly fashion that which was old; or, as in the case of 'Man's Place in Nature,' more or less polemical essays, in which he brought to a focus the meaning of a series of observations first published elsewhere.

It is clear that this feature of publication by means of periodicals renders absolutely necessary some such index as that furnished by the Catalogue under consideration. It is necessary for him who is endeavouring to solve a practical scientific problem; it is still more necessary for him who is striving to enlarge the bounds of human knowledge. To the scientific enquirer, the knowledge of what others have done in the field in which he is labouring is obviously desirable, in order that he may not waste his time in doing over again what has been done before, and so done as not to need verification by repetition. Yet this is repeatedly happening; almost every enquirer can tell the following tale. One day he was made glad by a bright idea which came into his mind. He set himself at once to test its validity. After days or weeks or, it may be, months of attentive labour, he was made still more glad by having before him the convincing proofs that his new idea had a solid worth. He began to write the account of it; but, when he had finished it, or happily, perhaps, before he had been long occupied in the writing—for to the real investigator the actual experiment or observation is the Rachel whom he truly loves, the writing about it is the plainer Leah, the necessary consort, whom he puts up with, but who has no place in his heart—some stray indication leads him to some number of a periodical which he had not previously seen, and there he finds, not only his bright idea writ large and clear, but even the proof of its truth demonstrated. The only consolation, perhaps a poor one, which, in these circumstances, the enquirer enjoys, is that it was not left to others to tell him he had been anticipated; or that he had not encumbered scientific literature with one more elaborate but superfluous repetition.

The knowledge of what others have done is thus a necessity, but it is also often a help. Many a man, baffled in an attempt to solve a problem before him, reading what another has been doing in the same or in a closely allied line of investigation, has caught a hint which has

supplied him with the key to his problem. It may be some little experimental device, some way of arranging apparatus, some choice of material, or some stray observation which he himself had not the opportunity to make. The hint need not be very plain; it need not be a hint given consciously by the fellow-worker in whose writings he discovers it; and yet it may be sufficient wholly to change the prospects of his own enquiry; it may lift him out of the slough of despond on to the firm land of achievement. In this and many other ways the enquirer is helped, guided, corrected, stimulated, and encouraged by knowing what others have done or are doing in the same line of investigation.

But how is a man to learn what others are doing? how is he to find his way through the vast forest of scientific literature published in sundry countries, and appearing in divers tongues? He may take in, or at least diligently read, special journals devoted to his own particular branch of science, and appearing in the French, German, or English languages; perhaps he may add those written in Italian, Spanish, or Dutch. But what is he to do with those written in Russian, Hungarian, or Czech? If he knows that, written in one of these to him strange tongues, there exists a paper dealing directly with the matter which he has in hand, then he may make special efforts to learn, through a translation or abstract, what the paper says. But he must first know that such a paper exists. Again, as we have seen, these special journals, though they contain much, do not contain all that he wishes to know. The transactions or other publications of learned societies contain many papers on his particular subject: on these, too, he must keep his eye. Nor is it safe for him to confine himself to the publications of important societies, whose homes are in the capitals or great cities of the world. Scientific literature includes the publications of little societies, societies which are at times simply clubs or knots of active men in secluded provincial towns. The 'Naturverein' of 'Weissnichtwo' issues, at irregular intervals, its budget of 'Verhandlungen,' in which its gifted members make known their discoveries of local rarities, strange plants or animals, or, at times, their views on things in general. As a rule, our enquirer might safely ignore their worthy

periodical. But Herr Geist, who is now 'Professor Ordinarius' at, and for the time being Rector of, the Imperial University, was born at 'Weissnichtwo'; and, to gratify his fellow-townsmen, he selects the 'Verhandlungen' of his native town's 'Naturverein' as the channel in which to make known the results of an important investigation to which he has devoted long years of labour. How is the independent gentleman who, in his own private laboratory at Springfield, Mass., is working on the same division of the same branch of science as Professor Geist, to know of the latter's valuable memoir? We need not labour this theme. The need of some adequate index to scientific literature, so distinctly periodical in character, requires no further exposition.

Nearly half a century ago, in 1855, Professor Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, recognising the need of such an index, laid proposals before the British Association for the Advancement of Science at its meeting at Glasgow. The matter was taken up, and after some negotiations, during which the original suggestion of a common action of the British Association and the Smithsonian Institution was abandoned, the Royal Society of London undertook, with the assistance of her Majesty's Government, the publication of its 'Catalogue of Scientific Papers.' Wisely judging the difficulties of the task which it had taken in hand, the Royal Society confined its labours within very definite limits.

In the first place, the Catalogue which it compiled was an 'authors' index,' and an authors' index only; that is to say, the papers which it catalogued were arranged under the authors' names; and no other arrangement was attempted. No effort whatever was made to arrange the papers according to the subject dealt with, or, in other words, to form a 'subject index.' The Catalogue, for instance, gave a full list of all the papers which Smith had published, but furnished no clue whatever by which the reader might find out what papers had been published on, say, 'heat.' To compile an authors' index is a comparatively easy task. No vexed questions of classification present themselves, for naturally the order adopted is alphabetical, and, under the same author, the order of the

list of papers is chronological. To compile a subject index is, on the contrary, as we shall see, a most difficult task. The system of classification to be adopted at once rouses controversies which in fierceness may well be compared with theological discussions. The Royal Society, wishing to reach rapidly some practical result, judged it best to shun the path which led to controversy, and decided to publish an authors' index only.

In the second place, the Catalogue which it compiled was incomplete in so far that it was an index to scientific papers only, and not to scientific literature as a whole; that is to say, it indexed scientific periodicals, but took no notice of published 'books.' Thus, while a short note of half a page in some journal, or in the records of some society, found its place in the Catalogue, no reference whatever was made to such a work as the 'Origin of Species.' Limiting its efforts in this way, and taking the year 1800 as the date at which a beginning should be made, the Royal Society published its first quarto volume in 1867, and has followed this up with eleven similar volumes dealing with the literature down to 1883. It is still continuing its efforts with the view of making the Catalogue a complete one for the century.

The great value of the Royal Society's Catalogue is recognised by all workers in science. But so great has been the increase of scientific literature in these later years, that the effort to continue the Catalogue, even in its limited form, was beginning to place a strain on the resources of the Society greater than it could bear, the difficulties being increased by the fact that the financial assistance which was given by the Government to the undertaking at its commencement was after a while discontinued, and the Society was left to do the work by itself. Moreover, it became year by year more clear that, valuable as an authors' index might be, the value of a subject index, if adequately constructed, would be far greater. To the actual worker in science the authors' index gave, on the whole, very little help.

Recognising the urgent need for such a subject index, but equally recognising that the difficulties of compiling it were far beyond its own powers, or indeed beyond the powers of any one body, the Royal Society raised the important question whether it would not be possible, by

means of international co-operation, to accomplish a task, the execution of which would be a benefit to scientific men throughout the world. The first steps were taken in 1893; and, cordial responses being received from nearly all countries in which scientific work was being done, an International Conference was held in London, on the invitation of the British Government, in 1896. This was followed by a second conference in 1898; and, at a third conference in 1900—the necessary details having meanwhile been worked out by various committees—the proposal became an accomplished fact, and an international organisation for drawing up and bringing out the Catalogue was established.

Quite apart from the scientific value of the Catalogue, the success of the Royal Society's effort is worthy of notice from the broad point of view of international co-operation. The difficulties of getting a number of nations to work together harmoniously in a combined effort are, it need hardly be said, neither few nor small. The mere differences of language present obstacles which, from time to time, become very serious. Science is cosmopolitan, and every man of science is almost compelled to know some other languages than his own; but though he may be, and almost always is, able to read a scientific work in another language—at all events if it is in his own or a kindred line of study—it is quite another matter to grasp the delicate distinctions involved in the use of legal or semi-legal terms, or in such phrases as are inevitable in the drafting of complicated regulations. The technical terms for matters of business and procedure used in one country often bear a meaning which has no exact counterpart in another tongue; and, seeing that a mere shade of meaning in the words of a regulation may have consequences of no small moment, an imperfect command of a foreign tongue may lead to unfortunate misunderstandings and, what is far worse, to suspicious attitudes. When a delegate to an international conference has given his assent to a resolution, and subsequently finds that what he at the time, trusting to a translation, took to be the meaning of the resolution is not the meaning, and that consequently he has been led to give his approval to something which he does not really approve, he naturally becomes distrustful of other resolutions, and at times

is even tempted to think that his adhesion has not been fairly obtained.

Still more serious than the difficulties presented by linguistic misunderstandings are those which are due to national susceptibilities. Each delegate, by virtue of his very position, is bound to look after the interests of his own country; hence, in discussing any proposal, he has to consider, not only its general effect, but also its particular effect upon his own countrymen; and very naturally he is largely guided in his decision by the latter consideration. Moreover, he is, *a priori*, inclined to look with favour on a proposal put forward by some person or some institution in his own land, and perhaps even more inclined to look with disfavour on a proposal coming from a rival country. He may thus be led to thwart suggestions tending in the end to the good of all. Such difficulties are apt to become unusually acute when special circumstances offer a reason for treating a particular country—which, in such a case, is generally a small country—in a favoured way. Other small countries at once put in a claim for similar treatment.

National susceptibilities might have been expected to give rise to difficulties as to the language in which the Catalogue was to be published; for to attempt to publish the whole Catalogue in several languages would be to court failure at the outset. But so soon as a decision was reached—and this took place very early—that, save in very exceptional cases, the title of a book or paper should be given in its original language, the language question was narrowed to the framework of the Catalogue, namely, the several headings under which books and papers were to be classified. Eventually a compromise was hit upon; and it was agreed that, while the headings in the body of the Catalogue should be in English, there should be prefixed to each volume, in each of the official languages of the Conference, copies of the schedules, i.e. of the headings systematically arranged, each heading being marked by a number or other label called a 'registration number.' The reader, wholly ignorant of the meaning of a heading in English on any page of the Catalogue, noting its registration number, would find in one or other of the schedules under that number the same heading in a language which he could understand. The official

languages at first agreed on were French, German, and English; Latin was seriously considered, but in the end abandoned; and eventually Italian was added.

Quite apart from national feelings and political rivalries, the fact that different countries manage their affairs in very different fashions presents grave difficulties in the way of international co-operation. In England, for instance, science, and indeed all higher learning, is for the most part independent of the State. The progress of learning in England is the result of private energy and effort; the help of the Government is a factor of comparatively small moment. In continental countries, on the other hand, the State is generally the prime mover in matters of learning, and the Government is looked to when any first step has to be made. As a corollary of this, there is in one country almost complete freedom of individual action; in another country no action can be taken unless it first receives the approval of the Government. Hence a mode of procedure which seems natural in the one case is strange and indeed impossible in the other; and the range of procedures at once possible and advantageous for all countries alike becomes exceedingly limited.

All these difficulties presented themselves at the International Conferences; and it is a matter for sincere congratulation that, in spite of them, a plan of international co-operation was finally agreed upon. That the prolonged and varied discussions led in the end to a successful issue was undoubtedly due to the fact that, throughout the deliberations, what may be called loyalty to science reigned supreme. Each delegate felt that the common task which all had in hand was one of great moment for the progress of science; and each delegate came prepared, and, in spite of all the incidents of debate, remained to the end prepared, to sacrifice on the one altar of scientific progress what, on other occasions, he might judge to be the just claims of his own country. That such a spirit was in this instance successful in guiding a body of men, of many different characters, representing many diverse interests, to reach a final accord, may be taken as a happy omen that in other matters international co-operation may also be possible whenever a like loyal spirit is allowed to guide international deliberations.

In such a task as that of preparing and publishing a current index of scientific literature, two possible plans of international co-operation presented themselves. On the one hand, the several nations might co-operate by each taking a single branch of science as its province. Though, as the Royal Society had found, it was no longer possible for any one country, or at least any one body in one country, to take account of all the publications in all branches of science, it would not be beyond the power of any one country to make itself responsible for all the literature of one branch; for instance, one country might take physics, another chemistry, and so on. International co-operation in such a case would be limited to an agreement on some organisation by which a distribution through all countries of the contributions to the Catalogue produced by one country should be readily and easily effected. On the other hand, the several nations might agree to establish and maintain, on certain conditions, in some one place, a central international organisation which, being supplied with bibliographical material from all the nations producing scientific literature, should convert that material into a catalogue, and issue the catalogue for general distribution.

The first plan has some obvious advantages from the point of view of national susceptibilities. International co-operation would be needed only so far as to secure agreement as to the general plan to be followed in constructing the catalogues. This having been effected, each country would have absolute freedom as to the organisation best suited to itself for carrying out the work. Moreover, national rivalry would supply a wholesome stimulus in regard to the quality of the work done. The country which undertook the catalogue in botany would have a national pride in producing a result as good as, or, if possible, better than, that of the country which had charge of zoology. Such a plan, too, had in its favour the fact that it had already been put into operation. Switzerland, for instance, had given at least considerable support to an undertaking, which had been begun at Zurich, to supply the world with a full catalogue of the literature of biology; and the Zoological Society of London has for many years past provided, in its 'Zoological Record,' a catalogue of zoological literature.

The disadvantages, however, of such a plan, as compared with that of a central organisation taking in hand all branches of science, are many and great, especially from the point of view of economy and uniformity. The division of science into separate branches is at best an artificial one; and indeed the unreality of such divisions becomes more and more obvious as science progresses. The results of one scientific investigation tend more and more to overlap other investigations, and to affect the bearing and outcome of these. The new thing which the chemist discovers makes itself felt through this or that branch of physics, and may profoundly affect him who is studying the problems of animal or vegetable life. Hence this new thing ought to be taken note of, not only in the chemical catalogue, but also under the heads of physics, botany, and physiology. If the chemical catalogue were being prepared at one spot by one authority, and the physical, botanical, and physiological catalogues in other spots under other authorities, each of the latter would have independently to discover and note the publication of the new thing; and one or other of them might easily miss it, since none of them would be especially concerned with chemical things. On the other hand, by the plan of a central organisation, under which the results in all branches of science are collected and worked up in one place, a very simple organisation will ensure that the new chemical discovery, being marked by the reporter on chemistry as possibly of interest to other sciences, shall be duly entered under other heads, where it is likely to be of use.

Then again, as we have seen, though special periodicals for special branches of science, and even for special divisions of such branches, are increasing in number, the periodical literature, such as that issued by learned societies, dealing with many or, at least, several branches of science in the same issue, is by no means on the decline. On the plan of separate centres for the several sciences, each centre would have to examine all these mixed periodicals, gathered in from all parts of the world, in order to pick out what belonged to its particular subject. On the plan of a single centre for all branches of science, one or two copies of such a mixed periodical would be sufficient for analysis, its several papers being distributed,

according to their nature, to the appropriate persons engaged in the work.

These and similar considerations led to the unhesitating adoption of the single-centre plan. It was decided to establish a central bureau which should undertake the compilation of the whole catalogue; and London was chosen as the seat of the bureau. But in order to lighten the labours of the central office, and as the most convenient method of national co-operation in the international effort, it was agreed that, where possible, a secondary bureau should be established in each country for the purpose of collecting the data of the scientific literature of that country, and of preparing such data for the use of the central bureau. Thus it was determined to establish in France, under the name of a regional bureau, an organisation which should examine all the scientific literature of France, and transmit to the central bureau in London, according to a uniform system, the results of that analysis. Similar regional bureaus having been established in the other countries engaged in scientific work, the central bureau is thus relieved of the labour of any direct analysis of the literature; all it has to do is to work up into the complete Catalogue the data supplied by the several countries. Such co-operation could only be effective when carried out according to a well-devised plan. Great care was spent in devising the particular plan which was ultimately adopted, and the character of the volumes which have already appeared gives promise that it will achieve complete success.

The plan ultimately adopted was not agreed upon, however, without prolonged discussion. Naturally, the greatest difficulty turned on the system of classification according to which the subject index was to be constructed. The division of the whole of scientific literature into parts corresponding to the several recognised branches of science gave rise to no great divergence of opinion. The determination of the limits of each branch, as, for instance, of what was to be included under psychology, gave much more trouble; but this was finally overcome. The matter which provoked the greatest divergence of view, and involved most labour in arriving at a decision, was the exact system of classification to be

adopted in each branch of science and throughout the Catalogue.

The system of a simple alphabetical arrangement was strenuously urged at first by many. And indeed, were it the case that the title of a paper or book gave, if only in a majority of cases, a true insight into its nature, much might be said in favour of such an arrangement. All that would then be necessary in compiling the Catalogue would be to mark some word in the title as its catch-word, and to arrange the catch-words in alphabetical order, though even then the selection of the right catch-word would be a matter of no little difficulty. But the great, and indeed the insuperable difficulty, of an alphabetical arrangement of scientific literature lies in the fact that, so far from the title of a scientific paper giving, in the majority of cases, an insight into the nature of its contents, the contrary is the fact.

The alphabetical arrangement was therefore abandoned; and the analysis of a branch of science into its constituent parts, set forth in the form of a 'schedule,' was adopted as the basis of classification. Each branch of science can, in one way or other, be split into several main divisions. Thus botany readily resolves itself into external morphology, internal anatomy, physiology, taxonomy, geographical distribution, and the like. Each such main division can be further analysed under appropriate subheadings; physiology, for instance, being divided into nutrition, growth, respiration, movement, reproduction, and the like. Hence, with this system of classification, the scientific worker, with the schedule before him, can, without great difficulty, determine the particular subheading under which the matter that he has in hand may be expected to fall, and then has only to search in the Catalogue under that subheading for the papers dealing with his subject.

Naturally, the construction of these schedules was a matter of great difficulty. Every man of science has his own views as to the proper method of analysing his own branch of science. Indeed, the task of drawing up schedules which should secure the acceptance, not of all—that was impossible—but of the majority concerned, involved more labour and provoked more discussion than anything else in the whole business. It was wisely

decided, however, in drawing up the schedules, to aim, not at theoretical perfection, but at practical utility. In adopting this or that subdivision, regard was had, not to whether the subdivision fitly expressed the logical development of the subject, but to whether it was such as would enable the reader to find most quickly and certainly what he wanted. And this practical treatment of a complicated matter finally secured the general agreement of all. To each volume of the Catalogue is prefixed, in French, German, Italian and English, the accepted schedule of the science dealt with. None of these schedules can claim to be perfect, but they are good enough to work with in a fairly satisfactory manner, and though frequent tampering with them would necessarily lead to difficulties and impair the practical usefulness of the Catalogue, they will doubtless be improved as experience is gained.

Behind the difficulty of constructing the schedule lies, however, the perhaps still greater difficulty of ensuring that the correct analysis of a paper or of a book shall be both adequate and in accordance with the schedule. As we have already said, in most cases the mere title is no adequate guide to the contents. The incongruities which again and again appear between the title of a paper and its contents are at times almost ludicrous; and it often happens that a paper contains a new fact or a new view, having apparently no connexion whatever with the title. In order to allot a paper to its appropriate headings in the schedule, the paper must be analysed into its constituent topics. This may be done, and in most cases must be done, by an independent reader; and indeed the greater part of the labour of preparing the Catalogue is involved in the analysis of papers and books by competent independent readers. Much of this labour might be saved if each author of a paper would append to it a brief analysis of the contents, made by himself, on the lines of the corresponding schedule, and approved by, or possibly amended by, the editor of the periodical. This plan, which has been successfully carried out for some years by the Royal Society in its proceedings and transactions, and by other bodies as well, has been proved to impose a very slight burden on the editor and a still slighter one on the author. If it were adopted in all

periodicals the labour of preparing the Catalogue would be immensely lightened, while at the same time the Catalogue itself would largely gain in accuracy and completeness.

The issue of volumes dealing with the scientific literature of 1901 has been begun and is proceeding apace. While we are writing, Botany (Part I), Chemistry (Part I), Mechanics, Physics (Part I), Physiology (Part I), and Meteorology have already appeared. Owing to the difficulties met with in organising the work of the several regional bureaus scattered all over the world, the collection of the whole of the bibliographic material has been somewhat delayed. It has been thought desirable, however, to begin the issue even with incomplete material rather than to wait any longer; hence in most of the sciences a part 1 has been published, to be followed as soon as possible by a part 2, completing the literature of the year. In succeeding years there will be no difficulty in issuing the Catalogue of the whole of the yearly literature of each science in a single volume. There remain to be published, for the literature of 1901, the volumes dealing with sciences other than those just mentioned. Some of these are on the eve of appearance, and all of them are in an advanced stage of preparation. Thus, within a very short time, every one interested in science may possess a full index to the literature of 1901 in any one of the seventeen branches into which 'pure' science has been divided, an index, moreover, drawn up in such a way that any one, wherever he may live and whatever tongue he may speak, can readily find his way through it, provided only that he possesses a common reading acquaintance with one of the four chief languages, French, German, Italian, or English. A great and important work may fairly be said to have been satisfactorily launched on what, it is to be hoped, will prove a continuously successful career.

M. FOSTER.



Art. VII.—RECENT SPORT AND TRAVEL.

1. *Autumns in Argyleshire with Rod and Gun.* By the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy. London: Longmans, 1900.
2. *The Wild-fowler in Scotland.* By John Guille Millais, F.Z.S. etc. London: Longmans, 1901.
3. *Shooting.* By A. Innes Shand. ('Haddon Hall Library.') London: Dent, 1902.
4. *Fishing and Shooting.* By Sydney Buxton, M.P. London: Murray, 1902.
5. *Sport in Europe.* Edited by F. G. Aflalo. London: Sands, 1901.
6. *Hunting Trips in the Caucasus.* By E. Demidoff (Prince San Donato). London: Rowland Ward, 1898.
7. *After Wild-sheep in the Altai and Mongolia.* By the same. London: Rowland Ward, 1900.
8. *Sport and Travel East and West.* By F. C. Selous. London: Longmans, 1900.
9. *The Deer Family.* By Theodore Roosevelt and others. ('American Sportsman's Library.') London: Macmillan, 1902.
10. *Chinese Turkestan with Caravan and Rifle.* By Percy W. Church, F.Z.S. London: Rivingtons, 1901.
11. *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia.* By P. H. G. Powell-Cotton, F.Z.S. London: Rowland Ward, 1902.
12. *The Book of the Rifle.* By the Hon. T. F. Fremantle, V.D. (Major 1st Bucks V.R.C.) London: Longmans, 1901.

And other works.

OF many remarkable changes effected during the nineteenth century, none is more striking than the increased rapidity of communication. In the year 1800, ten miles an hour was fast travelling by land, whilst by sea the rate was at the mercy of the winds; now a long land-journey may be made at from fifty to sixty miles an hour, and the sea may be crossed at nearly half that speed. Even walking and riding are largely superseded by the bicycle and motor, distances being covered in half the time with less fatigue. Among many results of this change, one, which specially concerns us at this moment, is that the conditions of sport and travel are greatly altered both at home and abroad.

For example, contrast the frequent visits paid by modern sportsmen to Scotland—in spring for fishing, in autumn for shooting—with Colonel T. Thornton's description of his 'Sporting Tour through the northern parts of England and great part of the Highlands of Scotland,' published in 1804. The Colonel travelled with an establishment and equipage greater than that now taken to the remotest valleys of the Altai range or the Celestial mountains. He invaded the country by land and by sea, shooting apparently wherever he pleased; moreover, he recorded his experiences, thereby affording the 'Edinburgh Review' an opportunity of rebuking him for trespass in the neighbourhood of Parnassus, and for poaching on the preserves of letters. Undeterred by these and similar rebuffs, the current of sporting literature, sometimes clear but often turbid, flowed on till it has attained the proportions of a mighty river. Hawker, Scrope, St John, and Colquhoun have notably contributed; the narratives of later authors generally indicating increased facilities of travel and rising rents. So high indeed have rents become that the best shootings and fishings in this country are closed to all save rich men, proprietors who do not let, and their personal friends.

Mr Gathorne-Hardy has given us some charming sketches, modelled perhaps on St John's works, of one of these shootings, 'Poltalloch, the beautiful property of the Malcolms,' near the Crinan Canal. It is a sportsman's paradise of more than a hundred thousand acres in extent, partly bounded by sea-lochs, sheltered and beautiful, the home of seals, sea-birds, and of many fish; whilst in the interior there are fresh-water lochs, and an excellent river in which salmon and sea-trout may be got when it is in order. Besides these, the place holds a great variety of game, the pursuit of which is well described. The question of grouse-driving, compared with shooting over dogs, on which so many persons write with little knowledge and less restraint, is dealt with judiciously, in a way which may be commended to the fiercer controversialists. The illustrations by Mr A. Thorburn are of marked excellence.

To the general class of books on sport, 'Shooting,' by Mr Shand, a volume of the 'Haddon Hall Library,' is a recent contribution. It is, unquestionably, difficult for an author to find much that is original to say on so well-worn a

subject; yet it is one which cannot be omitted from any 'Library' or series (and their number is great) devoted to sport. Moreover, it is far from easy to find a fully qualified author, for the men who have most experience in the field are often, and probably justifiably, pen-shy; whilst less than constant attention to improvements, in guns and cartridges, in preservation and stocking, in dog-breeding and dog-breaking, and in the numberless details which tend to success, must result in a volume of no conspicuous merit. The tendency in such a case is for the author to diverge into what Colonel Hawker termed 'extraneous matter,' and for this there may be excuse, provided that it is not too remote from the subject, and is in itself well told or useful. Such, for example, are references to the works of earlier writers, or to the importance of making the most of game by good cookery, on which Mr. Shand's remarks are worthy of attention. So also are the warnings that he gives—warnings which will probably be neglected—first, to hosts who are criminally reckless in the selection of persons to whom they issue invitations, and next, to those invited, in order that accidents may be avoided.

Another still more recent book of the general class is 'Fishing and Shooting,' by Mr Sydney Buxton, an author who goes far towards fulfilling the practical conditions above mentioned, and with them combines the pen of a ready writer, apt at description. He places fishing first, and likes it best; but his devotion is not exclusive, nor is he blind to the attractions of shooting. As angling is not dealt with in this article, we must pass over the first half of the book with the remark that its merits greatly transcend its defects, and vindicate the author's qualifications for dealing with the subject. In writing about shooting, Mr Buxton begins by comparing its attractions with those of fishing, and then proceeds to its history, of which his description, if sketchy, is in the main correct. The remarks on our game-birds deserve attention, especially as to the decrease of black game, which is very marked in some localities. This he attributes 'to over-anxiety in regard to the hens, which leads to the perpetual preservation of old and quarrelsome harridans, the worst of all scourges at the breeding season.' Grouse-driving, partridge-driving, and covert-shooting are the subjects

of separate chapters, testifying to the author's accuracy of observation and memory; whilst his advice what to do and what to avoid is sound and pleasantly conveyed. The text is enlivened by Mr Thorburn's drawings, without which it almost seems that no first-class book on British sport is complete.

The sportsman who cannot afford high rents for moor and stubble can always fall back on the free shooting of coast and sea, which has more devotees, and is altogether more important, than those ignorant of its attractions are apt to believe. Many persons, both punt and shore shooters, make a living by wild-fowling; others follow the pursuit because of its special fascination, or in order to form a collection. In his handsome volume, 'The Wild-fowler in Scotland,' Mr J. G. Millais has given an attractive and useful account of his experiences in that capacity. Since Hawker's days there have probably been few keener or more successful fowlers, and certainly none who have observed and recorded the habits of water-fowl with greater care. He began collecting at the early age of nine, 'armed with that enemy of law and order—the catapult'; and two years later, having arrived at the dignity of a 20-bore, he continued the work, wandering up and down the coast of Scotland 'with an insatiable craze for natural history.' This long training and complete devotion to fowling in every form qualify him specially for the task he has undertaken. He ranks wild-fowling, along with big-game shooting, far above all other sport with gun or rifle. Though they are essentially different yet there is some similarity, for each involves hard work, exposure, and danger; whilst the silence and observation necessary in both train the sportsman to a specially intimate acquaintance with nature. He meets the deer-stalker's claim to superiority by the following arguments:—

'The fowler will insist—and rightly too, I think—that his line of sport is equally full of interest; for not only is his quarry gifted with great intelligence and marvellous sight, but the flat and barren country it frequents is all against the shooter. Even the low shield of boards, behind which he approaches, is often seen by the birds a full mile away. Think, then, of the care and cunning he must exercise if he would elude the vision of a thousand pairs of eyes! His wits

must always be at the fullest stretch; and woe betide him if his judgment leads him wrong at any moment of his pursuit. It is the conflict of opposing intellects, with almost every point in favour of the lower animals, that makes this sport so supremely interesting. Experience, not chance, is the ruling factor; and that means quickness to observe and skill to interpret even the most trifling indications of what is going on around, unlimited patience, and utter disregard of personal comfort.'

That wild-fowling is of all forms of shooting—save, perhaps, being shot at—the most uncomfortable, few will deny; and it produces disagreeable effects, such as premature rheumatism and other results of exposure. These might perhaps be avoided if the good advice, not to punt before twenty-five or after thirty years of age, were followed. One attraction of wild-fowling is its comparative cheapness; still, some outlay is requisite. The fowler must be prepared to overcome the jealousy of local shore-shooters, and must consider those who live by taking the fowl; this arranged, he can occasionally get better sport and larger bags than many men who pay considerable rents. On one occasion Mr Millais killed seventy ducks during a day in January; but, though that bag was made not many years ago, it might be difficult to equal it now.

In describing marsh and lake shooting, Mr Millais says that Loch Leven, so well known to anglers,

'is the great meeting-place and sanctuary of the ducks—a sort of "gathering of the clans"—for the whole of the south-east of Scotland, where to do more than take a slight toll from its outward fringe would be an unpardonable sin. . . . Twice have I been lucky enough to witness the actual arrival of the wild geese at these great gatherings—a really wonderful and impressive sight. The first occasion was in October, when, lying off in a boat close to the Inch (the long flat island which is their regular winter home), I heard the first "honk" of the season coming from away up in the vast expanse of the blue heaven. For a long time nothing could I see, until at last a tiny speck appeared in the sky as far up as the eye could reach, and, watching it intently, I saw it grow into the form of a goose that was slowly descending in great spirals. This bird was followed at regular intervals by others of the tribe, subdivided into little parties of from six to ten indi-

viduals. . . . The prime leader came down immediately above the Inch, and while she was preparing to alight there were still small companies evolving themselves from the blue expanse, until at last there must have been some fifteen hundred birds actually on the wing, all in process of descent, and all following one another at regular intervals. By and by, when the leading geese had settled, the parties at the rear seemed to straggle more, and longer intervals occurred between them; yet they kept coming in all day as I roamed round and about the lake, till by the evening, when I disturbed the company, there must have been between two and three thousand geese sitting on the island.'

The observations which Mr Millais has made of the wild-goose have led him to form a high opinion of its intellectual powers.

'People say "as silly as a goose," but never was a more foolish comparison. Of all birds, geese are the most intelligent. Conspicuous, too, are they for bravery and domestic affection. In the particular art of defending themselves against the wiles of the fowler, whether afloat or ashore, they have absolutely no equal; and this, I need hardly say, adds greatly to the pleasure of pursuing them. It is a game of mind against mind, and one in which the goose is not uncommonly the winner.'

When a flock alights, sentries are at once placed, who watch while the rest feed; they are in turn relieved with the regularity of soldiers. Mr Millais believes that the Wild Birds' Protection Act has benefited wild-fowl; and in this view he is probably right. But wild-fowl have other help, such as the preservation of inland lakes and marshes, and the breeding of duck by the occupiers of shootings and the managers of public parks. Even London contributes a share; many ducks with their families may be seen in the waters of the public parks at the proper season; and if not destroyed they will, as they get crowded, seek relief and stock the ponds and rivers in the neighbourhood.

Passing from loch to sea, Mr Millais has a good chapter on 'shooting under canvas, and some reminiscences of the Orkneys.' The tides there run very strong; and when they meet an opposing wind, such a sea is raised as requires a suitable boat and skilful men: it

further makes shooting difficult. No one who has seen the 'race' between the mainland and Hoy will question the fact. Viewed from near Stromness, the black cliffs of Hoy, fifteen hundred feet high, with the Old Man at their northern end, above the white breakers between the islands, form a picture which impresses the poorest imagination, and fascinates an artist. Sea-fishing of great excellence and variety adds to the charms of a trip to those islands; mystery is supplied by the standing stones of Stennes and the mound of Maeshowe; while Loch Stennes holds a remarkable assortment of salt and fresh water fishes. Its trout attain prodigious size, due to the rich feeding brought by the tide; the largest we know of was to be seen in the Masons' Arms Hotel, Stromness; it weighed over twenty-nine pounds, and was ingloriously caught on a line set for flounders. Like other places, Loch Stennes does not fish as well as it once did; but some sport is still to be had there, and in other waters of these northern islands. We leave them with regret, in spite of storm and tempest, remembering, like our author, 'the sunshine, the green islands, and the crystal sea,' and forgetting the rain.

The illustrations in Mr Millais' book are numerous; there are twenty-one full-page plates, and forty in the text. On the whole the latter are the best, though all are pleasing, if occasionally somewhat defective, especially as regards the accessory landscape. And there are certain points which seem to require explanation. The plates, 'Mallard preening,' 'Golden eyes in the way,' and 'Teal, in bunched and scattered formation,' are too much alike in the principal grouping of the ducks. Stranger still is the similarity between Mr Millais' plate, 'Golden eyes in the way,' and a plate called 'Punt-shooting,' by Mr A. Thorburn, in the 'Encyclopædia of Sport' (vol. ii, p. 164), published two years before the book under notice. And again, the likeness between the background of 'Mallard preening,' by Mr Millais, and that of 'Wild Swan,' by Mr Thorburn (Encyclopædia, vol. ii, p. 416), is, to say the least, very remarkable.

It is comparatively easy in these days to visit even the remotest parts of Europe; and therefore, under the general guidance of Mr F. G. Aflalo, we set forth, with no

great misgiving, to learn what he has brought together concerning European sport. He explains that though Englishmen have from time to time recorded their experiences in different European countries, yet in no one volume 'has a series of articles on the sport obtainable in the different countries been collected from the pens of representative native sportsmen.' This is no doubt correct; and there is good reason for avoiding responsibility for such a collection. To be in any sense exhaustive, much more space for the various articles is required; yet 'Sport in Europe' is a volume which roughly measures ten and a half by eight inches, weighs nearly six pounds, and contains nearly five hundred pages, with a large number of illustrations. It is therefore not a book which could conveniently be carried on sporting expeditions, and must be considered a work of reference for the library. As such, its value must depend on the competence of the various authors. In certain cases this is unquestionable, in others it may be presumed, whilst in no instance is there evidence of marked incapacity.

Different readers will doubtless select different articles as the most interesting, their choice depending to a great extent on local knowledge; but most will agree that Mr W. A. Baillie-Grohman and Géza Count Széchenyi treat Austria and Hungary in an agreeable and useful way, whilst the same may be said of the article on Germany by Baron Donald Schönberg. In these countries the game-laws seem good, and are on the whole well administered, with the result that the bags obtained are among the best in Europe. The keepers are superior men, enjoying much latitude in the exercise of their powers; in Germany especially they are well educated and are often trained foresters. The poachers are desperate characters, and there seems to be some shooting at sight; but the law is upheld.

Turning from those countries to France, once the model admired and imitated by all sportsmen, the classic home of venery, we would call attention to the article by M. Paul Caillard. He correctly appreciates the difference between real and sham sportsmen; and much of his article is tinged with a genuine regret for 'the detestable administration of our game-laws,' and the consequent disappearance of game. He contrasts 'the spectacle of

Alsace, which, almost depleted before our trouble of 1870, is once again full of game, now that the province is under the German government, and subjected to a rational legislation.' The fact is—and a study of 'Sport in Europe' will convince the doubter—that, from prejudice and misconception of the real interest of the people, democratic rule is not conducive to sport; under it game is neglected, and the enforcement of laws for its preservation is resisted because electors 'labour under the delusion that fishing and shooting have an aristocratic flavour little in keeping with the laws of equality.' To some extent our own country suffers from this common fallacy, the tendency being to relax rather than strengthen our game-laws, whilst they are often laxly enforced, with the effect (which many fail to connect with the cause) that year by year fishing and shooting are becoming less and less accessible to the people. Where game is unprotected it is destroyed, the rich alone being able to secure a monopoly. This, it is pleasing to notice, is being recognised in America, though not a moment too soon; for there the absence of proper protection has had disastrous results, only partially remedied by setting apart large reservations or sanctuaries wherein game may thrive in peace.

This question has been taken up with characteristic vigour and straightforwardness by President Roosevelt, who urgently recommends the adoption of good game-laws by such states as have not already got them, and their strict enforcement by all. Himself a sportsman, he has thus stated his case in the admirable volume of the 'American Sportsman's Library' called 'The Deer Family.' Dealing with past and present opportunities for sport in the United States, he points out how rapidly they are vanishing, and says:

'If we are a sensible people, we will make it our business to see that the process of extinction is arrested. At the present moment the great herds of caribou are being butchered, as in the past the great herds of bison and wapiti have been butchered. Every believer in manliness, and therefore in manly sport, and every lover of nature, every man who appreciates the majesty and beauty of the wilderness and of wild life, should strike hands with the far-sighted men who wish to preserve our material resources, in the effort to keep

our forests and our game-beasts, game-birds, and game-fish—indeed, all the living creatures of prairie, and woodland, and seashore—from wanton destruction.

‘Above all, we should realise that the effort towards this end is essentially a democratic movement. It is entirely in our power as a nation to preserve large tracts of wilderness, which are valueless for agricultural purposes, as play-grounds for rich and poor alike, and to preserve the game so that it shall continue to exist for the benefit of all lovers of nature, and to give reasonable opportunities for the exercise of the skill of the hunter, whether he is or is not a man of means. But this end can only be achieved by wise laws and by a resolute enforcement of the laws. Lack of such legislation and administration will result in harm to all of us, but most of all in harm to the nature lover who does not possess vast wealth. . . . It is utterly foolish to regard proper game-laws as undemocratic, unrepblican. On the contrary, they are essentially in the interests of the people as a whole, because it is only through their enactment and enforcement that the people as a whole can preserve the game and can prevent its becoming purely the property of the rich, who are able to create and maintain extensive private preserves. The very wealthy man can get hunting anyhow, but the man of small means is dependent solely upon wise and well-executed game-laws for his enjoyment of the sturdy pleasure of the chase. . . . Such game protection results, in the first place, in securing to the people who live in the neighbourhood permanent opportunities for hunting; and, in the next place, it provides no small source of wealth to the locality because of the visitors which it attracts.’

These weighty words deserve the consideration, not merely of sportsmen, but of statesmen; and they are applicable, not only to the United States, but to other countries, such as France, Italy, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Roumania, and Turkey, where game, being inefficiently protected, is scarce. Indeed they may with advantage be carefully kept in view as regards our own country and the Empire generally, for our game-laws, though perhaps reasonably good, might be improved, whilst their enforcement leaves much to be desired. And the United Kingdom is mainly dependent for its game on what is bred at home, whereas in other countries deficiencies are largely supplied by migratory birds, such as quail, woodcock, snipe, and wild-fowl. In Norway, Sweden, and parts of

Russia, though there may be considerable poaching, yet the scantiness of the population and the large area of uncultivated land allow of the maintenance of game in considerable abundance.

Prince Demidoff has contributed to 'Sport in Europe' an excellent article on Russia, which recalls to our minds his 'Hunting Trips in the Caucasus.' In this work three trips are described—the first in 1895, with the Grand Duke Sergius Mikhailovitch, to his preserved ground in the Kouban district; the second in the spring of 1896, with Dr Levick, to the Ararats and the valley of the Araxes; and the third in the autumn of 1896, with Mr St George Littledale, to the Kouban district. The accounts of the last two trips are by Dr Levick. So far as the bag was concerned, results were meagre; but the descriptions of the country and people are interesting. It is pointed out that the Caucasus, being the link between Asia and Europe, has formed the path of nations travelling from East to West; that consequently among its inhabitants there is great mixture of races and amalgamation of languages; that the same causes have produced like effects among its wild animals, those of Asia and Europe being found together. Opinions differ widely about the Caucasus as a hunting-ground. An experienced sportsman says:

'The Caucasus, and especially the Kouban district, is the paradise of sport; variety and quantity of game, size of heads, lovely scenery—all that combined makes it the most delightful trip a sportsman can enjoy.'

On the other hand, 'the honest conviction of one who is no mean sportsman' is recorded in the 'Badminton Library' 'Big Game Shooting' (ii, 23), that

'the Caucasus is an accursed country to hunt in, a country of ceaseless climbing and chronic starvation, in which the sport is not nearly worth the candle.'

Truth perhaps may be discovered between the two opinions.

'After Wild-sheep in the Altai and Mongolia,' also by Prince Demidoff, describes a much more successful expedition, one object being to secure heads of the true *Ovis ammon*, and to compare them with *O. poli* of the

Pamirs, and *O. hodgsoni*, the *O. ammon* of Indian sportsmen. The party consisted of the Demidoffs and Mr and Mrs Littledale. They met at Moscow and travelled to the Ural mountains, where the Demidoff family have an estate on the confines of two continents, marked by a post bearing the inscription, 'Here ends Europe: here begins Asia.' From the Urals the journey was continued to the hunting-ground, where Mr Littledale secured a record head, a fine trophy, of which there is a full-page illustration. There is much besides sport in this book to interest the reader, for the country described is comparatively unknown; and description is varied by stories such as the legend of Father Theodor, whose memory is revered in Siberia. Both of Prince Demidoff's books are got up in the style which Mr Rowland Ward has made his own; the volumes are as handsome as could be desired, and they are lavishly illustrated.

Whatever Mr F. C. Selous has to say on sport and travel is entitled to respect, for his experience is great, and he brings to his task energy and ability combined with a modesty which is singularly attractive. His name is best known in connexion with South African sport and its literature; he began his career in that country in 1871, hunting on horseback, after the fashion of Oswell and Baldwin. The tactics were simple, but they required great nerve and endurance. Game was either stalked or pursued to close quarters—the closer the better—for the weapons were not those of precision at long range. Some of them were very primitive, single 4-bore guns, clumsily stocked, weighing about fifteen pounds, and often of Dutch origin. From a blunderbuss of this sort, borrowed from a Boer, Mr. Selous had a narrow escape. Finding it heavy when running after a herd of elephants, he handed it loaded to a nimble Kafir, who carried a bag of loose powder and bullets. Now it was usual after firing, when following retreating game, to make over the weapon to be reloaded and returned when within shot. On this occasion the Kafir, forgetting in his excitement that it was loaded, filled in, not wisely but too well, another charge; so that, when the gun was fired, its stock was splintered in pieces, and Mr Selous's face was cut deep under the eye. Fortunately no permanent injury beyond a scar resulted, and he has lived to be converted to the

use of the .303 Lee-Metford and the .256 Mannlicher for game of all kinds.

But Mr Selous is more than a mere hunter of big game; he is also a geographer and naturalist. In the last capacity he wished to get specimens of 'the large long-faced red-deer (*Cervus maral*), and the magnificently horned wild-goat (*Capra ægagrus*),' for which purpose he visited Asia Minor on three occasions. The results are told in the first three chapters of his book. The first expedition was to the country south of the Aidin railway, in the neighbourhood of El Maly, Musa Dagħ, Ak Dagħ, and Fineka Bay. The heat was intense; the scarcity of water led to unfavourable comparisons 'with the well-watered hunting-grounds of Eastern Rhodesia'; and of game nothing remarkable was got. Nevertheless, as Mr Selous philosophically says, he spent a pleasant time and gained experience likely to be useful hereafter.

His second trip was to the Maimun Dagħ, or Monkey mountain, a small isolated range on the same railway, described in Mr E. N. Buxton's 'Short Stalks' as the scene of his search for 'the father of all the goats.' If not the best locality in Asia Minor, it is the most accessible haunt of the wild-goat, and was therefore selected. Mr Selous's rifle (a .450 Metford by Gibbs of Bristol) having been lost by the Austrian-Lloyd Company, a .303 Lee-Metford was lent him by Messrs Holland and Holland. This he sighted carefully for 100 yards, and found that, with a very full foresight, it shot up to 250 yards. Care of this sort before starting is never thrown away, the confidence acquired having a material influence on the bag. It undoubtedly contributed to success at long ranges, several good heads, including a fine one-horned specimen, being secured. Difficulty was found in tracking wounded animals, for little or no blood issued from the wounds. Reflecting on this, Mr Selous asks:

'Are these cases of no effusion of blood from bullet-wounds mere coincidences, or is it the case that, speaking generally, wounds inflicted by the .803 rifle with expanding bullets do not cause such an effusion of blood externally as would be the case with rifles of larger bore? The three wounds I was able to examine were not tiny holes drilled by solid bullets, but were made by bullets that had expanded on impact, and which had cut jagged wounds of the diameter of a shilling

through everything they had touched; and possibly it is the jagged nature of the wounds inflicted that accounts for the want of hæmorrhage; for a hollow-pointed leaden bullet (if it does not break up) simply expands and makes a clean wound, whilst the hollow-pointed nickel-coated .303 bullet shreds up into sharp-edged ribbons of the nickel coating for half its length, each of which is bent over towards the base of the bullet, and which form altogether an irregular face of half an inch or more in diameter. Is it not possible that small blood-vessels cut by such a jagged-edged bullet driven through them at an enormous velocity immediately contract in such a way as to prevent the hæmorrhage which would result from a cleaner wound? . . . This want of blood from a flesh wound is the one fault I have to find with the .303 rifle,' etc.

In another place it is mentioned that wherever the bullet had passed through or near muscle it had turned the meat black.

Recent experience in war confirms the general statement that there is little bleeding from wounds inflicted by a small-bore rifle, whether the bullet expands or not, one of the chief reasons' being the smallness of the skin wound. Besides this the bullet may partially cauterise the wound as it passes; great heat is generated before it leaves the barrel; it traverses the air with much velocity, and on impact further heat is produced, which may have an influence in stopping bleeding. Moreover, modern bullets, imparting on impact some of their enormous force to the liquids and solids they strike, convert these into secondary projectiles that are hurled in all directions. The crushing and rending thus effected are also inimical to bleeding.* Therefore it is probable that wounds from the .303 bullet will not cause as much bleeding as those from a larger bullet having a lower velocity. This question of blood-track is a very important one to sportsmen.

Mr Selous formed the opinion, which seems to be justified, that, if the number of shots obtained were the criterion, Asia Minor could not be considered an attractive locality; but that with perseverance and good luck very fine trophies might be obtained. His third trip was to

* The theory here propounded was referred to Dr A. Ogston, the eminent professor of surgery in the University of Aberdeen, who has made the subject of bullet-wounds a special study, and has had experience in the South African war. His reply is incorporated in these remarks.

the Murad mountains, near Ouchak, a considerable town in the interior, in hope of getting *maral*, and also for ornithological purposes. His time was limited, and the weather was bad; but specimens were added to a very extensive collection.

Reasons similar to those which led Mr Selous to travel in Asia Minor, induced Messrs Church and Phelps to visit Central Asia and explore the Tian Shan range, which, lying east and west, separates Russian from Chinese Turkestan. Both gentlemen were experienced travellers, having previously been over the Yarkand country and the Pamirs. They chose the route by India because they wished once more to see Kashmir. Those who know that land will admit the plea; but their choice was wise for other reasons. Englishmen are more at home in India than in Russia, through which the shorter road lies, and they are better placed for preparing the necessary equipment; moreover, they are gradually introduced to camp-life and the management of a caravan. As far as Srinagar the journey is perfectly easy. From that place to Leh, whilst there are no special difficulties, experience, invaluable in more inhospitable regions, is gained, so that when the Karakoram range is crossed and Chinese Turkestan is entered, the traveller is equal to all ordinary emergencies.

Writing mainly for sportsmen, Mr Church is careful to describe a suitable outfit, the first item of which is, naturally, the battery. He recommends a .303 or other small-bore rifle, but adds that the ideal bullet has yet to be invented, existing bullets being deficient in stopping power and causing but a small blood-track. He further mentions that nitro-powders are affected by great cold, from which they should be carefully protected. These and other remarks show him to be a careful man; yet no one can read his book without noticing with astonishment the extraordinary number of cartridges of this rifle which missed fire, and might have ruined his shooting. On this subject he says:

‘I was shooting with a double .303 and cartridges supplied by the maker, who has a great name, which I am only restrained from giving by ignorance, and consequently wholesome dread, of the law of libel. Out of every seven or eight cartridges one used to miss fire, which is altogether inexcusable.’

So it is, if ordinary care was taken; and there is no reason to suppose a want of care. The inference is that either the locks or the cartridges were in fault; and Mr. Church would do well, we think, to make over the weapon and the remaining cartridges to be examined and tested by the shooting-editor of the 'Field.' For a second rifle, Mr Church prefers a .450 express, with a longer bullet and smaller cavity than usual; and besides these, he recommends a gun to fire shot or ball, and a revolver for personal protection.

The party left Kashmir by the Sind Valley on June 10, 1899; Leh was reached on July 14, and Yarkand by August 12. On the way down the Karakoram Pass the monument to Dalgleish, who was murdered there by a Pathan in 1888, was seen; it was erected by Mr Dauvergne, Major Cumberland, and Captain Bower in memory of 'the one solitary Englishman who had tried to make his home in Central Asia.'* Dalgleish was beloved by the inhabitants, with whom he traded, and his travels and observations were of considerable geographical value. The tablet has been damaged by Pathan merchants, sympathisers with the murderer, who was eventually caught by Bower, and committed suicide.

From Yarkand the party reached Maralbashi on August 25, and thus arrived at the ground where the stag, for which they had travelled so far, was to be found. They entered the Tian Shan range at Aksu and crossed the Muzart Pass into the Tekkes Valley, trying the tributary nullahs with disappointing results; but, when the district was revisited at the end of October, some specimens were secured. Of these, one carried a fine head (54 inches),

'twelve points, and a little snag—which may almost be reckoned a thirteenth—massive and wide, with a great development of the fourth tine, and a slight palmation of the tops. This head' (says Mr Church) 'is, taken all round, the finest specimen of an Asiatic wapiti which I have seen; and as the horns are an article of trade, I afterwards saw lots of them in Kuldja.'

They are sent to China, where they command a large price, which has two opposite results on the unfortunate

* Younghusband, 'The Heart of a Continent,' p. 226.

stag. The wild ones seem not unlikely to be exterminated ; but, on the other hand, the Russians have what they call 'Maralnik,' or inclosures for *maral*—deer-parks, in fact, in which some six thousand are preserved. The enterprise is said to be profitable, and the breed may thus be maintained ; but the great heads will probably disappear.

Ibex, on the other hand, being less molested, are found in great numbers, and carry finer heads than those of Kashmir and the Himalaya. Mr Church mentions from two to three hundred in a herd, and several herds in view at once, so that the stalker has to consider other beasts than those he hopes to shoot, for if some are disturbed the rest take alarm. The longest horns obtained were 52 inches in length ; others measured 48½ and 46 inches ; but an old horn was found and roughly measured as 60 inches, which is perhaps the longest of which there is an authentic account, for, when Mr Church wrote, a 56-inch horn from the Taghdumbash Pamir was the best recorded. The ibex are said to be larger than those of the Himalaya, and differ from them in some respects ; they are certainly far more numerous, for it is estimated that a hard-working sportsman and fair shot should get twenty in a month, no horns being under 45 inches, whilst with luck four or five measuring over 50 inches should be obtained.

From the Tekkes Valley Mr Church descended to Kuldja, where he arrived on December 24, in a winter of exceptional severity, the thermometer falling to 52° below zero. Travelling in such weather, with every appliance, would seem no easy matter ; yet he set out, roughly provided, to accompany a friend to Tashkend, the nearest railway station, distant 850 miles. The journey was made in sledges drawn by three horses ; and the country is rather vaguely described as not worth seeing—a succession of flat plains broken by occasional spurs of the Alexander mountains.

From Tashkend he returned to Kuldja and subsequently undertook a journey westwards to Urumtsi (twenty-two marches, 432 miles) to explore new hunting-grounds. Here *Ovis ammon* was found, but in small numbers ; and the country seems to have few attractions for sportsmen. The people, Tungans (i.e. Chinese Mohammedans) and Chinese, are unpleasant, treating foreigners with

as much insolence, as they think consistent with safety; and they have not improved since Major Cumberland was among them in 1889-90. From Urumtsi the travellers worked round by the Khotan River to Khotan, a journey of about 900 miles, the latter part of which is over sand, where the heat is great, poisonous insects abound, and there is no sport. This delectable land having been left behind, Srinagar was reached on August 30, 1900, after an absence of fourteen months and twenty days. It may interest intending travellers to learn that Mr Church estimates the cost of such an expedition for two men at 1000*l.* a year, exclusive of the journey from England to India and the cost of such part of the outfit, including the battery, as is got at home.

Literature on Abyssinian sport and travel has received, in Mr Powell-Cotton's handsome and well illustrated book, a valuable addition. The author, already an experienced traveller, was entrusted with the organisation of the caravan, which was accompanied by a cartographer whose instruments were supplied by the Royal Geographical Society. The route was from Zeila, by Gildessa and the Hawash Valley, to Adis Abbaba, Menelik's capital, which is well described; it is a collection of villages separated by open tracts rather than a group of closely connected buildings such as ordinarily constitute a town. In it is found a strange mixture of barbarism and civilisation, huts and primitive weaving-machinery alongside of a telephone office, where the latest inventions and instruments may be seen on tables made of packing-boxes, surrounded by piles of cartridge-cases (full and empty) and bars of salt, which are used as current coin. Other signs of civilisation are the embassies of various nations, the custom-house, and the storehouses where goods are kept prior to valuation, in odd corners of which stacks of ivory may be seen. Near this is the market-place, south-east of which is the Gebi enclosure or grounds containing the palace. The party were granted an audience; and Menelik is thus described:—

‘His Majesty does not look his fifty-eight years. His very dark but by no means black face, pitted with smallpox, is full of strength and shrewdness. His features, quick in altering expression, are lit up with a pleasant smile. Frequently

he laughs with great heartiness, displaying a row of even but not very white teeth. . . . White trousers, a coat of green and yellow striped silk, a black satin cloak with gold braid and lined with pink, completed the Imperial costume.'

He received the visitors cordially, and they were greatly impressed with his shrewdness and affability. As he is said to be able to put 500,000 rifles and 100 mountain-guns into the field, with swarms of spearmen, his title to importance is evident, even if the numbers are exaggerated. From Adis Abbaba a short excursion was made, in which specimens of the rare black-and-white monkey were obtained; and then the long journey to Massowah, by lake Tana* and the Simien hills, for the Abyssinian ibex was commenced. Mr Powell-Cotton obtained good specimens—the best horns measuring about 43½ inches—and ascertained that the chief difference between this and other varieties of the ibex was a bony protuberance on the forehead. Descending to the valley of the Takazzé, he reached Adua (Adowa), where the battle so disastrous to local Italian interests was decided. Thence the ruins of Axum, 'the sacred city of the Ethiopians,' were visited; and, on continuing the route towards Massowah, colonies of the ant-bear or *aardvark*, as it is better named, were found. Soon afterwards the frontier of Erythrea was passed, Italian hospitality was enjoyed, and the journey, so far as sport and research were concerned, was over.

There are several appendices to the volume, in one of which the specimens of mammals collected are classified by the Hon. Walter Rothschild. This is a valuable contribution to what is known of the natural history of Abyssinia. But the most important matter of all is relegated to the last. It consists of a paper by the author on the economic conditions of British Somaliland, Abyssinia, and Erythrea. Information is given which deserves the careful attention of our Foreign and Colonial Offices, and of all who are interested in the preservation of British trade. Our ports are neglected, both as to communication with Europe and with the interior, whilst on the French Somali coast Jibuti—only thirty miles from our Zeila—has a telegraph to Marseilles, is regularly

* So spelt by Mr Powell-Cotton; it used to be called lake Dembea or Tsana.

visited by French mail-steamers, and has a railway partly completed to the interior. Hence our trade in the British Protectorate is seriously endangered, and Mr Powell-Cotton suggests the following remedies, which seem reasonable:—

‘First, the establishment of direct communication with Europe by arranging with (and, if necessary, subsidising) one of the existing lines of British steamers to call regularly for freight at Berbera and Zeila; secondly, the systematic dredging of Berbera harbour; thirdly, the construction of a light railway running from Zeila or Berbera to Harrar, or better still to Tadechamalca, at the foot of the Abyssinian highlands, which would do away with the loss of time and money involved in the reloading of goods at Gildessa and Harrar. It is to be hoped, now peace is restored in Eastern Somaliland, that the Government will see its way to carrying out at least the third of these works before it is too late.’

The importance of these suggestions, though they are made specially in the interest of trade, and in view of the great commercial opening in Abyssinia, has lately been made clear by the difficulties attending the equipment of a force to oppose Haji Muhammad Abdullah, known as the ‘Mad Mullah.’ The trouble with him is by no means recent, for it may not improbably have originated with our having in 1897 handed over a large part of Somaliland and its unfortunate inhabitants, contrary to their desire, to the tender mercies of the Abyssinians. This step was followed by transferring the control of British Somaliland from the Indian Government to the Foreign Office; and soon after the change the ‘Mad Mullah’ appeared, first as a leader of the Somalis against the Abyssinians, and afterwards, early in 1901, against our Protectorate. Now there was every probability that, if he failed against the former, who were in strength, he would direct his energies against us; and ignorance of this can scarcely be pleaded, for, in addition to such information as may have been officially supplied, public warning was given, as may be seen from the following extracts from a book recently published by Mr A. E. Pease:—*

‘On the Somali coast the same contempt is shown by the Foreign Office at home that in old days was exhibited by the

* ‘Travel and Sport in Africa,’ by A. E. Pease; 3 vols. (Humphreys, 1902),

India Office for the opinions and recommendations of the local authorities and those intimate with the circumstances. For two years the Mullah (Hadji Mohamed Abdullah) has been on the rampage, and nothing has been done to protect our Somalis from his ravages and murderings, beyond sending a few Yahoos to the frontier. We will not protect them nor allow them to defend themselves, as we forbid them fire-arms. They have no other course but to join him in self-defence. This will necessitate the spending of ten times as much money and the spilling of much blood before long.'

To this there is a footnote:—

'The recent expedition (1901) against the Mullah . . . is, in my opinion, one of the consequences of the policy of her late Majesty's Government, in abandoning Ogaden to the Abyssinians, who, *as I warned the Government in the House of Commons in 1898*, would raid the Ogaden country.'

We lost prestige by the measure, gave up the wells at Milmil, the most important strategic point on the Ogaden trade-route, and endangered our position on the coast. Something, however, was hoped from the transfer of power to the Foreign Office, 'but since this alteration the situation, politically and economically, has changed for the worse.' Recent events have proved the truth of this forecast; and the inadequate preparation made to meet the danger cannot fail to excite astonishment when we consider that, at the time when the warning was given, the penalty for a similar offence, though on a greater scale, was being dearly paid at the southern extremity of the same continent.

Mr Pease's big book is apparently an expanded diary of several trips made between 1892 and 1900. These included journeys in Algeria, Tunisia, and the Sahara; several trips to Somaliland—one in company with Sir E. Loder—and Abyssinia. A good deal of care has been taken in reading up the previous histories of these countries, and in setting them forth in an abridged sketch. In addition to the diary, which seems to have been prepared rather for private circulation than for the public, the volumes are largely filled with statistics, lists of plants, animals killed, accidents to lion-hunters, etc. The volumes are copiously illustrated. Some of the

pictures (photogravures mostly from French sources) are exceedingly good; many are merely reproductions of photographs of varying merit. Some of the coloured illustrations are grotesque, and perhaps intentionally comic; others show the right feeling for effect, but are lacking in artistic skill.

Turning from Africa to America, two expeditions by Mr Selous to the Bighorn range and the Rocky mountains are described in that part of his book which is devoted to the West. He visited that district in the autumn of 1897. Twenty years ago

‘it simply teemed with game; wapiti, mule-deer, and wild-sheep being very abundant in the mountains themselves, whilst white-tailed deer were plentiful in the cotton-wood bottoms at the foot of the hills, and bison and antelope ranged in great numbers over the plains beyond.’

Now this is all changed, and game disappears with increasing rapidity, its place being partly filled by settlers’ stock. Preservation will no doubt be tried, and large tracts of country have been reserved as sanctuaries; but it is doubtful whether the great deer and wild sheep can be maintained as red-deer are in Scotland. They require the freedom of a continent, and this, from the nature of things, is yearly more restricted. Possibly a demand for private forests may arise in America as wealth increases, and as it is realised that parts of the country may be more productive under deer than under sheep; and President Roosevelt’s appeal to his countrymen for the preservation of game and the extension of the areas reserved as nurseries and breeding-grounds may have the success it deserves.

The basin of the Bighorn in Wyoming is described as unattractive, resembling the driest part of the Karroo in the western province of Cape Colony. Owing, however, to the rivers which descend from the surrounding mountains, and to the praiseworthy energy of the settlers who have diverted the water to their fields, this wilderness is in part being transformed into a garden. Mr Selous laments the absence in Matabeleland and Mashonaland of such hard-working white men as he met in Wyoming, but evidently fears—we think with reason—that if transplanted they would succumb to the influences of South

African ideas, which regard manual labour as derogatory when black men are available.

No great success attended the sportsmen on this visit; prong-horn antelope were shot, but wapiti were scarce and shy. However, if shooting was disappointing, the pure streams of the mountains were full of delicious and uneducated trout, many of which weighed from a pound and a half to two pounds. They afforded temporary consolation; and success with the rifle came at last. Fine heads of mule-deer and white-tailed deer were got; and on one day Mr Selous bagged two wapiti stags within ten yards of each other, a spike-bull, and a mule-deer. Next year (1898) a similar expedition, which lasted exactly two months, was undertaken. Camp was pitched about twelve miles east of the Yellowstone Park; and in three weeks two wapiti and four mule-deer heads (two of which are very fine trophies) were secured. The illustrations of fine heads deserve special commendation; they are well selected and well reproduced.

Big game cannot, however, be brought to bag without good rifles; consequently Major Fremantle's book may be cordially welcomed; it is a record of 'the point which the rifle has attained at the opening of the twentieth century,' by one specially qualified for the task, and in touch with the best rifle-shots of the day. The story is told in complete fashion, and the book is a veritable mine of information for students. The development of our military weapon since 1855, when the rifle was introduced into our army, is carefully traced and recorded, past improvements and present necessities leading the author to believe that the weapon of the near future will be an automatic loader. That may be so; but, in the absence of pressure from abroad consequent on the adoption of such a rifle by a great military power, it is more likely that South African experience will be utilised to remedy defects in the Lee-Enfield by reducing its weight, by improving its magazine and sighting, and by encasing the barrel throughout its length in wood for hand-protection. If these remedies are thoroughly applied, especially if loading by clip is substituted for the present unsatisfactory arrangement, and the sighting is perfected, the Lee-Enfield may become a fairly adequate military weapon; but it is doubtful whether it can ever equal the

Mannlicher-Schoenauer, with its lower trajectory, and its magazine in which the jamming of cartridges is impossible.

Now, as Major Fremantle observes, the development of sporting rifles, though originally in advance, has recently fallen behind that of military arms; and, though at times there has been great divergence (notably when elongated bullets and accuracy at long range characterised the one, and a round bullet driven with a heavy charge correctly for little more than a hundred yards was the ideal of the other), yet the differences are disappearing; and the typical weapons of both classes have never approximated more nearly than they do at present. Our best sportsmen—and the better they are the more emphatic is their decision—have declared in favour of the small-bore for big-game shooting. The difference now between weapons for war and those for sport is rather in the bullet than in the rifle; for military purposes the disablement of an enemy is sufficient, excess of severity being avoided; but for game the wound cannot too soon prove fatal. In both cases the bullet which fulfils these conditions is the most humane.

Consequently a .303 Lee-Metford or Lee-Enfield, with Dum-dum bullet, or perhaps better still a Mannlicher-Schoenauer .256, with the point of the bullet rubbed off till the core is exposed, is about the ideal arm for a sportsman. In making this selection there is neither the wish nor intention to ignore the existence of other small-bores, such as the Mauser, Krag-Jorgensen, etc., all practically very like our .303, mentioned here as a type with which our readers are likely to be familiar. Respecting the efficiency of bullets weakened at the point, the Major remarks:

‘A stag struck by such a bullet in the right place seems paralysed, as the bullets of the older rifles could not paralyse him. If struck “too far back,” instead of going a long distance, and perhaps getting clear away, he seems incapable of any exertion, and this whether the rifle used is the .303, with a bullet of about 215 grains, or the .256, the bullet of which weighs only 156 to 160 grains. . . . The records of the Martin-Smith competition at Wimbledon and Bisley—a competition shot at 100 yards at a target one foot in diameter, with a bull’s-eye of two inches—show clearly how extremely accurate

the little rifles are at such distances. We reproduce, by permission, a diagram of five shots at 100 yards made by Mr St George Littledale with a $\cdot 256$ Mannlicher rifle, a similar weapon to that which had accompanied him almost to Lhasa in the previous year, and had constantly supplied his whole caravan with meat.'

The diagram referred to is a marvel; all five shots, clustered on the centre of a two-inch bull's-eye, can be covered by a sixpence, and bear eloquent testimony to the accuracy of the rifle and the ability of the man behind it—which after all is the essential consideration. Such magazine-rifles, with Lyman and perhaps telescopic sights, are preferable to the more expensive double rifles of the same calibre, save possibly when receiving the charge of dangerous game, for which a new class of rifle is being made. Utilising the high velocity resulting from smokeless powder, a $\cdot 450$ rifle, as now made, has greater effect than the $\cdot 577$ express, while a $\cdot 350$ is nearly as powerful as the old $\cdot 500$, recoil in both cases being less violent. These new rifles are said to be fast coming into favour; but it is not unlikely that their place may be taken by a serviceable gun which will shoot shot or ball, or perhaps—as President Roosevelt suggests for the heavier kinds of game—not larger bores, but heavier rifles with more powder and a longer bullet. In a question of this sort it is unprofitable to do more than indicate the direction in which improvement may be expected.

With these remarks our survey may reasonably be closed. The field covered is wide, including, as it does, the greater part of the earth's surface. Much of this area is well known, much is comparatively unexplored, but all is full of interest to many besides sportsmen and travellers.

Art. VIII.—DIARISTS OF THE LAST CENTURY.

1. *A portion of the Journal kept by T. Raikes, Esq., from 1831 to 1847.* Four vols. Second edition. London: Longmans, 1856.
 2. *Private Correspondence of Thomas Raikes with the Duke of Wellington, etc.* Edited by his daughter, Harriet Raikes. London: Bentley, 1861.
 3. *The Greville Memoirs.* New edition. Eight vols. London: Longmans, 1888.
 4. *The Reminiscences and Recollections of Captain Gronow, 1810–1860.* London: Nimmo, 1889.
 5. *Gossip of the Century.* By the author of ‘Flemish Interiors.’ Two vols. London: Ward and Downey, 1892.
 6. *Letters of Harriet, Countess Granville.* Edited by her son, the Hon. F. Leveson-Gower. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1894.
 7. *Mary Boyle: her Book.* Edited by Sir Courtenay Boyle, K.C.B. London: John Murray, 1901.
- And other works.

THERE is no more agreeable reading than diaries, light memoirs, or familiar correspondence. Cynics may say that they are often fiction founded upon fact; and it is, no doubt, amusing to contrast the different views they present of the same character. But they are one of the pleasantest forms of intellectual relaxation; and turning to them from more serious works is like changing the tight-fitting frock-coat for the dressing-gown. Even the best biographers are seldom absolutely trustworthy, and autobiography is still less to be relied on. For the biography, letters and documents are generally confided to some admiring friend, zealously thoughtful of the verdict of posterity. Few are so candid as Froude—to take a striking example—in his frank revelations of the weaknesses of the sage of Chelsea, or as Barrère’s French biographer, who scourges his subject with scorpions, as Macaulay had lashed him with whips. Moreover, there is the inevitable tendency to hero-worship; and Boswells who realise their responsibilities, and enjoy a personal insensibility to ridicule, are few and far between. As to autobiography, it is safe to say that it is not in human

nature to step frankly into the confessional. The most honest of autobiographers is inevitably a special pleader and a sophist. He frequently plays fast and loose with his conscience; or he may go to the other extreme, like Rousseau, and make a morbid parade of supposititious frailties.

Diarists and memoir-writers stand on a somewhat different footing. In some cases their elaborate journals have been written for posthumous publication, and the charge to their literary executors has been to exercise a wise discretion; in others, the writers have had something of the callousness of Boswell, or of the caricaturist whose trade makes him indifferent to censure. Still more outspoken were the society ladies, writing in fullest confidence to sisters or bosom friends, and seldom dreaming that their frivolous letters would see the light. For such unconscious authors a fashion of revival and resurrection has now set in; old repositories have been diligently ransacked, and their contents edited with illustrative footnotes. We are transported back to the salons and boudoirs of past generations; we listen to the lively gossip of the time, and see historical men and celebrated women as they were seen, when off their guard, by shrewd contemporaries. The crabbed journals in faded ink, the fly-blown letters, franked and written closely up to the seal, are so many pictures flashed off by the camera—vivid and truthful reflections of old-time men and manners.

Many of these scribblers stumbled upon a veritable vocation. Greville, a serious politician, with exceptional opportunities of informing himself, possessed a genuine talent for observation and appreciation, and was professionally interested in picturesque individualities. Others, like Gronow, the dandy ex-guardsman of the clubs and boulevards, took for their subjects men and women rather than courts, and touched on politics chiefly in relation to personalities. Even in the Peninsula, Gronow was an indefatigable collector of anecdote and gossip; undoubtedly his memory was good, if perhaps his imagination was inventive. Professedly a man of fashion, of antecedents somewhat shrouded in mystery, like those of Captain Hesse and others of his fashionable cronies, he had settled down into a *flâneur* on the boulevards. As two of a trade can seldom agree, he sneers at Thomas Raikes

as a city dandy. The sneer may be safely attributed to jealousy, for Raikes—familiarily known as Apollo, for he had risen in the East and set in the West—stands altogether on a higher level, and must have been a man of no ordinary talents, with sympathetic and agreeable manners.

Greville often breaks off his journals to lament that he had not turned his brilliant talents to better account; but Raikes might have been remorseful with better reason, for he had no such serious occupation as the Clerk of the Council. In one sense he frittered away his time between London and Paris, haunting the clubs and drawing-rooms, picking and choosing among invitations to dinner. But, in whatever way he may have obtained the *entrée*, he was in familiar association with the old aristocracy of France and the most illustrious men in England. His brother was Governor of the Bank, and he himself was an authority on finance and commercial questions. His interest in all that was passing was intense, his curiosity insatiable; yet he must have established a character, not only for reticence and discretion, but as a man of sound judgment and safe counsel. Suffice it to say that the 'city dandy' was on such a footing with the Duke of Wellington that his Grace spoke unreservedly to him on most delicate matters; that, when he was in Paris, cabinet ministers in London, flurried and overtasked in times of stress, thought it worth while to send him the latest intelligence; and that with Greville he was in frequent and confidential communication. With so wide a choice of friends, he cannot be called a parasite, but he was catholic and not over-particular in the choice of his acquaintances. One of his most valued intimates was Alvanley, the brilliant sybarite and witty *viveur*, who, like himself, seemed to have been born for better things; and, though really pious and well-principled, he was one of the familiars of the third Marquis of Hertford, who had surpassed the debaucheries of the venerable Duke of Queensberry, and whose scandalous death-bed scenes shocked a dissolute society.

Another book of curious and discursive reminiscences appeared so lately as 1892. It extends to two massive folio volumes, the second being chiefly devoted to celebrated musicians, singers, and dancers; for the anonymous author was an enthusiast for music and a habitual fre-

quenter of the opera. The authorship of 'Gossip of the Century' is ascribed to Julia Clara Byrne, second daughter of Hans Busk, and widow of W. P. Byrne, who was proprietor of the 'Morning Post' at a time when the press was becoming a power in the state, and its directors were being courted by politicians and potentates. Mrs Byrne makes the same melancholy complaint as Greville—that the latter half of the century furnished no such picturesque personalities as the former. One reason is obvious enough—the men of the later generations have had no such opportunities. They were stirring times in the beginning of last century. There was a swift succession of dramatic sensations in war as in peace; continental Europe was in convulsions, and in England there was a golden age of letters. Byron had awoke one morning to find himself famous. Scott was delighting the world with his novels, translated in Paris as fast as they appeared; and the poets of the Lake school were provoking the satire which was the tribute to unfamiliar forms of genius. The extraordinary circulation of the 'Edinburgh' and the 'Quarterly' were signs, which all might read, of a literary and political revival. Thenceforth from Crabb Robinson onwards there is an unbroken continuity of links. Robinson was proud of the flattery of having been proscribed by Napoleon; he had been a frequent guest at the cottage of Charles Lamb; he was the intimate of Southey and Wordsworth, and Wordsworth's passionate admirer, almost invariably having a volume of the poems in his pocket.

It will be seen that the celebrities of a hundred years ago must have been men and women of intense vitality. Most of them survived to a good old age, and Napoleon, Pitt, and Fox were illustrious exceptions who prove the rule. The soldiers who had escaped the chances of the wars, the wits, the poets, the statesmen, and the diplomatists who remodelled the new Europe, lingered on to a second and third generation. Among the wits who to their last hour kept London alive with the flow of anecdote, satire, and epigram, was Jekyll. Still better known were Rogers and Luttrell, the venerable inseparables who never spared each other, and were none the worse friends for that. Caustic and witty themselves, they were the cause of wit in others. We can understand the parts

played by Talleyrand and Pozzo di Borgo in their prime when we see them charged with important missions in their decrepitude, and still, in the conduct of the most delicate negotiations, controlling the issues of peace and war. Pozzo, the stormy petrel of the troubles, had travelled and toiled enough to wear any thinker prematurely out; but Talleyrand was the more remarkable. Physically, he was a monstrosity and a phenomenon. Held together by a mechanism of iron, with all his mental powers perpetually on the strain, indulging freely in the pleasures of the table, his smile was as stereotyped as his suavity of manner, and to the last he was as ready of resource as of repartee. Though subject to vicious attacks of the gout, cynics like himself might say that the blessings for which he had most reason to be thankful were a bad heart and a good stomach. So far as we remember, the only men who had a good word for his heart were the Duke of Wellington—another evergreen of that vigorous age—and the Comte de la Garde-Chambonas, who gives ‘Anecdotal Recollections of the Congress of Vienna.’ Montrond, his *âme damnée*, once said in his praise that he was absolutely devoid of scruples and prejudices.

The diaries and memoirs of the time are full of Talleyrand, and very naturally. Pozzo, long his indefatigable antagonist, is left more in shadow. Pozzo, indeed, was ever on the wing, and often in voluntary or involuntary exile. His fixed idea was the liberation of enslaved Europe. A politician of fortune, he never tampered with his conscience, and, like the second Napoleon, was content to bide his time. His life has been written, but the casual notices in memoirs only tantalise us. We are told that he was the most brilliant of *causeurs*, with an inexhaustible flow of illustrative anecdote. But, while many a *bon-mot* has been apocryphally fastened on Talleyrand, few samples of Pozzo’s humour survive; and the result is as unsatisfactory as Lord Beaconsfield’s sketch of Theodore Hook in guise of Lucian Gay. It is easy to understand that we hear less of their wily contemporary, Fouché, shifty as Talleyrand and scarcely less successful. But Fouché succeeded in his own stealthy way. The regicide, who had made himself so indispensable that he forced himself upon Louis XVIII, had always been working underground and shunned respectable company.

The most graphic presentation of him is given by Croker, who met the hoary time-server in Paris at Lord Castlereagh's table.

'The wonder was to find oneself at table with Fouché, who, to be sure, looked very like what one would naturally suppose him to be—a sly old rogue; but I think he seems to feel a position of which I did not suspect him capable—I mean *shame*, for he looks anxious and embarrassed. He is a man of about five feet seven inches; very thin, with a grey head, cropped and powdered, and a very acute expression of countenance.'

It was likely enough that the *fouine* should have felt embarrassed in the company of Wellington and Castlereagh; but Talleyrand, who was of the party, and deep in Fouché's discreditable secrets, must have been more tolerant. Probably Talleyrand, with all his penetration, had no suspicion that Wellington, though he once was his champion in the House of Lords, put him on a level with the notorious Minister of Police. The Duke remarked to Lord Stanhope that what amazed him most was the boldness of Talleyrand's duplicity.

'It may seem odd, but I never could understand on what his great reputation as a minister was founded. I never found him a man of business, nor, I must say, able in affairs.'

Not the least entertaining letters are those of ladies, written, as we said, in confidence, without the slightest idea of their being published. The lapse of time has made the publication harmless, and the triviality of many of the details gives them an additional piquancy, for, as Archbishop Whately wrote in a review,

'Let any one cut out from a work everything which is devoid of importance and interest in itself, and he will find that what is left will have lost more than half its charms.'

These ladies, as they led more tranquil lives, were even longer-lived than the old-school diplomatists. Lady Sarah Lennox was born during the rising of the '45, and she survived to within a year or two of the revolution that replaced the Bourbons of the elder branch by the house of Orleans. Lady Louisa Stuart, the daughter of Lord Bute, the all-powerful minister who had been driven to

resignation when the king he overshadowed was still a youth, lived on to the great age of ninety-four. The 'Book' of Mary Boyle, who only died a few years ago, carries memory back to the coronation of George IV, when Scott was still comparatively hale and the Scots Greys opened their ranks to 'their illustrious countryman,' when he walked from the Abbey to the hotel.

Harriet, Lady Granville, was nearly an octogenarian; and her letters, chiefly addressed to her sisters and brothers, are perhaps the most entertaining of all, and certainly the most instructive. Those letters, as we are told by her son, were so private that her correspondents considered them strictly confidential. A Cavendish by birth, connected by marriage with the Leveson-Gowers and the Howards, she moved in the innermost circles of English political society. As the wife of one of the most popular of our ambassadors in Paris, for many years she received in her salons in the Rue St Honoré the most illustrious personages of Europe. Her shrewdest guests can scarcely have realised the keen sense of the ridiculous, so adroitly veiled, and the rare power of penetration which resided in their amiable hostess. She dashes off her etchings, touched with acid, though seldom ill-natured, for the amusement of Lady Harrowby and Lady Morpeth, or that dilettante grand seigneur, her brother the Duke of Devonshire, the only man she seems really to reverence. The head of the house, the 'magnus Apollo' of the drawing-rooms, as Raikes styles him, he rose above cavilling or criticism. Nevertheless his sister, in chronicling his doings, is occasionally droll, as when she describes his going off for a walk in the Bernese Oberland with his body-physician, his valet, and a couple of footmen in blouses and straw hats, with knapsacks on their backs. It sounds like Marie Antoinette playing *paysanne* in the Petit Trianon. Take at random one or two of her sketches of character :—

'Lord Byron is still upon a pedestal, and Caroline William doing homage. . . . He is agreeable, but I feel no wish for any further intimacy. His countenance is fine when it is in repose, but the moment it is in play, suspicious, malignant, and consequently repulsive. His manner is either remarkably gracious and conciliatory, with a tinge of affectation, or irritable and impetuous, and then, I am afraid, perfectly natural.'

That coincides closely with Scott's first impression, though Scott is always chivalrously generous to his great rival. But he remarks on the scowl that came over Byron's countenance when his glance happened to fall on the deformed foot. Scott's presence of mind saved the situation, and Byron was caressingly amiable as before. Here is Frederick Lamb—Lord Beauvale—hit off in three lines, with a stronger dash of the vitriol than usual :

'I think him uncommonly agreeable and clever; but he sees life in the most degrading light, and he simplifies the thing by thinking all men rogues and all women . . .'

Yet Beauvale left an inconsolable widow, thirty years younger than himself, who had nursed him devotedly. Then there is a touch which shows how indifferently the most gifted Englishmen of the time were equipped for difficult negotiations with such cosmopolitans as Talleyrand or Pozzo. We know that Wellington wrote 'good, nervous French'; but as for Castlereagh,

'How he gets on in French,' says Lady Granville, 'I cannot imagine. He called out to the maître d'hôtel, "A présent, monsieur, servez la dîner."'

But Lord Granville, like his son, spoke French like a native, and possibly his lady was hypercritical.

All the letter-writers and diarists have a good deal to say of the royal family—much of the Duke of York, more of the Regent, but less of the younger brothers. As to these last, Mrs Byrne is the chief authority. The Duke of Cambridge was almost as popular as the Duke of York, but he had inherited one of his father's peculiarities, which inspired the venomous satire of Wolcot. He was pious and regular in his attendance at church. When the clergyman said, 'Let us pray,' the Duke would fervently respond, 'Aye, to be sure, why not? Let us pray, let us pray, let us pray.' Like his brothers, he was a good judge of wine, and at a civic dinner he held up his glass to the light, exclaiming, 'Something's amiss here; why, what's this, what's this, what's this?' His *flair* was sure, and the mortification of his hosts was great; it was a vintage intended for the lower tables. The Duke of Sussex, after his morganatic marriage, was familiarly known at Brighton, which he much frequented, as 'Uncle Buggins.'

The sobriquet of the Duke of Gloucester was 'Silly Billy'; but with his Tory principles he made a happy hit when disgusted by King William's assenting to the Reform Bill. 'Who,' he asked, 'is Silly Billy now?' One of his greatest friends was a wealthy Lancashire manufacturer, who damned his Royal Highness in his drawing-room when a servant told him he had intercepted a cup of tea intended for the Duke. 'Quite right, Blackburn,' was his Highness's gracious comment. The Duke of Kent made himself excessively popular in the Colonies; his weakness was keeping up a state and train of servants in rich liveries which he was ill able to afford. As to the Duke of Cumberland, it may be said that he absolutely courted unpopularity. Lady Granville tells us he was warned by the police that it was unsafe for him to go about the streets of London. But, like the Duke of York, he was generous, and one of his charitable actions should be remembered to his credit. Lockhart mentions, in his article in the 'Quarterly' on Hook, that when poor Theodore died, hopelessly insolvent and forgotten by the wealthy familiars whom he had amused, the Duke of Cumberland headed the subscription for his natural children and their mother with a gift of 500*l*.

There is a suggestive story of the Duke of Clarence, whose bluff sailor-like bearing embarrassed his ministers and scandalised his courtiers when he came to the throne. He used to tell it himself with great glee.

'I was riding near Hampton unattended, when I was overtaken by a butcher's boy with a tray of meat. "That's a nice cob of yours, old gent," said the boy. "Pretty fair," I answered. "Mine's a good 'un, too," said he; "and I'll tell you what, I'll trot you to Hampton Wick for a pot o' beer."' His Highness declined the sporting offer, and the boy galloped off, calling back over his shoulder, 'I knowed you was only a muff.'

As for the lamented George IV, the overhauling of his wardrobes and examination of his repositories gave curious clues to the monarch's character. His chronic embarrassments remind us of the French royalties who found hospitable welcome on English soil. The first arrival was Philippe Egalité: hand-in-glove with the young 'Prince Florizel,' he lent the Regent large sums.

It seems that it was not etiquette between these high personages to give formal vouchers; but be it said to George's honour that, on his accession to the throne, the loans were faithfully repaid with interest to the younger Duke of Orleans. Louis Philippe, with his shrewd sagacity in money matters, invested them in French domains, which were going as bargains; and they were the foundations of his immense private fortune. Meantime the head of the elder branch had been living in seclusion in Buckinghamshire; and one of the things not generally known is that Napoleon helped to defray his household expenses. Louis XVIII was one of the few men who could boast of having outwitted Fouché. When the indispensable policeman was forcing himself on the restored monarch, he obtained a private interview, at which he expressed his profound devotion. The King stipulated that, as a preliminary to his appointment, he should make frank confession of the methods and the men by which he had obtained exact information of what was passing at Hartwell.

'Each day,' said Fouché, with honest pride, 'the most secret doings of your Majesty were revealed to me.' 'Surrounded by trusted friends, who could have been the traitor?' 'If you command, sire, I must own that my informant was the Duc d'Aumont.' 'What! De Pienne, who possessed my entire confidence? I must own he was poor, and living is dear in England. Well, M. Fouché, it was I that dictated those letters, and I gave up to him 12,000 francs out of the 48,000 which you so regularly remitted.'

The Comte de Provence lived in seclusion, but his brother was a welcome guest in country-houses, contributing much to their gaiety. Lady Louisa Stuart, who met him at Bothwell, was greatly taken with him. Already past middle age, he was still the gay d'Artois who had been the life and scandal of the Petit Trianon, and who had decorated La Bagatelle with those free frescoes which Lord Yarmouth restored when he bought the villa. Lady Louisa says he had a splendid, open countenance, a noble and prince-like air, with the dignified good-breeding and courteous ease you would expect of a prince bred in the politest court of Europe. In conversational powers he surpassed the Regent, and gave no signs as yet of turning *dévo*t. His unfortunate son was a contrast in

every respect. 'The Duc de Berri is little, thick, stumpy, and slouching, with a very ugly brown face that might be fifty years old, and a sullen dour look'—a description which gives some colour to scandalous whispers about his paternity.

George IV, though for slight offences he forgot long friendships and let resentment rankle—witness the breach with Brummell and the summary dismissal of Cannon, who had hesitated to praise his indifferent singing—had scarcely character enough to be a good hater. But if he had a pet aversion, it was Brougham, and assuredly not without reason. Brougham had in perfection the gentle art of making enemies, though with him it was an instinct rather than an art. No man stands out more conspicuously in contemporary memoirs. His courage and sublime self-confidence were on a par with his vanity; they were as amazing as his talents, his extraordinary if somewhat superficial knowledge, and his wonderful quickness in getting up a case. He was a terror to dignitaries from his juvenile days at the Scottish Bar, when, as Lord Cockburn tells us, he hunted poor Lord Eskgrove on circuit, making the life of that unlucky crotcheteer a burden. When he went to the Upper House he achieved the unparalleled feat of making the Lords as lively as the Commons. He was the Mr Quicksilver of Warren's 'Ten Thousand a Year,' who got muzzling briefs because, though a dangerous ally, he was sure to prove a deadly opponent. With the strength of the lion, he had the mischief of the monkey; and no sense of responsibility could sober him. Towards the end of his life there appeared a cartoon in 'Punch' which represented the former Lord Chancellor standing on his head, flourishing his legs in the air, with the famous check trousers. It was subscribed, 'What he will do next.'

Lady Granville, a strong partisan, treats Brougham with great respect; she expresses infinite admiration for his oratory and for the elasticity that always rebounded from the severest strain. She tells how, after a speech that had electrified the House, he went into Lord Gwydir's room, utterly exhausted and more cadaverous than usual, but was immediately cutting his jokes and chattering as if he had been the only person who had not exerted himself. Yet even Lady Granville seldom speaks of him without a laugh.

In 1834 he comes to Paris, 'causing an immense sensation, in roaring spirits, and not the least ashamed of his last extraordinary step'—which was asking to be made Chief Baron. In a letter written a few years later, Lady Granville praises him for keeping within the bounds of decency and sobriety. As a rule he engrossed the lion's share of the conversation; but on one of his visits to Paris, Gronow met him at a dinner where Dumas was of the party. For once the great talker was fairly silenced. Dumas went off at score with an inexhaustible rush of wit and anecdote; and Brougham, to his intense disgust, was reduced to the rôle of listener. A speech at Aberdeen was one of the most absurd of his indiscretions. He told the meeting that he should make a point of sending the King, by next post, an account of his flattering reception. This suggested a clever skit in the 'Examiner,' quoted by Raikes. The last stanza hits off the 'traveller's' self-advertising methods to a nicety:

'Should any chance the senior clerk
Into discredit bring,
I hope, sir, you'll remember who
Has served the house of King.'

Of all his critics Greville is the most severe—almost scurrilous. He writes in March 1844, apropos of the Privy Council Bill, that Brougham

'has lost all care for his serious reputation. . . . To flourish away and become cock-of-the-walk among silly and dissolute people of fashion . . . and to make free and frivolous men and women roar with laughter at his coarse, but not witty pleasantries, seems now the height of his ambition.'

Greville ends his caustic indictment by speaking of 'the vagaries of this impure and degraded buffoon.' This is bitter; but Brougham was his own worst enemy; and the remark shows how that man of extraordinary powers irritated a generally dispassionate observer. Yet if, to put it bluntly, Brougham perpetually made a fool of himself, he did incalculable good in his time; and, as Hayward reminds us in the essay on Rogers, he was the ruthless enemy of ignorance and prejudice. As for his stores of learning, Macaulay said in answer to some

compliment to himself, that though he had always his information at hand, there were two men who possessed more universal knowledge, and they were Whewell and Brougham.

The mention of Rogers carries us on to the professional talkers and wits who long gave the law to intellectual society. These men were familiar acquaintances, and sometimes intimate friends, but always observing an armed neutrality, and ready to strike or sting. Jekyll, who was born in 1754, was the father of that brilliantly facetious school. Though his legal attainments were rewarded by the lucrative post of a Mastership in Chancery, it was as a wit and diner-out that he made his reputation. In one of his delightful letters to his sister-in-law he tells us that, with his sons, he was a regular guest at Rogers' Twelfth-night dinners. He has much to say of his friend Rogers, and naturally does not spare him. If Brougham was cadaverous, Rogers was corpse-like; and, as Jack Bannister said, more good things had been written on his face than on that of the greatest beauty. Jekyll writes in 1826:

'Piccadilly is animated now and then by Napoleon's niece' (Lady Dudley Stuart) 'looking out of Mother Coutts' window; and poor Rogers dares not peep out of his . . . as "John Bull" advertises that he is the person who lay dead under an avalanche for a century and a half.'

This was written when the ferocious personalities of Theodore Hook, the masked editor of 'John Bull,' were carrying consternation into the Whig camp. But even foreigners fell into the humour of laughing at Rogers' looks. When with Mrs Byrne and her father in Paris, Rogers visited the Catacombs. He was last of the party as they reascended to upper air, and the facetious custodian shut down the grating, saying, 'Ah, no! you belong down below.' Here is another kindly story of Jekyll's. A friend had observed that viper broth was very nutritious for the weakly, and that Rogers lived upon it. Somebody said it must be expensive. 'No,' retorted the friend, 'Rogers finds his own venom.'

There was no love lost between Rogers and Sydney Smith, though Smith dined frequently with the hospitable banker. Rogers gave as much trouble to the printers as

Kinglake; he was for ever polishing his proofs—a habit which led Sydney Smith to remark:

‘When our friend is delivered of a couplet, with infinite pain and labour, he takes to his bed, the straw laid down, the knocker tied up, expects his friends to call and make enquiries,’ etc.

It was give and take, and no one who loved the choicest intellectual society could afford to quarrel with Rogers. The breakfasts, which anticipated Lord Houghton’s, were the more famous, but the dinners were even more select. That small dining-room looking out on the Green Park must have been haunted by the shades of the illustrious dead. Byron notes in his diary that on one occasion, in 1814, he met there Madame de Staël, Mackintosh, Sheridan, Erskine, Payne Knight, and others. Rogers prided himself on having all that was illustrious in intellect at his table, but there was one unwelcome guest whom he entertained perforce.

‘He felt himself nowhere’ (says Mrs Byrne) ‘before “the ceaseless gush of Macaulay’s rich and unfathomable knowledge. . . .” Irritated beyond measure, he was forced to listen and admire.’

Mrs Byrne adds that Rogers’ character has been generally misconstrued. He is often noted for his marked individuality. ‘Marked duality,’ says Mrs Byrne, would have been more apposite, for in the banker-poet the practical and poetical were evenly balanced. Poet and banker, it may be said, are now alike forgotten. As Hayward remarks, no single line of his has become a household phrase like those of Scott, Wordsworth, or Campbell. He is remembered chiefly for his hospitalities, his circle of associates, and his biting wit. Unfortunately, there is hardly one of his witticisms which is not tainted with gall, and the many generousities of the cynical valetudinarian are ignored. Few men have made a more courageous fight against the infirmities of the flesh, and few have been more sorely wounded in the house of their friends than the morbidly sensitive poet. Byron and the eccentric Ward—Lord Dudley—professed warm friendship for the man, and warmer admiration for his poems; but they both attacked him in print. Ward’s review of ‘Columbus’ in the ‘Quarterly’ hurt him more than

Byron's savage and unprovoked assault, for the reviewer had added insult to injury by consulting the poet when writing it.

Jekyll always declared that Luttrell was too good-natured for a satirist, which may explain his being Rogers' closest ally. His good-nature was the more to his credit that, as Greville tells us, he was a disappointed man in narrow circumstances. Like Greville, 'he was conscious of powers which should have raised him to a higher place.' A natural son of Lord Carhampton, he was nevertheless launched in the most exclusive society; he was one of the most cherished of the Holland House coterie, and was hand-in-glove with the wits and men of letters, and with politicians of all shades of opinion. He had cultivated conversation as a fine art; no one was more ready in repartee; but it was perhaps his misfortune that he was invariably bracketed with Rogers, who overshadowed and outshone him. His slight verses had only a *succès d'estime*; and the indolence of his temperament was a fatal snare to the spoilt darling of society.

Greville excels in analytical portraiture; and in his pages Sydney Smith and Macaulay are admirably contrasted. The death of the former, says Greville,

'is the extinction of a great luminary, such as we shall hardly see the like of again, and who has reigned without a rival in wit and humour for a great length of time. . . . His appearance, voice, and manner added immensely to the effect, and the bursting and uproarious merriment with which he poured forth his good things never failed to communicate itself to his audience.'

Unfortunately, like all professed wits, he felt bound to talk up to his reputation; and in many of his humorous writings and sayings we detect a certain lack of spontaneity. On the other hand, even in undress and in his rural parsonage, when a humorous fancy seizes him in merry mood, he fairly bubbles over with drollery. His remarks to his niece, Lucy, on a corpulent lady, culminating in 'You might read the Riot Act and disperse her,' are a case in point. The portly divine actually dances round her in exuberance of spirits. On the other hand, Macaulay had no charm of look or manner to recommend him. He had an unmelodious voice, a stolid aspect; there

was 'no fire in the eye, no intelligence playing round the mouth.' When Greville first sat next him at dinner at Holland House, he had no suspicion of the marvellous reserves of his quiet neighbour. Afterwards he knew him better. The man was roused and his nature seemed transformed when he threw himself into the subjects under discussion, seized them with a grip which strengthened as he spoke, and reduced his best informed auditors to silence by showing how absolutely he was master of all. Greville records another dinner at Holland House when, after he had made an extraordinary display of recondite information, and had incidentally given the substance of a sermon of Chrysostom's, Lady Holland, tiring of the Fathers, tried to catch him out on dolls. Macaulay, in no way taken aback, showed an intimate acquaintance with the dolls of the Roman nurseries, and illustrated their history with appropriate classical quotations. Like Johnson, a 'tremendous talker,' no one ever talked so well; the pity was that he never knew when to stop. Greville tempers his admiration by complaining that Macaulay was so abundantly stored with the riches of other minds that his own was somewhat lacking in originality. Sir Henry Taylor was of the same opinion; he said that Macaulay's memory had swamped his mind.

Croker had many warm friends, the Duke of Wellington and Walter Scott among the number; but few politicians made more bitter enemies. He was the Rigby of Disraeli's 'Coningsby,' though really an invaluable help to Lord Hertford; and he was Macaulay's *bête noire*. Even Barrère scarcely suffered more severely at Macaulay's hands than did Croker's edition of Boswell's 'Johnson,' though, as to the facts, Macaulay was characteristically unfair. Yet Croker could talk well; he was well read and well informed; and Macaulay should have had some sympathy with him, for his weakness was cock-sureness. It is a familiar story how, when he was laying down the law to Wellington about some military operations, and then changed the subject to shooting, the Duke remarked good-naturedly, 'My dear Croker, you may know a great deal more of what passed at Waterloo than myself, but as a sportsman I will maintain my point about the percussion caps.' The Duke remonstrated in vain when Croker insisted on bringing out his savage

article on Soult in the 'Quarterly,' on the occasion of the Marshal's visit to England for the young Queen's coronation. This was especially annoying to Wellington, for he and Soult were personally on the best of terms. When the Duke entertained his old antagonist at the grand banquet at Apsley House, Soult turned to admire Canova's statue of Napoleon. The Duke remarked that it always struck him that the globe in the Emperor's hand was too small. Soult replied with graceful courtesy, 'C'est, voyez-vous, Duc, que l'Angleterre n'y est pas comprise.' Croker had none of this generosity. Nevertheless, Greville, who speaks of him with unwonted severity, admits that he could render himself extremely agreeable, though there was always an *aliquid amari* in his lightest talk. Gronow, when he met him in a small company with Scott and Byron, says the same; but what struck Gronow most unfavourably was his sneering and sarcastic expression, which contrasted with the benevolent countenance of Scott. Croker recommended himself as a *convive* to the graces of George IV, who was an excellent judge of good talkers, and the King consulted him as to the arrangement of 'a snug little dinner' to welcome 'Walter.' A capable judge who was present at this dinner was puzzled to decide whether Scott or the King excelled in readiness of repartee and anecdote.

Lord Alvanley, like his friend Raikes, had better reasons than Greville to lament that he had frittered away remarkable talents. He was a link between the wits and the reckless *viveurs*. The Zimri of the nineteenth century, no man was more catholic in his tastes or more diverse in his habits and pursuits. A sybarite who would complain of a crumpled rose-leaf, a virtuoso and skilled archæologist, a gourmet who carried off the prize for the most costly dish ever devised at White's, a gambler who ruined himself at Watier's and kept the latest vigils at Crockford's, he was the soul of the old club at Melton; and Assheton-Smith himself never rode straighter to hounds. Brummell was scarcely more of a finished dandy; and, when he was sunning himself in exile on the slopes of Castellamare, his great complaint against the corrupt government of Naples was the excessive duties they levied on his consignments of clothes from London. He travelled in Syria, groaning over the hardships of the journey; but

his letters to Raikes show wonderful insight into the troubles in the Lebanon, abounding in predictions which were exactly fulfilled. Raikes loved him much, and the 'Journals' are full of Alvanley's good things. Perhaps one of the best was when he vindicated a courage which had been questioned by meeting Morgan O'Connell at Wimbledon. The cause of the duel was an insult at the hands of Morgan's father, the foul-mouthed Liberator, who called Alvanley a bloated buffoon, and then refused him personal satisfaction. The cabman who drove Alvanley to and from the Common expressed his gratitude for a guinea fare. 'It is not for taking me there, my good fellow,' said his lordship, 'but for bringing me back.'

Raikes, who was flattered by his affectionate intimacy, presents him invariably in the most engaging light; but Greville is even harder on him than on Brougham or Croker; he speaks of his 'constant treacheries.' These harsh strictures are indirectly the most striking tribute to Alvanley's rare fascination. They may be summed up in this—that Alvanley left confiding friends in the lurch, and that, after borrowing or drawing accommodation-bills, he shamelessly broke the most solemn promises; yet, though he often lost these friends for a time, he never failed to regain them. We said he had been ruined at Watier's, the mushroom gambling-club, which sprang up in a night, died down in a day, and beggared its members, almost without exception. As a matter of fact, he was saved from ruin by the shrewdness of an uncle who knew his character and left him a moderate fortune strictly tied up. All that was at his personal disposal was flung away, and his credit was mortgaged beyond redemption. Perhaps the last survival of the *roués* of the Regency, he died in 1850, supporting with unfailing fortitude and philosophic stoicism the sufferings that were the fruits of his early dissipations.

When Alvanley was in his pride of place as a man of fashion, Almack's was the centre of social ambitions. The vouchers went by favour, and they were issued with such extreme reserve that young guardsmen looked to them as longingly as aspiring bishops to the red hat. 'Not in half a dozen cases out of three hundred,' says Gronow, 'were their longings gratified.' Among the ladies paramount, not the least conspicuous were two

foreigners, the Princess Esterhazy and the Princess Lieven. The Princess Lieven fills far more space in the political and social memoirs than any woman of the time. Though she shone in the full glare of publicity, her character and conduct are enigmas to this day; and it is impossible to reconcile the conflicting evidence. Raikes takes her political machinations for granted, and specially refers to the intrigues with Canning, which broke off her old friendship with Wellington. Greville, on the contrary, in his obituary notice, asserts that she never caballed at all, though all presumptions are against him. He explains himself by saying that she gave colour to the charge by her natural eagerness to send political news to the court of St Petersburg.

If she were innocent of intrigues and correct in private life, we can only believe that she was the most maligned of women. What is certain is that, from her first arrival in London, she acclimatised herself as no other foreigner has ever done, and she found intimate friends in both sexes. Her friendships were altogether irrespective of party. She was successively on the most confidential terms with Castlereagh, Canning, Wellington, Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Aberdeen, and especially with Earl Grey. The Egeria of so many statesmen at deadly feud had undoubtedly the wisdom of the serpent, and in tact and finesse she was a female Talleyrand. She had none of the stinging wit of the diplomatist, but at first her vivacity was uncontrollable, and she never pretended to the gentleness of the dove. Lady Granville writes in 1816, from Paris, that she had greatly improved in tone, and that her manners were much softened. Not a few men of note were given her as lovers; but the scandals never took such shape as to imperil her social ascendancy. When her husband and Talleyrand were commissioned to London by their respective Courts, there was natural antagonism between the embassies. Madame de Lieven rose to the occasion, and it was not the least of her achievements. At once she won over Madame de Dino, and made herself so agreeable to the *blasé* Talleyrand that he eagerly courted her society.

Madame de Lieven's special friend among the patronesses of Almack's was Lady Cooper, afterwards Lady Palmerston—a politician like herself. But Lady Jersey,

who has the credit of importing the quadrille from Paris, has left the greatest reputation as a queen of fashion. That reputation seems to be overrated; at least, if we may judge by the memoirs, she reigned by fear and self-assertion rather than love. An excellent woman of business to the east of Temple Bar, the heiress of Child's seems to have inherited the brusqueries of her business-like progenitors. She had nothing of Madame de Lieven's tact, and her airs made her ridiculous. Gronow says that Lady Jersey was inconceivably rude, and her manner often ill-bred. Lady Granville knew her well; and a letter of hers to Lady Morpeth is significant.

'Lady Jersey arrived last night in high good-humour. I could amuse you *à ses dépens*, and think I will, for I am sure you are too much afraid of thunder and lightning to repeat. . . . She has made herself more ridiculous, my story apart, than I have words to say. . . . Her great objects have been the Bourbons and Villèles. She sent to be received, and said she had been sent for to St Cloud.'

In short, the story is that the patroness paramount of Almack's, who arbitrarily slammed the doors in the faces of eligible applicants, was stooping and crawling in France for admission to circles that were closed to her.

'What makes this more farcical is that when she has made these *démarches* she goes about saying that all these people have sent to beg to see her.'

Lady Aldborough was a type of another class, scarcely conceivable now, though we can remember some survivals among venerable matrons who prided themselves on contempt for the *convenances*. A privileged person, she traded on her eccentricities. She was really witty, and, as Gronow remarks, the breadth and coarseness of her *bon-mots* had made her famous all over Europe. But even then her ladyship found the continental atmosphere the more congenial, and she lived much in Paris. It is a sign of the times that Lady Granville received her, but it was with fear and trembling, for she was the feminine Brougham of the drawing-rooms. One never knew what she might say next. There are many allusions in Lady Granville's letters to this *femme terrible*. We were surprised at the first of them, taking it seriously. 'I met Lady Aldborough, who is *la femme la plus respectable* here,

asked and admired beyond anybody.' Before the close of the letter we found, in the words of Artemus Ward, that it was 'wrote sarcastic,' for the author says, 'Lady Aldborough was as coarse in her conversation as usual, and more ill-tempered.' She was 'frantic' on one occasion because the ambassadress had been led out to dinner before her. On another, she asked Lady Holland, with unwonted caution, whether the Archbishop of York was straight-laced. When Greville met her at Baden, her 'swearing and strange gestures' alarmed him for the effect on the company, and he trembled 'lest she should come out with some of those extraordinary things which she does not scruple to say to almost everybody.' She was then eighty-seven; she had kept her wits, but lost her memory. Gronow is even more outspoken. He protests that it is his habit to deal gently with the dead; but nothing could possibly injure Lady Aldborough's reputation; she had no prejudices when living, and prided herself on her youthful irregularities. 'Hardened men of the world have been known to blush and look aghast when the free-spoken old lady attacked them at her dinner-table with searching questions in presence of their wives and daughters.' Nothing gave her more satisfaction than making mischief between husbands and wives, except bringing a blush to the cheek of innocence. Mrs Byrne, who remembered her among Brighton celebrities, treats her more kindly than the others; but she remarks that her *bon-mots*, '*tranchants* in the extreme, were perhaps the more easily made that there was no reserve in their production.'

The diaries of Greville and Raikes, like the gossiping letters, abound in details of successive coronations as social landmarks and memorable political events. One venerable lady, who died only a few years ago, remembered three. The special charm of Mary Boyle's 'Book' is in the vivid and sprightly recollections of her girlhood. When George IV was crowned she was far too young to be taken to the ceremony. Her father was then Commissioner of the Dockyard at Sheerness; her family were closely associated with the Court, and her sister became maid-of-honour to Queen Adelaide. She recalls her excitement, as she looked out of the nursery window, when her parents and sister set out for the Abbey. Captain Boyle,

the soul of punctuality, shouted for her elder sister, who rushed downstairs in her silk stockings and had her satin slippers thrown after her as the carriage was driving off. Judging from the hour of their start, we may assume either that the streets were not overcrowded, or that the arrangements were admirable. It was very different at the coronation of George III, as we gather from the letters of Mrs Lybbe Powis. She made one of a party of thirty-four fashionables who had engaged a room in the Broad Sanctuary, for which they paid one hundred and twenty guineas. She left her house with her family at eleven on the eve of the ceremony, and they were escorted to the Sanctuary by a guard of musketeers, significant of the turmoil in the streets. There were only two beds for the more delicate ladies; the long night was killed, 'tant bien que mal,' with cards; and the gentlemen had laid in a generous supply of champagne, claret, and burgundy. They breakfasted at five, and from that hour they waited, 'not without impatience,' till twelve; but the splendour of the show amply repaid them. Very quaint some features of the procession must have been—notably the six herb-maidens, girls of good family, who strewed the roadway with flowers, having paid twenty guineas for the privilege. 'Their dress was really elegant—white calico gowns and coats, with blue and white stomachers.' Miss Boyle was actually in the presence at the coronations of King William IV and Queen Victoria, but, with her romantic sympathy with Scott and the age of chivalry, she always regretted that she had missed, in 1821, the last survival of the picturesque medieval pageant, when the hereditary champion, armed *cap-à-pie*, threw down the gauntlet in challenge to all comers. Miss Boyle's latest recollections are of yesterday. Yet as a young girl she had seen Mrs Garrick in the lobby of a theatre, 'in a strange costume of quilted white silk, somewhat resembling a dressing-gown,' which carries us back for nearly another hundred years, for Mrs Garrick died almost a centenarian.

Art. IX.--THE EARLY ART OF THE NETHERLANDS.

1. *Exposition des Primitifs flamands et d'Art ancien, Bruges, 1902. Catalogue, with introduction.* By W. H. James Weale. Bruges: Desclée, 1902.
2. *Exposition de Tableaux flamands des XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e siècles, Bruges, 1902. Catalogue critique précédé d'une Introduction sur l'identité de certains Maîtres anonymes.* By Georges Hulin de Loo. Ghent: A. Siffer, 1902.
3. *L'Exposition des Primitifs flamands à Bruges.* By Henri Hymans. Paris: Direction de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1902.

THE exhibition of Early Flemish or, to speak more correctly, Netherlandish art which was held at Bruges last summer may be justly reckoned one of the most important and interesting events of a memorable year. To all who saw it, that unique display was a delight; to many, a revelation. No finer collection of paintings has ever been brought together under the shadow of the ancient Belfry since the days when Albert Dürer gazed in wonder at the pictures of Master Jan, and Hugo van der Goes, and the great Master Roger, and all the 'other good things in the noble town of Bruges.' And certainly no more appropriate place for this exhibition could have been chosen than the fair old city which, in spite of time and decay, retains so much of its mediæval charm, where the silent waterways reflect the crocketed turrets and carved portals of Gothic houses, and the music of the carillon still lingers in the air. Once more, in those busy days last summer, 'Bruges la morte' seemed to wake from her long sleep; and strangers from all lands thronged the quiet streets and grass-grown quays where of old merchant-princes from east and west had their palaces, and brought their wares to the mart of the world.

Already the meetings and conferences of foreign scholars have borne fruit. A richly illustrated volume on the Bruges Exhibition, from the pen of M. Henri Hymans, has been published by the directors of the 'Gazette des Beaux-Arts' in Paris. Our own countryman, Mr Weale, to whom the exhibition owed so much of its success, and who has devoted the best years of his life to the study of old

Flemish masters, has given us a brief record of their work in his introduction to the official catalogue. Mr Claude Phillips has made more than one valuable contribution to the discussion; and the Ghent professor, M. Georges Hulin de Loo, assisted by Herr Friedländer of Berlin, has written a critical catalogue which abounds in useful information and original suggestions. The appearance of these studies is a fresh proof of the advance which has been made in this branch of art-history by those scholars who bring the scientific method of modern criticism to bear upon the subject. Many illusions have been dispelled; the identity of several hitherto unknown artists has been established; and new light has been thrown on the personality of the greater masters, such as Memlinc and the Van Eycks.

The study of the origins of Flemish art at Bruges received material help from the supplementary exhibition of illuminated MSS. that was held in the Hôtel Gruuthuse, one of the few old patrician houses that retains some of its former splendour. Here, as we examined the earliest specimens lent by the great abbeys where art found shelter in mediæval times, and noted its progress under the guilds and corporations of the fourteenth century, we realised the close affinity between the old Flemish painters and the miniaturists who adorned these missals and chronicles. We saw the strong vein of realism in the lively street-scenes, with their groups of burghers and dames in rich costumes, or schoolboys at their games, which fill up the background of Bible stories or the fables of Valerius Maximus. We admired the delicate accuracy with which lilies and harebells, strawberry-fruit and flowers, butterflies and ladybirds were reproduced on the margin of breviaries or books of hours, and recognised the vigorous individuality of the heads and the pictorial rendering of landscape and atmosphere that prepared the way for the school of Van Eyck. We noted the intimate connexion between French and Flemish art in the exquisite miniatures of the Bibliothèque de Bourgogne; in the lovely frontispiece of the gay dame Fortune turning her wheel, in high-peaked cap and flowing veil, by the side of her rival Virtue, soberly clad in blue cloak and hood, which adorns Charles de Croy's book, '*L'Estrif de Fortune et Vertu*;' or in the graceful picture of Jean Miélot

presenting his poems to the young duke, Charles the Bold. A further proof of this connexion was seen in the fact that more than one of the so-called Flemish pictures in the exhibition was in reality the work of a French artist. The charming panel of St Hugh of Grenoble with his swan was recognised by M. Hulin as the work of an Amiens master; and the fine picture of a canon kneeling at the feet of St Maurice, lent by the city of Glasgow, exhibited at the New Gallery in 1900, and ascribed to Hugo van der Goes, was conclusively shown to be the masterpiece of Jean Perréal, the court-painter who accompanied Charles VIII to Italy. These French influences were no doubt partly the result of the accession of the Burgundian dukes to supreme power in Flanders at the close of the fourteenth century. It is to this period that the great blossoming of Flemish art belongs. Then Bruges reached its highest splendour as the seat of a court where art and poetry were encouraged by cultured princes, and all that was rich and costly adorned the homes of the wealthy burghers.

But the sudden and marvellous development of painting which took place in the early years of the fifteenth century was due to the genius of one man, the painter Hubert van Eyck. The amazing revolution which he effected is only realised when we turn from the primitive works of his contemporaries at Ypres and Bruges to such a picture as Sir Frederick Cook's 'Three Maries at the Sepulchre,' and see the immense progress in conception and execution which is there visible. In the whole range of art there is no other record of so swift and sudden an advance. The old fiction which ascribed the invention of oil-painting to the Van Eyck brothers has long been exploded. Oil-painting, we know, was practised during the Middle Ages, in both the east and the west, and was especially common, Cennini says, among German artists. It was certainly employed by Hubert van Eyck's precursors at Bruges, Melchior Broederlam and his followers. The Italian historians, Facio and Filarete, who wrote within twenty years of Jan van Eyck's death, speak of his skill in handling oils, and of the technical improvements which he effected; but it was Vasari who first invented the story of his discovery of oil-painting, which was repeated by Karel van Mander when he wrote the history of Flemish

art in 1604, and generally adopted by later writers. To this day the exact nature of the improvements which Hubert van Eyck introduced in oil-painting remains unknown; but the technical perfection which he attained is evident. This, however, was but a small part of the service which Hubert rendered to art in his generation. A man of lofty imagination and fine poetic powers, a dreamer and a thinker as well as a craftsman of rare excellence, he brought new life to painting north of the Alps, as truly as Giotto had done in Italy, and left a series of inspired creations that were unsurpassed by any of his followers.

Unfortunately we know hardly anything of this great master's history. His fame became so completely eclipsed by that of the younger brother who survived him, that his very name was forgotten. In 'La Couronne Margaritique,' which Jean Lemaire wrote and dedicated to the Archduchess Margaret in 1511, Jan van Eyck is extolled as 'le roy des peintres,' while Hubert is not even mentioned; and when Albert Dürer visited Ghent in 1521 he describes the 'Adoration of the Lamb' as 'Jan's altarpiece.' Both Giovanni Santi, in his rhyming chronicle, and Vasari, in his 'Lives,' speak of the younger but not of the elder brother; and when the Belgian historian, Marc van Vaernewyck, published the first edition of his work in 1562, he did not know of Hubert's existence. Recent research has vindicated Hubert's claim to be the founder of the school, but has not added much to our knowledge of the man. He was born about 1370, at Maaseyck, a small town north of Maastricht, which Wolfram von Eschenbach tells us had been famous for its painters so early as 1200; and he probably received his first training in that city. Afterwards, as Mr Weale suggests, he must have travelled in northern Italy, where he saw Giotto's frescoes at Padua, and acquired that familiarity with Italian scenery and architecture which his works reveal. Early in the fifteenth century he returned to Flanders, and, after visiting Bruges, settled at Ghent about 1408. Here he soon became famous, and was employed by the town councillors and wealthy burghers. In 1413 a painting by his hand was bequeathed by Jean de Visch, high bailiff of Flanders, as his most precious possession, to his daughter, a Benedictine nun. Soon afterwards

Hubert received a commission from Josse Vydt, a leading citizen of Ghent, to paint a large altarpiece for his family chapel in the cathedral dedicated to St John the Baptist, and afterwards known as St Bavon. But before he completed this work, upon which he was engaged for many years, the painter died, in September 1426. He was buried with great honour in the family vault of Josse Vydt, in the crypt immediately under the chapel where his great picture hangs; and the following inscription, in old Flemish, was placed on a copper plate above his tomb:

‘Take warning by me, all ye who tread on this stone. Once I was as ye are: now I am dead and buried. Neither counsel nor art and medicine could avail me aught. What are honour, wisdom, might or vast wealth when death comes? Hubert van Eyck was I named: now am I food for worms. Once I was well known and highly honoured in painting: suddenly I was changed into nothing. In the year 1426, on the 18th of September, I gave up my spirit. All ye who love art, pray God for me, that I may see His face. Flee from sin and seek after good, for you must follow me at the end of your days.’

Foremost among the works in which modern critics have recognised Hubert's hand are the ‘Three Maries at the Sepulchre,’ already mentioned, and the small ‘Calvary,’ with the Virgin and St John, at Berlin. In both of these we find the same deep and pathetic feeling, the same wide horizons and Italian reminiscences. The palms and stone-pines which stand out above the leafless boughs of the oak-trees, the flowers and plants in the grass, belong to southern climes; the weeping St John and the slumbering soldiers are of Italian type; the red walls, the domes and towers in the distance, recall the architecture of Padua and Verona. Some critics indeed have recognised the buildings of Jerusalem and the mosque of Omar in the background of the Maries, and conclude that Hubert made a pilgrimage to the East and visited Italy on his return. The same elevation of thought and fine effect of light meet us in another picture, now at Berlin, which both M. Hulin and Mr Phillips agree in ascribing to Hubert. This is the ‘Virgin and Child’ standing in the nave of a Gothic church, which M. Hulin

has identified as that of St Bavon of Ghent, the shrine with which the painter was so intimately associated, and where his ashes rest. But whereas in the Easter picture the soft light of breaking dawn illumines the distant towers, here it is the warm glow of a summer evening that streams through the painted windows and floods the great church with splendour.

Mr Weale sees Hubert's hand also in the little panel of 'St Francis receiving the Stigmata' on the rocky heights of La Vernia—a picture which belonged to Lord Heytesbury before it went to Philadelphia—and in its larger replica, now in the Turin Gallery. Next we have the shutter of an altarpiece, now at Copenhagen, on which Robert Poortier, a Ghent citizen, who employed Hubert to decorate his family chapel in the last year of the painter's life, is kneeling at the feet of St Anthony. In both of these, as Mr Alfred Marks first pointed out, the dwarf palm or *Chamærops humilis*—a southern plant which grows abundantly on the Mediterranean shores, and is introduced by Hubert both in the 'Three Maries at the Sepulchre' and in the Berlin 'Calvary'—is seen on the rocks behind St Francis and St Anthony. Then there is Baron Rothschild's 'Virgin and Child,' with two saints and the donor, Hermann Steenken, the prior of a Carthusian convent near Bruges, kneeling at their feet under a Renaissance portico, opening on a wide landscape. This picture, which was probably painted about 1406 or 1407 at Bruges, bears a marked resemblance to the Louvre picture of Chancellor Rollin kneeling before the Virgin, which has always been held to be the masterpiece of Jan van Eyck, but which Mr Weale boldly ascribes to Hubert. The beauty of the conception, the grace of the flying angel in the act of placing the crown on the Madonna's head, the deep devotion of the kneeling chancellor, above all, the loveliness of the landscape seen through the triple arcade behind the figures, go far to justify this attribution. A fair valley opens before us with a distant range of snowy mountains, and a wide river spanned by a stately bridge, while the roofs and towers of a city, which some critics call Maastricht, and others declare to be Lyons, are seen rising from its banks. But the homely Virgin and the old and wrinkled Child in her arms are the counterpart of Jan van Eyck's Bruges Madonna, and

must surely be his work. Since, however, Duke Philip only raised Rollin to his exalted office in 1422, this picture was probably one of the last painted by Hubert, and, like the great 'Adoration,' must have been completed by Jan after his brother's death. Closely akin to these works are two small panels at St Petersburg, in which the 'Last Judgment' and the 'Crucifixion' are represented with a dramatic power, together with a certain primitiveness of form and uncertainty of technique, which have led Mr Phillips to ascribe them to Hubert's early years. The same types, the same mystic poetry, are present in the curious picture of the Prado, known as the 'Fountain of Living Water,' and copied from a lost altarpiece formerly in the Cathedral of Palencia. The original of this work, in which Passavant and Otto Mündler long ago recognised Hubert's invention, was evidently by the same painter as the 'Adoration of the Lamb.' No other artist could have designed the impressive figures of God the Father between the Virgin and St John, the singing angels at their feet, and the stream of living water flowing from the Lamb; or have represented the triumphant repose of the glorified saints and the confusion and despair on the faces of the Scribes and Pharisees, with such dramatic completeness.

The Ghent altarpiece, which is so closely connected with this lost Palencia retable, was inspired by a passage in the book of the Revelation: 'After this I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands.' The subject was a common one in Flemish miniatures; and the Lamb throned on mount Zion figures conspicuously in the famous Angers tapestries, woven at Arras towards the close of the fourteenth century. But in Hubert's painting the thought assumed new and sublime grandeur. Above, we have the Eternal wearing the triple tiara and throned, as He is generally represented in Italian art, between the Virgin and the Baptist. All three figures are resplendent with glowing colour and glittering gems, and instinct with a beauty and majesty that may well have excited Albert Dürer's admiration. Below, in the central portion of the altarpiece, we see 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world,' adored by white-robed angels, who swing

their golden censers and chant the new song before the throne. In the foreground is the Fountain with the river of life, 'clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb,' and, on either side, 'the great multitude which no man can number.' On the one hand, prophets and Hebrew patriarchs, Greek poets and philosophers, David and Isaiah, Homer and Plato; on the other, apostles and popes, Christian kings and emperors. Above, arrayed in priestly vestments, among the red roses of paradise, are the noble army of martyrs. Opposite these, where white lilies grow tall and stately, stand the virgin-saints with crowns on their brows and palms in their hands. Below, wending their way through rocky defiles and valleys, planted with orange and citron, palm and cypress groves, ride the warrior-knights and the just judges, closely followed by the hermits and penitents, with Mary Magdalene and Mary of Egypt in their train, and the pilgrims, led by the giant Christopher, who, 'in his life-time, wandered through the world seeking the most mighty Lord.' One impulse, one desire, thrills the heart of the whole vast multitude. Their faces are turned in the same direction, their footsteps seek the same goal, their knees are bowed in silent adoration before the Lamb who is the object of their worship and the source of all their joy. At their feet violets and daisies, harebells and pansies spring up in the grass; 'the wilderness has rejoiced and blossomed as the rose'; and in the far-off heights, illumined with heavenly radiance, rise the towers of the celestial city, the Jerusalem which is above.

Such was the vision which Hubert van Eyck, 'foremost of painters,' left us in his last great picture. But his work did not end here. On the wings of the upper panels he painted choirs of singing and playing angels, robed in gorgeous brocades, with Adam and Eve to represent redeemed humanity, and on the reverse the Annunciation, and the sibyls and prophets who foretold the coming of Christ. Finally, on the back of the lower tier of wings he placed grisaille statues of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist, and portraits of the kneeling donors, Josse Vydt and his wife, Isabella. Hubert himself died, we know, before the work was finished. On the lower wings of the altarpiece we read

the following inscription, in Latin verse, which was placed there five centuries ago :

‘The painter Hubert van Eyck, than whom there was none greater, began this work. The heavy task was completed by Jan, second to him in art, at the prayer of Jodocus Vydt, on the 6th of May, 1432.’

That Jan van Eyck finished the altarpiece after his brother's death, is clear, but the precise extent of his share in the work remains a problem which has puzzled many generations, and is still unsolved. On the whole, however, we may take it for certain that Hubert painted the central portion of the altarpiece, which still remains in the chapel at Ghent. On this point all the best authorities are agreed. Some go further, and see the elder brother's hand, not only in the hermits and pilgrims, the warriors and judges, on the lower wings (now at Berlin), but in the marvellously painted angel-choirs and the superb portraits of the donors. Mr Weale, for instance, is satisfied that the nude figures of Adam and Eve on the outer shutters, and that portion of the Virgin's chamber and the street that is seen through the arched window, on the reverse, is the only part of the work executed by Jan. The fact that these shutters project beyond the top of the altarpiece, and that the architectural lines of the chamber are not parallel with those behind the Virgin and archangel on the inner wings, certainly seems to indicate that these outer panels were painted by Jan at Bruges. And during the conferences held at Bruges last August, M. Durand Gréville pointed out the very house, seen through the window of the Virgin's room—which is still standing near the Rue de la Main d'Or—where Jan van Eyck lived. Herr Otto Seeck of Berlin, who has lately written a minute and careful analysis of the different portions of the altarpiece, not only adopts all Mr Weale's conclusions, but ascribes as many as thirteen works to Hubert, including several of the finest portraits which have hitherto borne his brother's name. On the other hand, Herr Kämmerer, the author of the Knackfuss monograph on the Van Eycks, only allows Hubert to be the painter of the central portion at Ghent; while the Munich critic, Dr Voll assigns the whole of the execution, and even the

design of the great work, to Jan. This last conclusion, we confess, seems to us impossible, when we consider the gulf that divides the 'Adoration' from the signed and dated works which Jan van Eyck has left us. The contrast between the temperaments of the two brothers is plain. Hubert is the poet and idealist, whose smallest composition breathes an indefinable air of mystery and grandeur. Jan is the accomplished craftsman and realist, who seeks with his whole soul to render things seen with perfect accuracy and finish, but who lacks the creative impulse which gives unity and completeness to a work of art.

The circumstances of Jan van Eyck's life were probably not without influence in the development of his more prosaic nature. Unlike Hubert, who was some twenty years his elder, Jan spent most of his existence at the courts of princes. In 1422 he was 'peintre et varlet de chambre' to Jean de Bavière, Bishop of Liège, and Duke of Brabant and Holland, who employed him during the next two years to decorate his palace at the Hague. After that turbulent prince's death in 1425, Jan entered the service of Philip of Burgundy, who took him to Bruges and Lille and employed him on several diplomatic missions. In October 1428 the painter was sent to Portugal with Jean de Roubaix to ask, on his master's behalf, for the Infanta Isabella's hand; and, after touching at Sandwich and Falmouth, and spending some weeks in England, he reached Lisbon at Christmas. Here Jan painted the Infanta's portrait, which was sent to Philip with the terms of the marriage-contract. While awaiting the Duke's reply, he visited the court of Castile and the Moorish king's palace at Granada. By June 1429, Philip's consent reached Cintra, where the marriage was celebrated by proxy; and the bride and her escort set sail for Flanders in October. But a violent tempest scattered the fleet, and the expedition only reached the port of Sluys on Christmas day, 1429. The Duke celebrated his wedding with great pomp, and instituted the Order of the Golden Fleece in honour of the staple industry of Flanders. Gideon's Fleece, which he chose as the badge of the new order, now became a favourite subject in the art of the Netherlands, and is introduced on the wings of Jan van Eyck's last altarpiece, the triptych which he painted for the Abbey of St Martin at Ypres.

After his return from Portugal, Jan settled at Bruges. Here, in 1433, he married, and bought a house in the Rue de la Main d'Or, close to the quays where the foreign merchants had their palaces. In 1434 Duke Philip stood sponsor to the painter's infant daughter, on which occasion he presented his godchild with six silver cups. A few months later he gave his treasurer orders to pay Jan the arrears of salary due to him, saying that he was necessary to the Duke for great works, and that no other painter was equal to him. 'Nous ne trouverions point de pareil à notre gré, ni si excellent en son art et sa science.' Nor were the citizens of Bruges unmindful of the master's worth. The town-council employed him to paint the statues on the façade of the Hôtel-de-Ville, and when he died, on the 9th of July 1440, buried him with due honour in the old Cathedral of St Donatian.

No early work of Jan van Eyck's is now in existence. The Chatsworth picture of the 'Consecration of St Thomas à Becket,' ascribed to him at Bruges, bears a forged date, and is by a later artist; and the figures of Adam and Eve in the Ghent altarpiece, now in the Brussels Gallery, are his earliest known paintings. But between 1432, when these panels were finished, and the year of his death we have a whole series of altarpieces and portraits, many of them signed and dated by his own hand. The well-known 'Madonna and Saints' which he painted in 1436, for the high altar of St Donatian, is a good example 'both of his merits and limitations. The splendid brocades of the bishop, the polished armour of St George, the marble columns and pavement, are all rendered with consummate skill; and the figure of old Canon van der Pael holding his spectacles and breviary is a triumph of life-like portraiture. But the faces are devoid of expression, and the Child is, in Fromentin's words, 'a rickety nurseling, with a bald head, copied from some poor, ill-fed little model.' We are conscious, not only of a want of distinction in the types, but of the absence of any connexion between the different personages in the picture. Jan is often more successful, however, in his smaller works, such, for instance, as the Lucca Madonna at Frankfort, the 'Virgin of the Fountain' at Antwerp, or the lovely little Dresden trip-

tych, which was once Charles the Fifth's travelling altar-piece. In some of his portraits he rises to a still higher level. We need only recall the incomparable group of the Lucca banker, Arnolfini, and his wife, Jeanne de Chenany, now in the National Gallery. Here all the details of costume and furniture—the round mirror on the wall, the brass chandelier hanging from the ceiling, the white fur on the lady's robe, the wooden pattens and the small dog on the floor—are rendered with delicate precision, while at the same time the painter makes us feel the solemnity of the occasion as, holding his wife by the hand, the grave merchant vows a life-long faithfulness to the mother of his child. Again, in the admirable portrait of his own wife, which Jan painted in the last year of his life, we see how truthful and intimate, and yet how fine and expressive, a rendering of a familiar face he could give. This picture, which bears the same modest inscription, 'Als ich kan,' that is still to be read on Jan's Madonna at Ince Hall, and on his portrait of the man in a red cap in the National Gallery, was one of the 'good things' seen by Dürer in the Painters' Chapel at Bruges. It was discovered, early in the last century, in the Fish-market, where it had long been used as a board for skinning eels.

The influence of the Van Eycks made itself felt throughout the Low Countries. Their technique was universally adopted, their types and compositions were repeated by artists of different schools and cities. The only one of their actual pupils who attained any degree of reputation was Petrus Cristus, a native of Baerle in North Brabant, who settled at Bruges in 1443, and lived there during the next thirty years. He was a prolific artist of no great originality, but of considerable skill, in whose works we recognise many of his teachers' motives and see the actual objects which they introduced in their pictures, such as the mirror in the Arnolfini portraits, the purse worn by Robert Poortier, or the carpet in Jan's Frankfort Madonna.

But when Jan van Eyck died, the greatest and most popular master in the Low Countries was Roger de la Pasture, or, as he was called in Flanders, Rogier van der Weyden. This great artist was apprenticed to Robert Campin of Tournay in 1426, and, six years later, went

to Brussels, where he was appointed town-painter, and executed the historic series, which excited Dürer's admiration, in the Golden Chamber of the Hôtel-de-Ville, but were afterwards destroyed in the bombardment of 1695. A better fate has attended the sacred subjects, for which Maître Roger's devout and emotional temperament especially fitted him. The noble 'Descent from the Cross,' which formerly adorned the altar of Notre Dame of Louvain, is now in the Prado of Madrid; and a smaller version of the subject, recently acquired by the Brussels Gallery, was exhibited at Bruges. Here the Virgin and St John bend in silent anguish over the dead Christ, while Mary Magdalene wrings her hands in the agony of despair; and the pathos of the scene is heightened by the orange glow in the stormy sunset sky. A master of expression and fine draughtsmanship, Roger deserved the high praise which Van Mander bestowed upon his skill in depicting the different phases of joy and sorrow, although he sometimes allowed the excess of emotion to betray him into violent and exaggerated action. His own handsome and refined features are familiar to us from his well-known picture of 'St Luke painting the Virgin,' in which he has introduced his portrait. This composition was evidently borrowed from the Van Eycks' picture of Chancellor Rollin kneeling before the Virgin, which Roger no doubt saw when he painted his altarpiece of the 'Last Judgment' for the hospital founded by this aged statesman at Beaune in 1443.

Van der Weyden, as was natural, stood high in Philip the Good's favour, and was employed by him to paint those 'precious pictures' which Dürer admired in the ruined Prinzenhof of the Burgundian Dukes at Bruges and the neighbouring church of St Jacques. His 'Adoration of the Magi' at Munich contains striking portraits of the Duke himself and his gallant son, Charles the Bold; and a picture of Philip by his hand is still preserved at Madrid. Pierre Bladelin, the wise and upright man, 'comely alike in person and in morals,' who rose from the humblest station to be Treasurer of the Golden Fleece, also employed Roger to paint an important altarpiece for his newly founded town of Middelburg; and a fine portrait of the Duke's trusted minister was sent to Bruges by Herr Kaufmann of Berlin. But even during

his lifetime Roger's fame spread far beyond the Netherlands. John II of Castile commissioned him to execute a triptych of Our Lady's joys and sorrows for the Abbey of Miraflores, near Burgos; and Facio describes the Passion-scenes with which he adorned the palace of Alfonso II at Naples. When, in the year of Jubilee, 1450, Van der Weyden went on a pilgrimage to Rome, he visited the court of Ferrara and painted the touching Pietà, now in the Uffizi, for Leonello d'Este. On his return he was honourably entertained in Florence by Cosimo dei Medici, and painted his two sons, Piero and Giovanni, with their patron-saints, standing by the Madonna's throne. This fine altarpiece is now at Frankfort and shows how strongly the Flemish master's impressionable nature had been influenced by the works of Italian artists, and especially by the Lateran frescoes of Gentile da Fabriano, who seemed to him 'the most excellent master of the age.'

Another distinguished painter, who was Roger's fellow-pupil in the school of Robert Campin at Tournay, Jacques Daret, has lately been identified by Mr Weale and M. Hulin with an artist hitherto known as the Master of Mérode or Flémalle. Daret was elected Dean of the Painters' Guild at Tournay on the same day on which he was admitted master—an almost unprecedented honour; and when, in 1453, Duke Philip entertained the Knights of the Golden Fleece at his famous banquet of 'Le Vœu du Faisan,' he came to Lille with four apprentices and received the largest salary of all the artists who were employed to arrange the pageant. When, in 1468, Charles the Bold celebrated his nuptials with Margaret of York, it was Jacques Daret who superintended the decorations and planned the triumphal arches in the streets of Bruges. He was also renowned for his skill in designing tapestries; and his services in this branch of art were often required during the seventeen years that he spent at Arras. His taste for picturesque detail and homely illustration is evident in such pictures as the 'Marriage of the Virgin,' at Madrid, the diptych painted for Heinrich Werl of Cologne in 1438, and the Madonna of the Somzée collection, with the Child at her breast, and the reed fire-screen making a nimbus round her head. Daret lingers lovingly over every little detail of the chamber—the fire burning

on the hearth, the view of village street and church seen through the windows, the crumpled leaves of the open book on the table. In his great triptych of the Annunciation, formerly the property of the Mérode family, but now in America, he gives us a delightful picture of a Flemish interior with the high stone mantel-piece and the round table with book, inkstand, and pot of flowering lilies, where the Virgin is reading, all unconscious of the angel who has entered silently through the half-open door. On the right wing Joseph is seen at work in the carpenter's shop, while on the left the donors kneel under the red brick walls of the courtyard. But Jacques Daret's noblest achievement was the three upright panels at Frankfort, which he painted towards the end of his life for the Abbey of Flémalle in Belgium. Here the white-robed Virgin suckling her Child, the aged Veronica, and the Father receiving the dead Christ in his arms, are represented with a pathos and grandeur rarely equalled in Flemish art.

One of the younger masters who were associated with Jacques Daret in preparing the decorations for Margaret of York's entry, was Hugo van der Goes, a native of Ter van Goes in Zeeland, who had only just matriculated in the Painters' Guild at Ghent. At Bruges he met Tommaso Portinari, the Florentine banker and agent of the Medici, who employed him to execute an important altarpiece for his family chapel in the hospital of S. Maria Nuova at Florence. This was the famous 'Nativity,' which exerted so powerful an influence on Ghirlandajo and other Florentine masters of that generation. A masterpiece of Flemish realism, its glowing colour and delicate finish justify the praise of Lemaire, who speaks of the painter as 'Hugues de Gand, qui eu les trets si nets.' Another altarpiece in which we recognise the same rugged peasant-heads and the same deep religious feeling—the impressive 'Death of the Virgin' from the Abbaye des Dunes—belongs to Hugo's last years, when he had forsaken the world to become an Augustinian friar in the convent of Roodendal. Here he still practised his art; and the fame of his talent brought many visitors to the convent, amongst others the Archduke Maximilian, the husband of the short-lived Duchess Mary of Burgundy. But the religious melancholy which drove Hugo to the

cloister at the height of his renown gradually increased. He sank into depression and died in 1482, in the flower of his age. His intimate friend, Josse van Wassenhove, an Antwerp painter who became a member of the Painters' Guild at Ghent through his mediation, afterwards went to Italy, where he was known as Justus of Ghent, and painted a well-known 'Last Supper' for Federico, Duke of Urbino.

Another Dutch artist who felt the powerful influence of Rogier van der Weyden, while at the same time he brought a new strain into Flemish art, was Dirk Bouts of Haarlem. In 1448 Dirk settled at Louvain, and twenty years later was appointed town-painter and ordered to execute four large pictures for the Hôtel-de-Ville on the subject of a legendary incident from the life of Otho III, which Professor van Haecht discovered in an old Viterbo chronicle. Dirk, however, died in 1475, when only two of the series were finished. Both these works, and the large panels of the 'Martyrdom of St Erasmus and St Hippolytus,' seem to us deficient in dramatic vigour, and are chiefly remarkable for the glowing colour and rich costumes of the spectators who look on calmly at these horrible scenes of torture and bloodshed. Yet the painter of these grim subjects was an ardent lover of nature, and had a keen eye for every fern and flower that grows in the crannies of the rocks. His landscapes are singularly beautiful and varied; and no visitor to Munich can have forgotten his little panel of St Christopher wading through the rough waters of a rocky gorge, while the setting sun is sinking in golden glory behind the distant heights. Dirk Bouts's types are ugly and repulsive, and his figures are often out of drawing, but the strong human interest that is present in all his works redeems them from vulgarity. Two good examples of his style are in the National Gallery, a 'Deposition,' ascribed in the catalogue to Van der Weyden, and a portrait of the artist in a high red cap. Another likeness of the painter, wearing a violet cap, appears in his picture of 'St Luke painting the Virgin,' which belongs to Lord Penrhyn. This is of especial interest on account of the glimpse which it gives us of an artist's workshop, with palette, brushes, easel, and other studio properties. Dirk's *chef-d'œuvre*, the 'Last Supper,' in St. Pierre of Louvain,

is a good instance of the frank realism with which he treated sacred themes. Christ and His apostles are represented in Flemish costume; and the painter has painted his own portrait in the elderly man standing on the left, while his two sons are looking through the buttery-hatch where the dishes are laid. The round-faced lad with the large blue eyes was Dirk's second son Albrecht, who became an artist of note, and has lately been identified by M. Hulin and Herr Friedländer as the master of the Brussels 'Assumption,' the painter of many well-known works, including the fine 'Transfiguration' in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. Another Haarlem master, Gerard St Jean, who died young, is now said to be the painter of the fascinating little picture of the Baptist in a blue robe musing on the banks of a running stream, where daisies and dandelions grow thick in the grass, and the startled deer and rabbits come out to look at him. This panel, which has often attracted attention at London exhibitions, was long the property of Mr Percy Macquoid, but was bought at Bruges, we learn, for the Berlin Museum.

From these masters, who flourished in different cities of the Netherlands during the fifteenth century, we turn to the man whose name will ever be closely associated with Bruges, and whose works are still the glory of the old city on the Roya, Hans Memlinc. A strange fate has attended the memory of this painter, who, at the time of his death, was held to be 'the greatest master in Christendom.' His fame was almost as great abroad as at home. Cardinal Bembo was the proud possessor of his 'St John,' now in the Louvre; and both Vasari and Michieli frequently speak of him as Zuan Memlinc. Yet, a hundred years after his death, all that Van Mander could hear of him in Bruges was that he lived before Pourbus; and the only one of his works that he could discover was the Ursula shrine in St John's hospital. In the eighteenth century a French traveller, the Abbé Descamps, eager to supply these deficiencies, invented the story that Memlinc was a wounded soldier of Charles the Bold's defeated army, who had escaped to Bruges after Nancy, and painted the Ursula shrine out of gratitude to the brothers who had nursed him in their hospital. This fable was finally dispelled by Mr Weale, whose 'Life of Memlinc' is the

best and fullest biography of the painter that has yet appeared. Even the artist's nationality remained uncertain until, in 1889, the Jesuit Father Dussart discovered a contemporary notice of his death in the diary of a Bruges notary, who described him as 'a native of the principality of Mainz.' The painter, whose name, Hans, is in itself a proof of his German origin, was probably born about 1435 in the village of Mömling, near Aschaffenburg, and received his early training at Cologne. There he became familiar with the cathedral and churches of the old Rhenish city, and acquired the sweetness and purity of his art in the school of Meister Stephan. Afterwards he spent five years at Valenciennes, where he probably perfected his miniature-like technique under Marmion, whom Lemaire calls 'le prince d'enluminure.'

Both Vasari and Guicciardini speak of Memlinc as the pupil of Rogier van der Weyden, but his name does not appear in any guild registers; and all we know for certain is that he came to Bruges in 1467 or 1468 as court-painter to Charles the Bold. Here he painted the portrait of Niccolo Spinelli, the Duke's Italian medallist, as well as a triptych for Sir John Donne of Kidwelly, a Welsh knight who came to Bruges in the suite of Margaret of York, and was slain a year afterwards in the battle of Edgecote. The gallant courtier, wearing Edward IV's badge of the rose and the sun, is represented with his wife, Elizabeth Hastings, and her little daughter, kneeling at the feet of the Virgin under an open portico. St Catherine and St Barbara stand behind them, and one angel plays the organ, while another drops his viol to offer the child a rosy apple. The composition was evidently borrowed from Jan van Eyck's altarpiece in St Donatian; but in beauty of type and tender feeling Memlinc here surpassed his model. His Virgin is fair and gracious, the Child on her knee joyous and healthy, and through the marble columns we look out on a sunny landscape with a water-mill and white swans sailing down a winding stream. In spite of a certain stiffness in the figures, and too rigid a symmetry in the grouping, there is an undeniable charm and freshness about this picture which help us to understand the popularity which the young German artist quickly gained in Bruges.

During the next twenty years Memlinc painted a

whole series of altarpieces on this pattern, with the same kneeling donors, the same graceful saints and angels, and the same lovely landscapes, steeped in radiant sunlight. One of the finest is the 'Adoration of the Magi,' which he executed for Jan Floreins, the reforming Master of St John's hospital. Another is the charming Madonna under the vine-trellis, which Sir Joshua Reynolds bought in Flanders, and which has lately passed into the Rothschild collection in Paris. About 1480 the artist, who had by this time acquired a considerable fortune, married Anne de Valkenaere, the daughter of a wealthy burgher, and bought a large stone house near the old Pont Flamand. In the same year he painted the admirable portraits of the Burgomaster, Guillaume Moreel, and his wife and daughter, Mary, the last of which still belongs to the hospital of St John. Moreel, a master-grocer of Bruges, descended from a Savoyard merchant named Morelli, took an active part in resisting the tyranny of the Emperor Maximilian, and was thrown into prison by that monarch in 1481. After his release Moreel employed Memlinc to paint an altarpiece for his family chapel in St Jacques. This triptych, one of the master's largest and best works, now hangs in the town-museum. The giant Christopher, bearing the smiling Child on his shoulder, and looking up in wonder at the burden under which he is sinking, occupies the central panel; and Moreel with his five sons, and his wife Barbara with her eleven daughters, are represented on the shutters kneeling at the feet of their patron saints.

But finely conceived and executed as are these large altarpieces, it is in his smaller works that this master really excels. There is a little diptych of 1475 in the Louvre, with the master-grocer, Jean Celier, kneeling in a flowery meadow, on one leaf, and, on the other, a Virgin and Child under a bower of red and white roses, which recalls Meister Stephan's lovely 'Madonna im Rosenhag' at Cologne. A still finer diptych was painted by Memlinc in 1487, the year of his wife's death, for Martin van Nieuwenhove, a young citizen of Bruges, who afterwards held the office of Burgomaster. On one leaf we have the fair-haired Madonna, in rose-red mantle and blue vest, looking down tenderly at the Child; on the other we see the donor, a youth of twenty-three, kneeling

at a table, with his gold-clasped Book of Hours open before him. A round mirror hangs on the wall of the Virgin's room, and St George and St Christopher are represented in the stained-glass window behind her; while on the opposite side St Martin is seen giving his cloak to the beggar; and below we catch a glimpse of a green meadow with a peasant girl, a rider on a white horse, and a winding stream crossed by a wooden bridge. The bright tints of the Virgin's robe and her golden hair form a fine contrast to the young councillor's thick dark locks and the deep purples and browns of his vest; and the warm sunlight streaming through the small panes gives a jewel-like effect to the whole. A similar diptych, with St Benedict and a handsome youth of the Portinari family, is in the Uffizi at Florence; and another, containing the portraits of an aged Flemish burgher and his wife, was formerly in the Meazza collection at Milan, but has now been unfortunately divided. The portrait of the man is at Berlin; that of his wife, in her high white cap and fur collar, a singularly true and beautiful presentment of old age, belongs to a private collection in Paris.

In the last years of his life Memlinc was employed by his old friend Jan Floreins, the Master of St John's hospital, to decorate a shrine containing certain relics of St Ursula and her virgins. The story of the youthful saint's pilgrimage was a fairy-tale after the painter's heart; and his knowledge of Cologne enabled him to reproduce her ancient towers and churches with perfect accuracy. Unfortunately the delicately painted miniatures in which he represented St Ursula's journey and martyrdom, and the medallions of saints and angels in glory with which he decorated the roof and gables of the Gothic shrine, have been sadly injured by restorations.

Memlinc never attained Jan van Eyck's intense vitality or his consummate skill in modelling and technique; he had not Van der Weyden's mastery of line or dramatic power; but in his sense of beauty and tender poetic feeling he surpassed both these great men. Scenes of violence and cruelty, it is plain, were foreign to his gentle nature. The soldiers who kill St Ursula, and the executioners of St John, are devoid of vigour and reality; and Salome's horror at the sight of the Baptist's head is only feebly expressed. But he knew

his own limitations, and as far as possible kept within them. Few more touching pictures than his 'Pietà,' in Prince Doria's collection, have ever been painted. There is no violent outburst of sorrow, no frantic gestures or convulsed sobbing; but the tender kiss which the Virgin lays on the brow of her dead Son, and the quiet way in which Magdalene wipes away her tears with a corner of her veil, are more pathetic than any passionate display of grief. Still this painter, we feel, is at his best in calm and happy scenes. He loved all that was bright and beautiful in nature—clear sunlight and running waters, green meadows and blossoming roses, the innocent faces and glad smiles of young children, the deep tranquil joy of a mother clasping her babe. His exquisite taste and purity enabled him to reach a higher ideal of saintly beauty than any other master of the school, and helps us to understand what Vittoria Colonna meant when she told Michelangelo that the Madonnas of Flemish artists seemed to her more devotional than those of Italian painters.

Yet these pictures, which are so full of calm and heavenly repose, were painted in the most troubled days of Bruges, when the struggle for her liberties was at its height. In February 1488 Maximilian was a prisoner in the Craenenburg; and, after his release, Pierre Lanchals and his chief partisans were cruelly beheaded on the Grande Place. All through these terrible times, careless of the scenes of strife and bloodshed at his door, Hans Memlinc worked on in the big stone house near the old bridge, wrapt in his own world of beauty and enchantment. His influence, unlike that of the Van Eycks or Master Roger, was of a purely local character and did not extend beyond the walls of Bruges. But in his last years the popularity which he had acquired led to the repetition of his types and the imitation of his style by inferior hands. Many of the paintings ascribed to Memlinc at Bruges were not his work, as Mr Weale has already pointed out. If our English critic may occasionally err on the side of severity, the foreign experts certainly go to the opposite extreme. Herr Kämmerer, for instance, readily accepts the 'Last Judgment' at Dantzic, and a number of doubtful works. Even the more critical M. Hulin includes Prince Liechtenstein's

Madonna, the Strassburg panels, and M. Leopold Goldschmidt's Portinari portraits among the master's own productions, and he entertains no doubts as to the genuineness of the large Najera altarpiece. The angels on this retable are evidently imitated from those of the Ursula shrine; and the figure of the Eternal bears a marked resemblance to that of God the Father in the Strassburg panel. Both of these panels are painted on a gold ground, which Memlinc never used, and are in all probability the work of a clever pupil. The case of Prince Radziwill's 'Annunciation' seems more doubtful. The composition is singularly fine; and the idea of the startled Virgin, supported by two angels, may well be the master's own invention; but the execution seems to belong to another hand. Both M. Hymans and M. Hulin, however, pronounce this striking picture to be the painter's masterpiece, and ascribe the Madonnas at Florence, Vienna, and Woerlitz to his later years. Mr Weale more prudently attributes these somewhat overloaded compositions, with their *putti* and garlands, to Memlinc's pupil, Louis Boels, who afterwards occupied the house in which his master had lived so long, and attained some distinction.

The most popular painter living in Bruges at the close of the fifteenth century was Gerard David of Oudewater, whose name has only recently been rescued from oblivion by Mr Weale. This Haarlem artist came to Bruges in 1484, and soon afterwards married Cornelia Cnoop, the daughter of a goldsmith, and herself a charming miniature painter. After Pierre Lanchals' execution, David was employed by the town-council to paint two large pictures of the 'Judgment and Punishment of Sisamnes,' the unjust judge who was flayed alive by Cambyzes, as is recorded in the pages of Herodotus and the more widely read Valerius Maximus. The scene was laid in Bruges; and the two vigorously painted panels were hung in the Court of Justice as a warning to all future magistrates. Strangely unlike these grim subjects is the beautiful altarpiece of the 'Virgin among virgins,' which Gerard David presented to the Carmelite nuns in 1509. Memlinc's influence is apparent in the broad foreheads and rippling locks, the mild faces and downcast eyes, of these fair virgins, as well as in the bright hues and rich patterns of their brocades. But skilful and accom-

plished as Gerard was, he never attained the poetic charm and tender feeling of the older master. The 'Baptism of Christ,' which he painted for a treasurer of Bruges, Jan des Trompes, is chiefly remarkable for the sumptuous vestments of the angel standing on the banks of Jordan, and the beauty of the landscape, with its wide view of mountain and valley, its branching trees and brilliant foliage. The same remarks apply to Gerard's two fine works in the National Gallery, the 'Marriage of St Catherine,' with its charming background of domestic architecture, and the picture of the Florentine Canon Salviati kneeling before his patron saints in a sunny woodland glade. Already, in these paintings, landscape was assuming an importance of its own, which rapidly increased until, in the works of Joachin Patinir—whom Dürer calls 'the good landscape-painter'—it ceased to be an accessory and became the chief part of the picture.

Another graceful little panel of the Virgin and her maidens in the meadows of paradise, belonging to Count Arco-Valley, and ascribed by its owner to David, is in reality the work of his pupil, Adrien Ysenbrant, formerly known as the master of 'Our Lady's Seven Sorrows,' from his altarpiece in Notre Dame of Bruges. In the same way the master of the 'Deipara Virgo' is identified by M. Hulin with the Bruges artist, Ambrosius Benson; and the interesting master of the 'Death of the Virgin,' at Munich, is now shown to be Joos van der Beke, or Van Cleve. We cannot follow the elaborate arguments by which the able Ghent professor proves his case, nor can we do more than glance at the sixteenth century artists in whom Herr Friedländer is so profoundly interested. Chief among them is Quentin Matsys, the Antwerp master whose admirable 'Descent from the Cross' and 'Family of the Virgin' are familiar to us all, but who was only represented at Bruges by one important work, the grand old Canon in his goffered surplice, which formerly belonged to M. Sécretan, and is now in the Liechtenstein collection. His contemporary, Jan Gossaert of Maubeuge (or Mabuse), the painter of Lord Carlisle's fine 'Adoration,' began by imitating Memlinc and David, but, after his journey to Rome in 1508, abandoned the old traditions, and wasted his strength in the vain effort to adopt the style of the great Italian masters.

This baneful example was followed by Dürer's friend, Bernard van Orley, the court-painter of the Archduchess Margaret, who also went to Italy and fell a victim to the same futile endeavour to assimilate the art of Raphael.

There was no Bruges master of the first rank at this period; but among the lesser men we may note Jan Prévost, who entertained Dürer when he visited Bruges in 1521; Albert Cornelissen, whose 'Coronation of Our Lady,' in St Jacques, retains some of the charm of the older masters; and Lancelot Blondeel, who designed the triumphal arches for Charles the Fifth's reception, and the fine mantel-piece with statues of that Emperor and his ancestor in the palace of 'le Franc.' Both Pierre Pourbus, who flourished in the middle of the century, and the members of the Claeis family, who successively held the post of town-painter, were chiefly remarkable for their excellent portraits. But by this time the full tide of decadence had already set in. The taste for decorative motives, borrowed from the art of the late Italian Renaissance, which is apparent in the works of Memlinc's immediate followers, gained ground rapidly, and in the end proved fatal to the national art. Side by side with this prevailing fashion we see that increasing love of the fantastic and grotesque which was always one of the leading characteristics of Netherlandish painting. We trace the growth of this tendency in the landscapes of Joachin Patinir and of Henri Blés, and see its full development in the freaks or *diableries* of Jérôme Bosch. Yet both this master and his follower, Pieter Bruegel, were artists of no small power, who produced good work when they did not allow their fancy to run riot and their art to degenerate into caricature. In one of the last rooms of the Bruges Exhibition, the 'Pays de Cocagne' of Bruegel, that school-boy dream of the land where rivers of milk flow through hills of sugar, and cakes grow on the trees, and sausages on the hedges, and little pigs run ready roasted about the streets, hung next to the same painter's 'Numbering of the People of Bethlehem,' which is in reality an impressionist landscape of some Flemish village on a snowy winter's night. M. Hulin does not hesitate to pronounce this eccentric master, whom he aptly styles 'the last of

the Gothics and first of the moderns,' one of the greatest personalities in the history of art.

It was an age of transition; and in the Madonnas of Quentin Matsys and the portraits of Mabuse we already see the heralds of Rubens' and Vandyke's art. Then came the long war with Spain; and, in the fierce struggle for independence, the religious ideals which had inspired the early Flemish masters were swept away. Classical culture had not taken any deep root in this northern soil; and the paganism of the Renaissance left little mark on the painting of the Netherlands; but the bitter hatred engendered by civil and religious warfare proved more destructive than any Greek revival, and sealed the doom of the old sacred art. Yet, in spite of the great gulf that divides the painters of the fifteenth from those of the seventeenth century, certain broad characteristics remained unchanged. Jacques Daret's Virgins, with their homely surroundings, and even Memlinc's more dainty groups, have a marked affinity with the genre-pieces of Gerard Dow and the Dutch 'little masters.' The grave magistrates and councillors, in fur-trimmed robes and gold chains, who figure in Pourbus's and David's pictures, are precursors of the pompous burgomasters and prim dames who live again on the canvases of Frans Hals. In the rugged peasants and coarse types which Dirk Bouts and Hugo van der Goes render with so much force and sympathy, we recognise the germ of Rembrandt's art. The subject of the picture and the spirit of the painter may have changed, but two things are still the same. One is the rare technical perfection which marks the work of both the earlier and the later school; the other is the realism which was, from the first, the most prominent feature of art in the Low Countries.

These old Flemish masters, it must be remembered, did not paint, like their Italian contemporaries, for the friars or the people. They were not called upon to cover the walls of churches and *campi santi* with rapidly executed frescoes. Their patrons, the wealthy burghers of Bruges and Ghent, of Brussels and Louvain, belonged to a cultivated if somewhat materialistic class. Accordingly, they strove to reproduce the sheen of silk, the gloss of velvet, and the sparkle of jewels, with minute care and accuracy; working slowly and surely, on a comparatively

small scale, and bestowing infinite pains on every part of the picture, they succeeded in attaining a degree of finish and brilliancy which has never been surpassed. In the second place they painted what they saw with their own eyes. Their outlook on the world was indeed limited. They did not attempt great allegorical or legendary cycles, and seldom ventured on historical subjects. The 'small experiences of every day, concerns of the particular hearth and home,' were enough for them. This domestic character was apparent even in the altarpieces of these artists. The faces of saints and angels were copied from their own wives and daughters. The Virgin's window, in Jan van Eyck's panel, looks out on a square of Bruges. Every little detail of the familiar objects in home and workshop is reproduced with loving care in pictures of the Annunciation or the Last Supper. Their most striking heads are always those which have been taken from living models. Unlike Raphael, a Flemish painter never dreamt of 'making use of a certain ideal in his own mind' when he had to paint a Madonna. With one great exception—that of Hubert van Eyck—the masters of the Netherlands, we repeat, were whole-hearted realists. There were also realists, it is true, among their Italian contemporaries, especially among the Florentines in the first half of the fifteenth century. But Donatello and Masaccio were men of more heroic type, and their realism was cast in a finer mould. They had in their hearts that divine thirst for beauty, that love of pure line and noble form, which is the natural inheritance of every child who is born under the fortunate skies of Italy. This one thing our northern masters lacked, and because of this their art fell short of the highest attainment. But they were endowed with remarkable insight as well as with boundless patience and perseverance; and it was their special prerogative to render human character with absolute truth and faithfulness. Foremost among painters, they recognised the greatness and wonder of Man and Nature; and it is to their reverent study and intimate knowledge of the individual that we owe the supreme excellence of their art.

Art. X.—UNIVERSITY REFORM IN INDIA.

1. *Report of the Indian Universities Commission.* Four vols. Simla: Government Printing Office, 1902.
2. *History of English Education in India, 1781–1893.* By Syed Mahmood. Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, 1895.
3. *History of Education in the Madras Presidency.* By Professor S. Satthianadhan. Madras: Srinivasa, Varadachari and Co., 1894.
4. *Papers on University Education.* Calcutta: City Press, 1901.
5. *Higher Education in Bengal.* By N. N. Ghose. Calcutta: A. K. Bose, 1901.
6. *The Mohammedan University.* By the Hon. Syed Husain Bilgrami. Hyderabad, 1898.
7. *The Calcutta University Minutes, 1892–1902.* Ten vols. Calcutta, 1893–1902.
8. *Calendars of the Indian Universities, 1880–1902.*
And other works.

WHEN Lord Curzon went out in 1898 to rule India it was well known that he was eager to deal actively with many of its problems, and that education was not far down the list. As Viceroy, he at once became Chancellor of Calcutta University. There could be no better opportunity of finding out the difficulties and defects of the Indian university system; and the new chancellor at once began to investigate for himself. At first he was optimistic. In 1899 he told the senate that he thought the system 'faulty, but not rotten,' and in 1900 he talked of the fluently incorrect Babu, and the student who cared only for literature as a mercantile asset, as 'freaks.' But a year later his tone altered, and became one of warning; he wanted, he said, to make Calcutta University worthy of its position, to open up before it vistas of future expansion and influence. 'But these,' he added,

'it will only realise if it remembers that its primary aim is the dissemination of knowledge and the training for life; and that its powers and resources are given to it, not to satisfy the ambitions of individuals or the designs of cliques, but to promote the intellectual service of the community at large.'

Early in the autumn of 1901 a conference met at

Simla, which included the provincial directors of education and some non-official experts, prominent among whom was the venerable Dr William Miller of Madras, the most experienced and weighty educational authority that India knows. As a result of the suggestions there made and discussed, a Commission was appointed early in 1902 to receive evidence on the whole question of university aims, standards, and methods. The chairman was Mr Thomas Raleigh, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. Other members were the Director of Education in Hyderabad (perhaps the leading Mohammedan in India); Judge Banerji of the Bengal High Court, a former vice-chancellor of Calcutta, always an active and progressive senator; the principal of the Wilson (missionary) College at Bombay, the principal of the Presidency (Government) College at Madras, the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal, and the Home Secretary of the Indian Government. At least two of the members had made science and the teaching of it their special study. The Commission thus comprised all the chief elements of Indian society that are interested in education. Hindus and Mohammedans, the government and the missionary colleges, teachers of literature and teachers of science, rulers of the universities and heads of education departments, were all represented, and all had a share in drawing up the report. The attitude and the desires of the Commission were explained by the chairman at the first meeting, held last February in Madras. After recapitulating some of the common charges made against Indian universities, he went on to say :

‘If this Commission should find that these complaints were in any degree well founded, they would spare no pains to ascertain the true explanation of the failure, and to indicate the points in which the system admitted of improvement. When, on the other hand, they found that the work done was really good, or as good as circumstances and conditions permitted, they would not press for changes in institutions which were worked well. . . . He regretted the shortness of the time allowed for their enquiry, but to make it exhaustive would have been to postpone all action for a long time; and the Government of India desired, without any long delay, to make practical proposals.’

But ‘long delay’ is an elastic term when governments

use it. The report was signed in June 1902, and, after reference to the India Office, published in August. At once Calcutta—that is, the native community there—raised a storm, and gradually, with a good deal of engineering, managed to extend the disturbance to other educational centres. Secretariats are notoriously prone to take such native demonstrations too seriously. The outcry caused the Government to hold its hand for three months, after which it issued a circular letter, addressed to the local administrations, asking for ‘the fullest expression of opinion’ from every one who thought himself in any way interested in education, and promising to consider these opinions before doing anything to enforce the commissioners’ recommendations. The Government, then, has taken in hand a question concerning which the main facts have long been notorious. It has considered a scheme of reform drawn up by a conference of experts. It has further considered the report on that scheme made by a carefully chosen Commission, which took evidence in every university town, and in many other places, from any one who had any claims to give it. It is now willing to consider criticisms on the report from an indiscriminate and irresponsible crowd. Meanwhile, the main facts are still undisputed, the chief remedies perfectly well known. Truly the voice was the voice of Lord Curzon, but the hands belong indisputably to the secretariat.

By considering, first, the discoveries and the proposals of the Commission, we may understand better the causes and the nature of the opposition. ‘Discoveries’ is not, perhaps, the right word, for the greater evils exposed in the report have been bywords for some years; and this fact is a sufficient answer to those who complain that the Commission was unduly hurried. The real discovery made by each commissioner was rather that these evils existed, not only in his own province, but also elsewhere. When, at the Madras meetings, witness after witness denounced the text-book-memorising, the ignorance of spoken English, the over-crowded classes, the purely degree-grabbing attitude of students—and Madras regards itself, not without some reason, as the best of the Indian universities—men began to wonder whether the English language could provide more scathing terms to fit Calcutta.

But this single discovery is typical and important. It gives a unity to the protests of keen and good teachers all over India which has hitherto been lacking; and at the same time it proves that these prominent evils are not an accident, but are involved in the system that we have created, so long as it works under the conditions we have ourselves imposed.

The system, which was established in 1857, is as follows. Five universities, originally intended to be of the old London type, control higher education throughout the country by means of examinations. Secondary schools regulate the work of their highest classes with a view to the entrance or matriculation examination. In 'second-grade' colleges the matriculated student works two years for the 'Intermediate' or 'First Arts' examination; in 'first-grade' colleges also he can work for this, and can spend two more years (after passing it) in study for the degree of B.A. There are two motives, and practically two only, which induce a student to pass any of these examinations: either he desires to proceed to the next one, or he hopes to get some paying work—a government billet, if possible—for which the pass is a necessary qualification. It may seem hard to allege against the mass of students that they desire a mere brand, not learning; but the evidence is overwhelming, and comes from Hindus and Englishmen alike, from pupils as well as from teachers.* Sir Alfred Croft defined the situation truly in 1895 when, speaking as vice-chancellor to the members of Calcutta University, he said:

'There is an overwhelming demand for university education, as affording to large classes the only opening, I will not say to wealth and honour, but to bare subsistence.'

We must remember that this control of higher education by the five universities is almost absolute. Not only can the university, to quote an ex-registrar of Calcutta, 'create a demand for the teaching of any subject by simply introducing it into its curriculum,' but the converse is equally true. A principal remarked that

'we all of us compel the study of some English text-book in our matriculation classes; but, as these texts have no university

* See, for instance, 'The Calcutta University as it is and as it should be,' a pamphlet by the editor of the 'Pratibasi.'

value, those who are brought unwillingly to the study of them rarely assimilate their contents';

and a Hindu headmaster of one of the best high schools in India has admitted that, though he would like to teach rationally, he cannot, because 'it is the necessity of our self-existence to conform to the university examinations.'

When we talk of the 'universities' as the controlling bodies, we mean the university senates. These differ in detail, but have three important characteristics in common. All are too crowded; nearly all have a majority of native members; and in all a majority of members has been appointed for non-educational reasons, a fellowship (which confers membership of the senate) being looked upon as a distinction rather below the order of C.I.E. The preponderance of natives—which is the governing factor of the whole situation—was not originally intended to exist, but has come about almost accidentally. In Calcutta, for instance, the senate of 1880 consisted of 137 Europeans and 47 natives; in 1901 there were 83 Europeans and 107 natives. Yet the appointments made in the interval were divided between 122 Europeans and 112 natives. The actual result is due to the fact that 68 per cent. of the Europeans appointed are dead or have come home, while of the natives less than 33 per cent. have disappeared from the roll.

The senates so constituted have, either directly or through their executive committees (called syndicates), practically absolute power in three matters at least. They control the choice of subjects and of text-books; they do their best to control the standards and the marking of examiners; they confer on, or withdraw from, colleges and schools the right to send pupils up for examination. As a rule, their slackness in regard to the last matter is only equalled by their rigidity as regards the other points. Colleges have been 'affiliated' wholesale by some syndicates, the required statements and declarations, and the support of members of the senate, being easily procurable; once affiliated, they have been left to diminish their staff and to break their promises in other respects as they liked. At some colleges the Commission found badly paid teachers, buildings quite unsuitable for the work, and apparatus 'not even up to the requirements of an ordinary primary school in England'; yet

there had been no thought of disaffiliation or even of reprimand. The examiner, though he be the head of a great college, finds himself fettered at every turn. He has to examine, not on subjects, but on books;* he may find himself ordered to give two thirds of his marks to questions on the book-work, and to pass all who manage to obtain 25 per cent. of the marks; he may have his lists sent back to him with orders to cancel two questions and distribute their marks over the rest of the paper; or he may simply find that all his marks have been raised 10 or 15 or 20 per cent., and may then be asked to stretch a point in favour of passing some one whom even the new marking does not quite bring within the limit. These are not mere possibilities; they are things that have happened. In mathematics, examiners have been ordered to set only such questions as can be answered out of a particular book. One daring body of students, in 1894, sued the University of Calcutta in the High Court for their degrees, on the ground that their marks would, under the previous year's regulations, have entitled them to pass.†

In these overcrowded senates the native majority naturally prevails, and, as a rule, votes blindly at the dictation of its leaders. The native idea of a university is by no means our idea. The study by which we hope to expand the native's mind is for him merely one way—the most irksome, if perhaps the simplest—of procuring a certificate which raises his market value. Another way is to get at the examination papers beforehand; Bombay alone of the Indian universities manages by costly and stringent precautions to close that avenue to its degrees. Nor is this view confined to students. The press has applauded, and the public has sympathised with, a candidate to whom the theft of papers was traced. Leading senators championed the students mentioned above on the ground, not that they were really fit to

* In science and philosophy the syllabus is at last beginning to supersede the set book.

† It is instructive to note that these students, though they were snubbed by the High Court, all but got their degrees from the senate itself. And a prominent senator said during the debate, 'These examiners, instead of doing what they were asked to do, went out of their way to state what they were not asked to state—that, in their opinion, these candidates were not worthy of the B.L. degree.'

pass the examination, but that to deprive them of the degree would prevent them from earning a living; and the same argument was used not long ago against a proposal to raise the standard of the First Arts examination in the same university. As for the parents, a Hindu speaker explained their position well enough to a conference held at Madras in 1901 when he said, 'The average parent in India thinks that it is his duty to produce children, and the schoolmaster's to make them B.A.'s (Madras 'Educational Review,' January 1902).

Nor is it quite fair to blame the average parent. He is generally a farmer or an artisan, anxious to get his children started in life. Taking a fairly good type, the Jats of the eastern Punjab, one finds them distributing their children broadcast over the professions. One son remains with his father to take over the farming, one enters the army; the others pass, one by one, through the university, on their way to the Bar or a desk in a government office; and as the education of each child swallows up from one sixth to nearly one third of the family income—say fifteen rupees a month, out of anything from eighty rupees down to fifty—the parent's desire is naturally for the cheapest and speediest method of ensuring success in examinations. As we have seen, his fellow-countrymen appreciate and indulge his wishes. The Punjab University, for instance, does not exercise its power of requiring colleges to be affiliated; the reason, well known and openly stated in debate, is that even the mild affiliation-rules in force elsewhere would probably cut out a native college at Delhi which charges very low fees. Low fees, thinks the parent, are of the essence of education. The Commission, seeing their results, suggested that fees 'must not be fixed so low as to tempt a poor student of but ordinary ability to follow a university course which it is not to his real interest to undertake'; and the native press promptly declared that we were destroying liberal education in India, and trying to degrade the Hindu by refusing him educational opportunities because, when educated, he was a better man than an Englishman.

One source of all the trouble is that we thrust this idea of universal education upon a people to whom it was, till lately, quite foreign. The Brahmin, indeed, had a

high educational ideal, but it was for his own use only; and, as a rule, he deliberately chose subjects which bore no relation to his earthly surroundings. The non-Brahmin Hindu's educational desires were for a strictly technical teaching, that children might become experts in, and succeed to, the work of their parents. As for the Mohammedans in India, they had almost forgotten the glories of Bagdad and Cairo and Cordova; the simplest acquaintance with select passages from the Koran satisfied most of them. The schools, therefore, which we found existing were devised for a strictly limited class of students, who sought instruction (very largely for its own sake) in such matters as led them eventually to a knowledge of logic, jurisprudence, and philosophy. Text-books they had few or none; so the early years of the course were devoted to almost continuous unintelligent memorising of the works which, in the later years, they learnt to discuss and understand. A boy of twelve or thirteen had his memory packed; he had stuffed his crop, one may say, as a fowl does, with grain still husky. The next eight years added little to his store of facts, but saw a complete digestion of the already accumulated mass. And at the end, even if the facts had been no facts (like the 'seas of treacle and seas of butter' that stirred Macaulay's bile), the process of digesting them had vastly quickened and strengthened the powers of the student's brain.

Before this society—nine hundred and ninety-nine parts contented ignorance, one part keen and practised intellect, with a contempt for 'things that you can touch and see'—we proceeded to spread the treasures of western science and literature. The ignorance remained contented, and the intellect contemptuous.

'The men of learning among us,' writes one of the finest Mohammedan scholars of to-day, himself an ardent advocate of university reform, 'saw samples of the new learning only in the raw, half-educated youths turned out of the new schools and colleges, and hastily concluded that it was, like them, eminently superficial. The utmost concession they were prepared to make was that the Westerns excelled in practical sciences, which have never been held in high esteem by schoolmen of either the East or the West; but they scoffed at their speculative sciences, and believed that these were not

even known to them except in the most crude and elementary form.' ('The Mohammedan University'.)

The same authority, in his presidential address given at the meeting of the Mohammedan Educational Conference two years ago, defined just as clearly the attitude of comparatively educated parents.

'The majority of literate Mohammedans are accustomed to feel satisfied that they have discharged this duty [of giving their children a sound education] in an effective manner when they have put their children under a village pedagogue at the door, or sent them to the nearest school. They think they have made an end of the matter; their consciences are satisfied; and they give themselves no further concern about it.'

So the degradation began. If we had only kept the universities in our own hands, employing our own methods, and striving after our own ideals, the situation might have been saved. It may yet be saved, if we have the courage to resume control. As it is, we have muddled away our opportunities, and handed over our control to people who were not at all sure what we wanted, but were quite certain about their own aims; and we have got just what we deserved. We have got senates guided by personal, not educational motives; European professors who lecture during prescribed hours, and spend the rest of their time as far away as may be; native professors who prepare four-anna cram-books; examiners who set papers on those cram-books; students who accumulate degrees wholesale, as if they were magic amulets; * students who fail to pass year after year, and in the end claim that their very failure possesses something of the same magical powers. Classes are overcrowded—one hundred and fifty, or even two hundred, put under one teacher—often for mere cheapness' sake; standards are lowered and lowered again in order that private-venture colleges, run on cheap lines, may have some chance of passing their pupils. No point in this description is imaginary; nor, of course, is any part of it to be taken as a statement covering all the colleges

* 'It has been suggested that English should remain in the B.Sc. course, for the sake of those students who proceed afterwards to the degree of B.L.'—U.C. Report.

or professors or senates. But such there are, in numbers already too large and still growing; and they are all of our making, because we have been too weakly polite to tell our friends the truth, and have trusted our methods to the hands of men, able enough on their own lines, who despised or did not understand our thoughts.

It is, indeed, hardly to be expected that they should understand our thought, while they understand our language so little. This, perhaps, is the most serious of all the practical defects in our teaching, that we fail so miserably to give the young Hindu any real knowledge of English, as a spoken language, till he has practically no more use for it as a learner. Let us bring the problem a little nearer home. Conceive that fifty boys from English board-schools in small country towns have picked up the drier details of French grammar, and learnt to read one or two easy French text-books, and to stumble through a play of Molière or a little Voltaire, their teachers being, for the most part, imperfectly educated and untravelled Englishmen. Let these boys be sent to study university subjects in French, at a college whose lecturers include a Provençal, a Breton, an Alsatian, an Auvergnat, a Parisian, and seven or eight Englishmen, each speaking French with his own accent, and frequently dropping into his own provincial idioms. How much are they likely to understand of the lectures they hear? Will they not be driven to depend almost entirely on text-books, out of which, with much study and a dictionary, they can get some meaning and some facts or opinions to commit to memory? That is the case with nine out of ten university students in India. They have learnt their English accent from native teachers,* their English words from old-fashioned grammars and the writings of men dead two centuries ago. They pass an entrance examination, which is hardly ever oral, and can usually be got through by writing down some memorised extracts from the text-book or its printed

* It is a side issue, but worth noting in this connexion (it bears also upon the educational knowledge and aims of the native press), that the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal recently proposed that candidates for employment as teachers of English should be tested as to their English pronunciation, and was met by the loudly expressed indignation of the Bengal native newspapers—the same press which leads the opposition to the Commission's report.

notes. Then they are set down to listen, hour after hour, five hours a day, and six days a week, to lecturers with all sorts of accents, speaking about people and places and things they have never heard of before, using names and words that do not seem (as pronounced) to correspond to anything in the book they are told to read. The teacher may use language as simple as can be, but that rather puzzles them the more; it is precisely the simple, everyday English words that they know nothing about. 'For eight months of the first university year,' said one professor, himself a Bengali, but a close friend and constant associate of his English colleagues, 'I have to do middle-school work, teaching my class to understand ordinary English.' An English professor, lecturing in another province, found it almost impossible to make sure that his first-year students really understood the meaning of their text-books; they paraphrased word by word, substituting for a polysyllable a longer polysyllable, and seemed quite unable to use short English words, or to explain a whole sentence at a time.

'No one, I suppose,' to quote Macaulay's well known 'Minute,' 'will contend that English is so difficult to a Hindoo as Greek to an Englishman.' The comparison has been taken to heart on both sides. We have taught English less efficiently, it is true, but by the same methods as those by which our fathers were driven through Greek. And our victims—well, they use Macaulay for a text-book; they study the 'Lays of Ancient Rome' to find therein 'enallagé' and 'metonymy' and 'informal cognate accusatives'; and when they come to

' Where scowls the far-famed hold
Piled by the hands of giants
For godlike kings of old,

they, being teachers, turn it for the use of their pupils into—

'the widely celebrated castle of which, built by men of great intellectual and bodily powers for the heroes of ancient time who possessed superior excellence, seems to frown down upon all that approach it.' *

* Macaulay's 'Lay of Horatius,' with notes, etc., by Jatindra Nath Sen. Allahabad, 1901.

We do not wish even to seem to condemn all Indian students alike; one may generalise without being guilty of universalising. Scattered up and down the colleges are lads as keen, as earnest, as high-minded as the best that Oxford or Cambridge can show; there is a type of Indian graduate that no man can know without honouring. But the very existence of such lads and such graduates is a further condemnation of the present university system. Every university in the world must have among its students a majority of intellectual dullards, a minority of keen and talented workers. But, while in European universities talent is sought out and set to tasks worthy of it, in India the whole academical system is contrived to meet the dullards' desires, while talent is neglected or misdirected, and hampered at every turn. The fine type—the natives themselves acknowledge and lament it—is likely to die out, for it was produced by the personal intimacy of zealous teachers with each member of a small lecture-class; and nowadays the discouraged lecturer, confronted with crowds of note-takers whom it is impossible to know individually, finds it simpler to know none. If it be admitted that a university, at its best, should provide thoughtful lecturing on important subjects in an intelligible tongue, supplemented by constant intimacy between tutor and pupil, and by examinations designed to test the student's intellectual progress, it is not unjust to say that in India, whatever a few individual teachers and colleges may do, university influence, for the most part, runs counter to one of these aims.

Out of all this welter of mistakes one conclusion shapes itself; the ideal reform, by the side of which all lesser alterations are but patchwork, would be to remodel the system entirely anew. The universities are not universities; they are cumbrous examining boards in connexion with the government service and the professions. The colleges are not university colleges; they are schools with overgrown classes and slack discipline.* One real

* The Commission tries to excuse some of the results it describes by saying, 'It must be remembered that the Indian student often enters on his college course at an age when boys of other countries are still at school.' This is true enough; matriculants of eleven and twelve are not uncommon, and much strong language is used against the proposal to make the mini-

teaching university, set somewhere among the Nagpur hills, surrounded by 'denominational' hostels, endowed with professorships that will attract the best men England can send, and granting scholarships enough to support such young native students as want education for its own sake and are worth educating—that, coupled with the coming Tata Research Institute at Bangalore, would meet the academical needs of India for many a year. To it the present colleges, renamed (to suit the facts) public schools, would send the pick of their students, as Eton and Harrow do to King's or Balliol; others would pass into the professional colleges (law, medical, engineering) of each province, or enter government service through examinations appointed and devised for that end. It is mere dreaming, perhaps, to suggest so great a change; but it is hardly possible to overstate the importance, in India especially, of calling things by their right names. We do India grievous wrong in conniving at the present system of college education; we double the wrong by calling it 'university' work.

But the Commission did not see its way to such drastic reform as this. The offended dignity of many thousand Babus, the vested interests of many owners of colleges, stood in the way. The commissioners themselves, moreover, were not so much architects of a new building as inhabitants of an old one which they desired to repair for immediate use. Patchwork, therefore, was decided on. The existing universities should continue to exist; no new ones should be added; practical remedies for actual evils should be the order of the day. Then the Commission made its great mistake. Bewildered, perhaps, by the chorus of condemnation it had been listening to, aghast, probably, at discovering how far the mischief had spread, it set itself to devise remedies for each separate evil, to attack each abuse, big or little, directly as well as at its sometimes remote origin. So it secured for its whole work, not only the antagonism of honestly convinced opponents, but also the fierce hostility of every

mum age fifteen. It might have been added that the undergraduate, learning his work in English, has to be taught by school methods, not by real lecturing; the First Arts classes have to be treated as one would treat a third-form boy in England, and only the best graduates are fit to be talked to as an English headmaster talks to his Sixth Form.

one to whom the maintenance of any abuse brought some personal advantage.

Let us particularise. Two reforms would in the end accomplish all the Commission hoped to do, namely, the replacing of the universities under European control, and the disuse of their entrance examination as a test for the government service. A third reform, almost equally important, which might be left to the good sense of the new controllers, but should perhaps be definitely stated, would be a stricter supervision of the colleges by the universities to which they are affiliated. These three proposals are among the 166 recommendations of the Commission. If they stood alone, the issue would be clear; the arguments on both sides would be clear also; and the fight—one hard enough, even so—would be in a region strictly educational. But the other 163 recommendations come into conflict with all manner of external interests. ‘The use of keys’ (say the commissioners) ‘should be discouraged, and no text-books in English should be prescribed’; forthwith all the writers of keys and editors of text-books—and any one who has looked through a native bookseller’s stock knows their multitude—fill the native papers with tirades against English tyranny. ‘Those second-grade colleges,’ the report says, ‘which cannot hope to rise to the first grade, ought to revert to the position of high schools.’ But many of them were high schools, turned by their owners into colleges in order to secure the higher fees charged for university teaching; these owners, therefore, fearing for their pockets, join the clamorous opposition. The report attacks the scandal of one college deliberately undercutting another’s prices, and hints at higher fees; that rouses the whole world of parents, who are, as we have seen, extreme free-traders in education.

Now all these remedies are good in themselves, but the open statement of them for immediate application was unwise, in view of the opposition it was sure to arouse; if only the first three reforms were carried out, the rest would come about gradually and unobtrusively. To make the matriculation examination no longer a government test would cut away the bulk of dullard candidates and leave it what it should be—a sieve to sift out the students with enough brain-power and practical

knowledge of English to profit by university teaching. The senates being all-powerful, to bring them again under the legitimate influence of educational experts, and of men who know what a university should be, would ensure the eventual adoption of those more detailed remedies for which the Commission is anxious. Such reformed senates, for instance, would soon, by stricter supervision, weed out the weak second-grade colleges, while preserving and encouraging those that do good work, and would put a stop to the ruinous competition at present in vogue by insisting on real efficiency, which cannot be attained on the fees now too often paid.

Here, then, is the explanation of those indignant protests and outcries raised by meetings packed with undergraduates and schoolboys*; here also is the motive of certain more soberly worded remonstrances from native associations, whose members appear to have read only the summary of reforms proposed by the Commission, without studying the full report and the reasons given therein. It is all simply a question of finance. The colleges that underpay their teachers in order to enrich their owners, or 'depend on the profits of a cheaply worked law department to balance their accounts'; the teachers who eke out their pay by writing 'Authorised Guides,' and find that examination on a syllabus will cut off that source of income; the parents and students who have looked upon university education as a cheap, if disagreeable, way to earning a livelihood—these are the natural and avowed enemies of reform. Their grasp of the subject may be inferred from their combining a unanimous condemnation of the report with a whole-hearted approval of Judge Banerji's views, which, in fact, differ from those of the other commissioners only in certain matters of detail, while agreeing with the rest on the absolute necessity of reform, and supporting them in regard to most of their proposals. It should also be observed that Mr Banerji's proposals (to which his personality and past career undoubtedly give great weight) depend on two assumptions, which the experienced teacher would be slow to grant—that 'the student and his

* See reports in 'Pioneer' and 'Madras Mail.' At one Madras meeting the schoolboys made such a noise that no one could be heard on either side.

guardian' are fit judges of efficiency and good educational method, and that undergraduates in the bulk are 'earnest seekers after knowledge.' If we would truly estimate the intellectual and moral worth of the opposition we should note that hardly any sentence in the report has been more loudly denounced than this:

'It is better for India that a comparatively small number of young men should receive a sound liberal education, than that a large number should be passed through an inadequate course of instruction leading to a depreciated degree.'

The public opinion which challenges this statement hardly needs to be dealt with seriously; but it is the leaders of that opinion who to a large extent dominate the Indian senates to-day.

How, then, it may be asked, with all these defects, all these mistakes, all this wrong-headedness, do the universities in their present state manage to do any good work at all?—for some good work they do turn out. The answer to this natural enquiry is that not even the weakest and most superficial of educational systems can prevent a good teacher from influencing his class. He can be hampered and fretted by the prescription of foolish textbooks, the degradation of examiners' standards, and the crowding of the curriculum with smatterings of disconnected subjects. He can be discouraged, if he is not a very strong man, by the apathy of his pupils and colleagues in regard to all processes which really train the mind. But something of his enthusiasm, something of his sympathy, will communicate itself to the best among his students, will bring them closer to him, and make them more like him; and nowhere is the magnetic power of the born teacher at once more potent and more indispensable than in India. This is the great charm of education in that country, a charm which, under more favourable conditions, should attract many men with the taste and the capacity for educational work, and should diminish the difficulty, now acutely felt, of obtaining men of first-rate ability to fill educational posts in that vast and untaught empire.

The English lad gets his training from three sources—from his home, from his teachers, from his fellows. For the Indian student the teacher must supply the place of

both home and comrades. To a young professor beginning his work in India, nothing is more striking than the dependent attitude of his pupils. He will not find this out at once; at the outset they are more likely to be depending on accurate remembrance of the prescribed text-books as a means of passing their examination. He will also, in most cases, miss those avenues of contact with his pupils which an English teacher possesses, in athletics or pursuits outside the range of study; for Indian lads, as a rule, have no hobbies, while the players of games and the readers of general literature for its own sake are still a mere handful among them. But if the teacher once succeeds in winning the confidence of his pupils, he finds himself overwhelmed with it. They will look to him for orders in every detail of their studies; some of them will not so much as learn a favourite passage by heart without his permission. Such an attitude gives the Indian teacher unequalled opportunities.

The circumstances which we have been examining explain why, in spite of this amazing docility, the pupils get so little good out of their studies, and why the teachers, instead of being encouraged, are depressed. The material is there in abundance, to be moulded and swayed; there are among the teachers young men of keen and sympathetic minds and great attainments; it is only a faulty system, a system which yearly grows worse instead of better, that keeps these elements apart. The educational opportunities of India are vast; the importance of utilising them cannot be exaggerated. It is not too much to say that the retention of our great dependency, at all events our title to retain it, largely depends upon our seizing these opportunities. In this country the conviction seems slowly to be gaining ground that an adequate system of education, from the lowest to the highest grades, is the first of national needs; and in India the need is not less essential than in England. But since the backbone of any educational system is to be found, not in government offices, but in the universities; since no system of education can flourish without good teachers, and it is in the universities that the teachers must themselves be taught; since, finally, universities, to be energetic and enthusiastic, must be self-controlled, and, to be progressive, must be led by men of liberal ideas and genuine educational

interests; therefore it is in the reform of the Indian universities that the establishment of an adequate educational system in India must begin. Since, further, it is from the West that the ideas and the impulse must come, it is only by securing a sufficient supply of first-rate western teachers that a constant advance can be maintained; and it is not to be expected that such teachers will devote themselves to life-long labours in an alien clime under conditions which hamper all their efforts and frustrate all their higher aims. What we have to do is to see that they or their representatives shall have due control over their own work; and this is the central point of the proposed reforms. It is true that the want of such control is not the only drawback of the Indian educational career. Inadequate pay, insufficient arrangements for pensions, the inferiority, in the public estimation, of the 'uncovenanted' services to the Civil Service and the Army—these and other disadvantages mark the grudging recognition which the English mind, especially the official English mind, is apt to pay to the cause of education. Remedies must be found for these drawbacks before men of the right kind will be attracted in any number to India; but the crying need is that the right men, when they do come, shall be able to do their own work in their own way. Give them this, and the rest will follow.

We English give of our best blood already to India, as is fitting; but more is demanded. We give our best fighters, while they are still young, to guard her frontier; we give our best administrators, still young, to mitigate and check her famines. It is time that we gave also of our best educators, still young and keen and sympathetic, to train her youth in wisdom and strength of character. Side by side with the Indian Staff Corps and the Indian Civil Service we need to establish an Indian Educational Service, equally honoured, as its work is equally honourable; for the teacher, no less than the soldier or the councillor, has his share in the high responsibilities of Empire.

Art. XI.—THE PORT OF LONDON.

1. *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to enquire into . . . the Administration of the Port of London, etc.* House of Commons Papers, 1151. 1902.
2. *Minutes of Evidence, Appendices, and miscellaneous papers accompanying the same,* 1902.
3. *Returns to an order of the Rivers Committee of the London County Council, 30th March, 1896, of information relating to the Docks, River, and Port of London.* Parts I, II, and III. 1899, 1900.

WHEN a full and unbiassed history of the Corporation of the City of London comes to be written, there will be much that is historically memorable and praiseworthy, but also some serious failures and omissions, among which the neglect of their port will probably take a high place. From the time when William the Conqueror granted a charter to the city burghers, down to the year 1857, when the care of the river had to be legally vested in a new conservancy board, the business and control of the Port of London, though naturally, as at most other maritime places, within the sphere of the municipal authority, seems to have been almost systematically neglected. The provision of wharves and landing-places for goods was, at a very early period, defined and regulated by Royal Commission; but trade continued to increase, and, one would have thought, might have suggested to the civic mind, in the interests of commerce as well as of revenue, better riparian accommodation. An exceptional opportunity offered itself after the Great Fire of London, when a continuous line of quays along the river-front might have been constructed with comparative ease. The occasion was, however, let slip; and an increasing number of wharves, legal and sufferance, was approved by the Commissioners of Customs and their predecessors at various detached points. These quays, the precursors of the present private and public wharves, are a special feature of the metropolis, and have largely helped to complicate a question in itself of exceptional difficulty, importance, and magnitude.

Where municipal authority failed, private enterprise had to step in. So far back as 1674 the London merchants

presented a petition to the Privy Council complaining, amongst other things, of the mismanagement and insufficiency of the quays; but, until the close of the eighteenth century, the vested interests of the wharf-proprietors, who consisted largely of city magnates, were powerful enough to prevent the provision of additional facilities, whether in the shape of wharves or docks. That the merchants were thoroughly in earnest is clear from the fact that, when a committee of West India merchants reported (in 1795) on the absolute necessity of a West India dock, a capital of 800,000*l.* was raised in two days for the purpose of carrying out the enterprise.

It is not our intention to trace here the history of the various parliamentary committees that ensued. The crowding of the river and the organised thieving of water-borne goods were so intolerable that wet docks were eventually acknowledged to be an absolute necessity. But it is noteworthy that all the docks which came to be constructed were provided by private companies, the City canal across the Isle of Dogs, a solitary monument of civic enterprise, having proved a complete failure. That canal was purchased in 1829 by the West India Dock Company for 120,000*l.* and some thirty-two years ago was converted into the present South-West India Dock. The docks that came to be dotted at intervals along the northern bank of the Thames were separated from one another by intervening properties and wharves. Continuous intercommunication by land was thus made a practical impossibility, and barges became an absolute necessity. Far less fortunate than Liverpool—where the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board are in the advantageous position of owning about nine miles of frontage on the two sides of their river—London has been forced to rely on the Thames as its main channel for distribution. In the course of the last hundred years the number and size of the distributing barges have developed enormously; and the immunity from taxation which they enjoy has given rise to the greater part of the prickly difficulties that have hedged round the dock and river question. We can thus perceive what a golden opportunity was lost one hundred, or even fifty years ago, when the acquisition of docks and riparian property, and

the constitution of a representative harbour authority, would have been a far simpler matter than it is now.

The evils resulting from the growing inadequacy of the port could not be for ever ignored; and in the early part of 1900, just one hundred years after the commencement of the West India Dock, Mr Ritchie, as President of the Board of Trade and spokesman of the government, announced to a deputation that he was convinced of the necessity of a full enquiry, with a view to placing the business of the port on a sound and proper footing. This enquiry has been concluded, and the fruit of it is undeniably satisfactory. The Royal Commission was, at the outset, happily conceived. It would appear that the day of large commissions is past. A generation ago it was usual for a number of experts, of the most widely dissimilar experiences and views, to be thrown together, in the hope that they would somehow reduce their incongruous ideas to one coherent and practical scheme. We need only glance at the Agricultural, City Companies, and other more recent commissions, to see that this plan did not always work, and that the resulting reports were too often indecisive or marred by the dissent of minorities. It is now perceived that experts are more in their place as witnesses than as commissioners, and that the responsibility of deciding on the weight of evidence, and of reconciling and harmonising discrepancies and difficulties, is better vested in a few men of ability who, while possessed of special knowledge, are also imbued with enough judicial spirit and administrative capacity to be able to put their opinions and proposals into a practical shape for the legislature to deal with. The Royal Commission on the Port of London was composed of only seven members, an assistant-commissioner and a secretary; and the report, though described as revolutionary, is certainly practical. In fact, the notices issued in respect of the Bill, which is announced for introduction next session, prove that the proposals unanimously made by the Commission have commended themselves to the government as well as to the public.

What are these proposals? Shortly, they consist in the creation of a public authority to supervise the business of the Port of London. Other recommendations respecting the purchase of the docks, important though

they be, are based on the preceding condition, which no one can pretend is premature or uncalled for. In fact, it is clear that unless some organisation of this sort is provided, the trade of London must inevitably be diverted to its rivals. For at least two hundred years the Port of London has been, as it still is, the greatest in the world, in respect of the amount of shipping and of merchandise which enters it. The commissioners are of opinion that the statistics (which, it may be observed, are voluminous and not susceptible of confident generalisation) prove that the volume of this trade has constantly grown, though the rate of increase has not been so rapid in recent years as it was in some former times. It would have been well if some definite evidence had been obtained from the statistical and commercial department of the Board of Trade on this important question. Sir Alfred Bateman does not appear to have been examined at all, and the views of his department would have been undoubtedly valuable on the moot point, how far the allegation of a decline in the trade of London is true. The opinion of the chairman of the Board of Customs is that, relatively to the trade of the United Kingdom, there has been a certain falling-off in London trade since 1873 (answer 671). It has been recently pointed out that the commissioners themselves do not appear to believe that the commerce of the metropolis is in any way falling off, for in par. 18 of their report they remark :

‘We are unable to conclude, therefore, that the figures show any relative decline of London compared with the other ports named [some twelve home and foreign ports], allowing for the difference in the nature of the business done.’

To base a conclusion on an isolated passage is, however, hardly fair. Par. 23 gives a clearer indication of the collective view of the Commission.

‘The existence upon the Thames of the greatest market and centre of consumption in the world has, it is contended, bestowed upon the port a huge practical monopoly. London was sure of a trade of which rivals could not deprive it, and, in consequence, had not the usual incentives to effect improvements. Other ports in keen competition with each other for the general world-trade have improved their organisation and physical advantages in recent years, while London has,

in these respects, remained much more nearly stationary. Hence, it is suggested, both the inland and re-export trade of London may have lost ground relatively to other ports in consequence of the improvements in other maritime cities of the United Kingdom and in adjacent countries. So far as relates to the re-export of foreign and colonial produce, the figures seem, to some extent, to correspond with this view.'

A still more pronounced statement is found in par. 25.

'On the whole, statistics show that if the London *entrepôt* or re-export trade to foreign countries has not absolutely declined during the last twenty years, yet it certainly has not advanced in proportion to the general development of the trade and shipping of the United Kingdom.'

Warnings like these cannot be disregarded. In addition, we have to note heedfully the progress made in the development of foreign ports like Bremen, Hamburg, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Antwerp, Havre, and, we may eventually have to add, Brussels. On the Continent, it must be borne in mind, public ownership and public management of docks and harbours are universal, with the exception of Copenhagen, where the free port is incorporated, and Marseilles, where the ownership of the docks is partly public and partly private.

'At each city' [i.e. Havre, Antwerp, Hamburg, and Rotterdam], remarks the report to the State Board of Massachusetts, 'are to be found magnificent and costly systems of docks, piers, anchorages, and waterways, under public ownership and control, possessing every facility for carrying on immense trade by means of commodious and convenient warehouses, with modern appliances, operated by steam, water, or electricity; and all are designed to promote economy and speed in hauling at low, uniform, and unvarying rates of charge.'

Moreover, it must be added, the system of waterways in operation in continental countries plays a far more important part as an auxiliary in distribution than our canals do; while unification of control and public management conduces towards the maintenance of a consistent policy, which is unattainable with the divided responsibility and overlapping of jurisdictions found in London.

All these considerations point emphatically to the

urgency of the question on which the government have announced their intention to legislate. But what is the attitude of the various bodies immediately concerned? Let us take the case of the dock companies first. We may learn something of the real ideas of these bodies by perusing the proceedings of the meeting of the shareholders of the London and India Docks Company, held in July last. Bearing in mind that the proposal of the commissioners was that these companies should be bought out, and that the expectation of purchase had helped to raise the price of the deferred stock—to take one example—from 20 to 64, most people would have expected the company, in the interests of their shareholders, to welcome the prospect. But the chairman on that occasion took a somewhat peculiar line. He did not oppose purchase outright; on the contrary, he remarked that he saw no reason ‘why we, as a body, should object to such a trust if, for the property acquired, we are properly indemnified.’ But the general idea of municipalising commercial undertakings was distasteful to Mr Scott; and he estimated that the ‘giving up’ (i.e. first purchasing and then letting) the warehouses would involve the trust in a loss of 300,000*l.* per annum, or, if the trust be financed by the ratepayers, would necessitate the levy of a rate of 5½*d.* in the pound.

It is difficult, without much abstruse calculation, to verify estimates of this sort; and only actual experience will prove how far they may be relied on. But as the matter is of considerable importance, and will doubtless form one of the main points of controversy in later discussions, it is worth while to consider whether there is really any prospect of so serious a loss attaching to one of the chief recommendations of the commissioners. At present both the warehouses and the docks themselves are, to speak generally, the property of the dock companies. It is proposed, under the Lands Clauses Acts, to buy up the entire property and vest it in the new trust; but that body would have power to sell or lease such of the warehouses as could not usefully be employed in the enlargement of the quays or transit-sheds. This, of course, has been suggested in order to avoid competition between a public trust and the private wharfingers. The dock companies, however, contend that, as it is the warehousing branch of their business that really pays,

or, at all events, used to pay best a year or two ago, the new trust will lose heavily by parting with the most lucrative department of their undertaking at a non-remunerative figure. But surely the correctness of this assumption entirely depends on the rent agreed to be paid for the warehouses. If, for the sake of argument, the London and India Docks Company are able to pay for the year 1902 a dividend of 3 per cent. on their deferred ordinary stock, after discharge, of course, of all precedent liabilities and outgoings, it should not be beyond the capacity of a good accountant to decide what proportion of this might equitably be debited to the warehousing business, and to ascertain the fair selling or letting price accordingly. If this be so, no loss need be incurred.

Some light on this question may be derived from a glance at the arrangements at other British ports. The royal commissioners, during their enquiry, put the following questions to the principal harbour authorities of Great Britain. Are the warehouses maintained by the port authority, or by private enterprise? Are they leased to or by the port authority? The replies, however, were not summarised by the commissioners; and we therefore make no apology for undertaking this task. The replies were as follows:—

‘*Belfast.*—There are no warehouses maintained by the port authority; there are, however, some grain warehouses built by private enterprise on ground let by the port authority.

‘*Bristol, Avonmouth, and Portishead.*—The granaries, sheds and warehouses are owned, worked, and maintained by the Corporation, and are not leased to any private firm.

‘*Dublin.*—All sheds are maintained by the Port Board. They are not leased.

‘*Clyde* (i.e. Glasgow).—The Clyde Trustees possess no warehouses in the ordinary sense, nor have private parties any warehouses upon the quays, the Clyde Trustees providing only the quay-sheds for occupation by goods in course of import or export, for a limited time, ordinary warehouses being provided by private enterprise.

‘*Greenock.*—The warehouses belong to the trustees (i.e. the port authority).

‘*Hull.*—Warehouses at the docks are owned and maintained by the railway companies (which are practically the port authority). There are also numerous large private

warehouses on the river, which are, of course, maintained by the owners.

*'Mersey (i.e. Liverpool).—*The warehouses erected on the margin of the docks, also the wool warehouses, are owned and maintained by the Board. In addition to these, there are warehouses of enormous capacity scattered about along the line of docks, and owned and maintained by private enterprise.

*'Manchester.—*The canal company carries on a system of warehousing within the dock estate, on the Irwell, in Trafford Park, at Warrington, and at Runcorn Docks. There are also various other warehouses belonging to private companies.

*'Tyne.—*The Tyne Improvement Commissioners own and maintain the warehouses on their dock estate. There are warehouses at Tyne Dock belonging to the North-Eastern Railway Company, and at different parts of the river belonging to corporations and private parties. The Commissioners and the North-Eastern Railway Company do not lease any warehouses.'

Summary of Ownership.

Port authority	.	.	.	2	{ (taking Bristol, Avonmouth and Portishead as one)
Private enterprise	.	.	.	3	
Both	.	.	.	4	
					—
Total	.	.	.	9	

From the foregoing facts it appears difficult to infer that either advantage or disadvantage attaches to the conduct of warehousing business *per se*. In some cases the port authority finds it convenient to carry out the duties itself; in other cases it leaves it to private bodies; in nearly half the cases the provision and maintenance of warehouses becomes a matter of mutual arrangement and is shared between both parties. The other objections lodged by the dock companies against the forthcoming trust scarcely need elaborate notice. The chairman of the London and India Docks Company did indeed subject various financial items to criticism; but his objections did not go beyond matters of detail, which were susceptible of easy explanation.

The attitude of the wharfingers might, not unnaturally, have been more hostile to the scheme than it is; for they can hardly be expected to sympathise with the proposed tax on the barges which ply in and out of the docks and

convey goods to and from the vessels and the wharves. Moreover, in the event of the new trust being unable to sell or lease the warehouses, it is conceivable that it might be placed in the undesirable position of a body supported by public funds if not by rates, competing in business with private wharf-owners. Nevertheless, the wharfingers have not seen fit to dissociate themselves from the Mansion House conference; and this fact is one of good augury as indicating no rooted objection to a port trust.

Next to be considered is the attitude of the Thames Conservancy, whose principal powers in connexion with the present question relate to the dredging of the navigable channel. It will be remembered that a Special Commission was appointed, under the Thames Conservancy Act of 1894, to report on the dredging required; and that this Commission put forth a very extensive programme, far larger than the first scheme of the Conservancy, the chief feature of it being a navigable channel, thirty feet in depth, up to Gravesend. Unfortunately, the Conservancy raised a purely technical point as to the jurisdiction and scope of the Commission, and substituted a second scheme which, though larger than their first, still fell short of the improvements judged requisite by the Commission charged to investigate the matter. When the Port of London commissioners came to look into the question, some caustic reflections were made on the action, or rather inaction, of the Conservancy, which was thus goaded into activity. Sir F. Dixon Hartland and his colleagues at last produced estimates of the cost of carrying out the original directions of the Lower Thames Navigation Commission. More recently still the Conservancy have formulated fresh proposals. Thus, in the space of six years, this body has produced no fewer than four separate and invariably belated dredging programmes for coping with the crying want of the great shipowners; but little progress has been made with any one of them.

In the face of this it would have been impossible to entrust the care of the port to a body who could scarcely be said to be in touch with, or alive to, the demands of the shipping trade. There was plain need of an authority constituted on a stronger and more representative basis;

and this was recognised, not only by most of the witnesses, but also in the carefully considered schemes put forward by the City Corporation, the London County Council, and the London Chamber of Commerce.

This brings us to the consideration of the views of the two great authorities who divide between them the municipal administration of London. While the London County Council have indicated their general satisfaction with the scheme of the Commission, the City Corporation have shown an undisguised objection to two important recommendations: firstly, the grant of representation on the trust to their great rivals; and, secondly, the proposal that the port authority should receive financial assistance, in the shape of either guarantee or grant, from the municipal authorities. These two objections are really interdependent; for, clearly, if such financial assistance be accepted, then municipal representation follows almost as a matter of course. And this is what the Corporation specially deprecates.

We are now in a position to estimate fairly the general feeling regarding the proposals likely to be embodied in the future government Bill for the better administration of the Port of London, notices of which have already been given. These notices, which, as usual in such cases, are exceedingly wide, follow the main lines of the Royal Commission report; but the proceedings of the Mansion House conference,* which met on October 27, 1902, show that in some important points the provisions of the Bill will probably be challenged. It is not in the least surprising that this should be the case. The proper organisation of the greatest port, market, and centre of consumption in the world is hardly a matter about which the business public of London could be expected to agree immediately, however searchingly investigated and ably sketched out beforehand.

The City conference has suffered one conspicuous defection. The three dock companies, in view of the resolution passed by the majority of the meeting in favour of

* The conference consisted of the Lord Mayor elect, and representatives of the Bank of England, the City Corporation, the London County Council, the Chamber of Commerce, the Committee of London Bankers, the Thames Conservancy, Trinity House, and some ten other bodies, including the dock companies concerned.

the purchase of their undertakings in the public interest, withdrew their nominees 'from all further participation in the proceedings.' These gentlemen are so thoroughly conversant with the docking business of London that the withdrawal of their counsels is obviously a subject of regret. But it might have been difficult for the representatives of the companies to continue members of an assembly which had already decided to purchase their property. The dock companies are unwilling sellers, and are very anxious to appear as such, in order to secure as full compensation as possible.

What this compensation or indemnification will amount to is as yet a matter of speculation. The decision will practically rest with the special tribunal of three arbitrators, to be constituted under the Act. But they are to be guided by certain principles. The pecuniary position of the shareholders is to be neither worsened nor bettered, 'due consideration being had to all the circumstances of the case'; and the conventional allowance of 10 per cent. for forced sale is not to be added to the purchase prices or indemnity, although compensation is to be paid for any inconvenience, delay, and cost in reinvestment. Much depends on the spirit in which the arbitrators construe that rather vague and double-edged expression 'due consideration to all the circumstances of the case.' It might be used as easily to depreciate as to enhance the value of the undertakings. But, considering that each of the three companies happens to have exceptionally good prospects in the present year (1903), owing to circumstances which the directors of each company have been at great and laudable pains to bring about, we may almost rest assured that the 'circumstances of the case' will mean circumstances favourable to the shareholders. The case of the dock companies, with the possible exception of the Surrey Commercial, is not on all fours with that of the water companies, as the former have been working at a practical loss for years past. It happens, however, that, in the case of the London and India Docks Company, and still more in that of the Millwall Company, the moment of purchase will almost synchronise with a decided turn in the tide of their fortunes. If so, we cannot for a moment believe that parliament or the arbitrators would wish to mete

out grudging and unjust measure to companies which have fought an uphill battle in discharging, at the cost of their own private resources, public functions of the highest importance, which in many British and most foreign ports are assisted or subsidised from local, provincial, or imperial funds.

We have dealt at some length with the question of the purchase of the docks, because of its essential importance. But the vote in favour of it was only a part, or a corollary, of the first resolution approved by the Mansion House committee, which ran as follows:—

‘That this committee approves the recommendations of the Royal Commission, in par. 261 of their report, that there should be one authority created for the whole Port of London.’

This resolution may be said to have passed almost unopposed. It is true that only twenty votes out of twenty-nine were given for it; but Lord Avebury’s name was wrongly included in the minority, and the remaining eight votes were those of the three dock companies, the Trinity House, and the Thames Conservancy, with whose difficult and exceptional position, as bodies to be disestablished, we have already dealt. It was virtually impossible for them to give a thoroughly free and unbiassed vote on the question of their own dissolution.

Passing over the acquisition of the wharves by the new trust—a proposal which was not entertained by the commissioners, and which has only been alluded to by the conference committee as a bare possibility of the future—we come to the following resolution:—

‘That the proposed port authority should derive its revenue from dues on vessels using the port and on the goods which they convey, and that the capital sums required for improvements should be raised on the security which those dues will afford.’

This again was carried by a sweeping majority—twenty-two for and four against, while three did not vote, one of the three being the Lord Mayor, who, though he was notoriously in favour of the resolution, abstained from supporting it in virtue of the impartiality which a chairman is supposed to observe. The minority and the

neutrals were, however, significant and important. Three members of the London County Council voted in the minority, showing that that body is still prepared to do or, at all events, to consider favourably what was expected of them, i.e. to provide the capital sum required for the improvement of the navigable channel of the river, and the improvement and extension of the docks, as well as the guarantee of interest on the port stock. As to the neutrals, Lord Brassey and Mr Tritton did not indicate their views on this point, but Mr Innes Rogers plainly expressed his regret that the committee had not seen its way to accept the financial aid virtually offered to the scheme by the London County Council. We say the County Council, because, though the commissioners recommended that both the City Corporation and the County Council should, in virtue of their professed interest and readiness to help, contribute towards the support of the financial burthen, the attitude of the former body makes it unlikely that their actual assistance will amount to anything very substantial. It may be that the notorious weakness of the Corporation finances, or their jealousy of their municipal neighbours, or both these reasons together, have had something to do with the dislike of municipal help which finds expression in the resolution of the conference. But whatever be the reason for the adoption of this attitude, it should probably be abandoned on financial grounds. The main objection to it is that such a policy of self-reliance might, and probably would, entail a rise in the imposts which would cripple the trade of London, and drive a large proportion of the shipping to other ports. The scheme of the commissioners appears to be, in this respect, the more practical and less risky programme of the two. The saving in the interest on a loan raised on County Council guarantee, over what would have to be paid by a new and untried body like the future port authority without such guarantee, is an item well worth consideration.

The next resolution arrived at by the committee relates to the composition of the new port trust. It runs thus:—

‘That the port authority, in number not to exceed forty, be constituted generally as proposed by the Royal Commission, but, in view of the resolutions passed by this

committee in favour of raising the revenue required by charges on ships and goods, with increased representation of mercantile interests, and diminished representation of public bodies.'

Of course, if no municipal aid from the rates be sought or permitted, the inclusion of County Council and Corporation members on the representation may call for modification. This was foreseen by the royal commissioners when they remarked (par. 313) that the composition of the trust should be materially altered if either of the two bodies abstained from assuming financial responsibility. An important addition to the above-mentioned resolution of the committee was, however, made when the report came up for the consideration of the full conference on the 18th of December last. The following amendment was then carried on the motion of Mr Pillman :—

'That no scheme will adequately meet the claims of the merchants and traders of London that does not give them an adequate representation of members elected by the Mercantile Association.'

This is, to our mind, a clear indication of the preference of the mercantile community for direct representation on the trust; and, considering how vehemently the corn, flour, dried-fruit, timber, jute, and other trade representatives have complained—and with reason—of the cost and slowness of discharging in the Port of London, this plea of the traders seems to deserve every consideration.

Two other points were urged—the payment of the members of the trust, and the placing of the dock premises under the control of the City or Metropolitan Police, so as to provide greater security against robbery and pilfering at the docks. We will take the latter first. About a hundred years ago Mr Colquhoun, himself a police magistrate, fairly astonished the public by his description of the organised depredations of the 'river pirates,' 'night plunderers,' 'light horsemen' and 'heavy horsemen,' lightermen, oat-catchers, and other thieves who made a living on the Thames. The gigantic loss arising from robbery in the river was indeed a powerful reason for constructing docks; and, considering what possibilities for thieving the handling of cargo still gives, it seems

impossible to conclude that such practices are entirely a thing of the past. Indeed, the commissioners were assured that it was not; but for some reason or other they determined to take no evidence on the subject. Moreover, in the event of another dock-strike, the need for the employment of public police in the dock areas might be stringent. On the whole we think the reform might be desirable in the interests of London, but the change could scarcely be proposed by a responsible body without first ascertaining the views of the Home Office.

The payment of the members of the new trust is a difficult point, but we are inclined to think that the public verdict will be against it. The commissioners, on the whole, were of this opinion, but they assumed that the Government would attach a small salary to the posts of those members of the trust who were nominated by the State, while they considered it might possibly be advantageous to attach a larger salary to the posts of chairman and vice-chairman. One strong precedent, among others, for non-payment exists in the case of Liverpool, where ship-owners and merchants of the highest standing are willing to serve gratuitously on the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, and to give their best energies to the business of their port, with a success that is universally recognised.

The more one considers this important question of the accommodation of London's water-borne trade, the clearer does it become that, once we concede the initial necessity of a unified authority or trust, in which all great interests shall be proportionately and fairly represented, the crux of the problem resolves itself into a question of money. Can the port pay its way? The commissioners did not venture to submit a balance-sheet, but they indicated in bold outlines a sketch of what the revenues of the trust would be if their recommendations were carried out. Witnesses of weight and authority, like Sir Thomas Sutherland and Mr Pembroke, had no doubt that the trust would succeed, both administratively and financially. In fact it is absurd to suppose that so important a body, deriving emoluments from so magnificent a trade, could not regulate its outgoings so as to make both ends meet. Such a supposition is little short

of an insult to the talent available in the financial centre of the universe.

But should any aid be forthcoming from the state or the municipality? Here we touch on more debatable ground. The commissioners were plainly opposed to any subsidy from the state; and they were probably right. The harbour business of London, important though it be, is but a local concern, after all. Even if we regard London as the capital of the empire, it is difficult to see how this consideration would warrant the Exchequer in granting aid to London which is denied to Liverpool or Glasgow. London is no doubt the centre of a large circle of distribution, extending as far as, let us say, Birmingham; but other ports are centres of similar circles, and subserve rich and populous though smaller areas. A mere difference of degree would not justify a difference in the attitude of the state.

But the case stands differently as regards municipal assistance. The commissioners remark that

‘in Germany, Holland, Belgium, and France large capital expenditure at the ports has been provided from national as well as from municipal funds, with the result, as we have indicated, of placing the Port of London at a certain disadvantage’ (par. 292).

State-aid, with its necessary concomitant state-control, is habitual on the Continent, but is generally, and as a rule justly, regarded with suspicion in this country. A free combination of all the ratepayers in a particular district to make the most of their natural advantages—for this is what municipal assistance means—is a different matter.

It is, however, only fair to mention that at Hamburg and Bremen the Imperial Government has not contributed very largely; and that in those ports, as also at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, the municipalities have displayed great enterprise. At the three last-named ports the charges are purposely kept as low as possible by the municipality acting as the port authority. Such action on the part of rivals deserves our serious attention, and might serve as an example from more than one point of view. The majority of the ports of the United Kingdom enjoy municipal assistance and are subject to municipal control in some form or other.

Although this point, which is an argument in their favour, seems to have been overlooked by the commissioners, they recommend that a capital expenditure of 7,000,000*l.* for the permanent improvement of the river, and for the improvement and extension of the docks, should be provided by the London County Council and the City Corporation, or by one of the two authorities. Of this sum, 2,500,000*l.* are to be spent on the improvement of the river, and 4,500,000*l.* on improvements and extensions of the docks. The former of these two large items of expenditure is recommended on the plausible principle that the Thames is and must always be a great highway of commerce for the many millions dwelling on or within a few miles of its banks, and that the maintenance of highways is a charge which may justly be borne by the municipality.

The commissioners might have strengthened their contention by reference to the state of things prevailing at the 112 ports of the United Kingdom. The London County Council have pointed out that, out of this aggregate number, the municipal authority has complete control at 22. At 66 other ports there is more or less of a municipal element; but its strength varies very much, from places like Sunderland, where there is only 1 municipal representative out of 52, to places like Glasgow, where there are 10 out of 25, or the Tyne ports, where there are 15 out of 33. Of course the presence of ratepayers' representatives, whether in large or small proportion, does not necessarily imply financial help out of the rates; but considering that, in the majority of these cases, it has been deliberately decided at various times to add a substantial municipal element to the port authority, the burthen of proof certainly lies upon the City Corporation, and those who agree with them, to show why, in the case of London, this sensible rule should be departed from.

Since the Royal Commission reported, a valuable relief to the shipping interest has made its appearance on the political horizon: we refer to the abolition of the Light Dues. This tax is one of those extraordinary anomalies which, like compulsory pilotage, have grown up in connexion with that interesting mediæval institution, the Brotherhood of the Trinity House. We understand that the abolition of both these anachronisms was

pressed upon the Port of London commissioners, but with only partial success. In the case of compulsory pilotage, they did indeed suggest that some one else should play the part of executioner, so far as the Port of London was concerned, which was better than doing nothing at all. We may therefore hope in process of time to see the port authority of London apply, under section 578 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, for a provisional order exempting all ships within the port from compulsory pilotage. As the most numerous law-suits arise in the London district, there is a probability that the law on this point, which one of his Majesty's judges has described as a disgrace to the legislature, may be soon amended.

As regards the Light Dues, the commissioners were naturally unwilling to make any recommendation which would have brought them into collision with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and might have seemed *ultra vires* for a body whose scope of enquiry was confined to the metropolis. Fortunately, however, another body has had the courage to attack this old anomaly. It has been strongly denounced in the report of the Select Committee on Steam Shipping Subsidies; and we shall be greatly surprised if the provision and maintenance of lighthouses are not soon undertaken and paid for by the State, as is the case on all other civilised coasts.

These two reforms will bring much relief to the shipping interest, and should reconcile them to the new imposts which may possibly result from the establishment of the new port trust. The neglect of its maritime business, of which London has hitherto been guilty, cannot be remedied without some sacrifice on the part of every interest concerned therein. It will be the duty of the legislature, while taking care that these burdens shall be as light as possible, to put an end to the evils arising from plurality and confusion of authorities and jurisdictions, which have hitherto hampered the development and injured the reputation of the Port of London, and necessitated the drastic reforms that are now proposed.

Art. XII.—NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

1. *La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France au XIX^e siècle.* By A. Houtin. Paris: Picard, 1902.
 2. *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament.* By F. G. Kenyon. London: Macmillan, 1901.
 3. *The Historical New Testament.* By James Moffatt. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901.
 4. *The Earliest Gospel.* By Allan Menzies. London: Macmillan, 1901.
 5. *The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles.* By F. H. Chase. (The Hulsean Lectures, 1900–1.) London: Macmillan, 1902.
 6. *Addresses on the Acts of the Apostles.* By Archbishop Benson. London: Macmillan, 1901.
 7. *The Gospel according to St John: an Enquiry into its Genesis and Historical Value.* By H. H. Wendt. (Translation by Lummis.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902.
 8. *Criticism of the New Testament.* (St Margaret's Lectures.) By W. Sanday and others. London: Murray, 1902.
 9. *A Dictionary of the Bible.* Four vols. Ed. by J. Hastings. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898–1902.
 10. *Encyclopædia Biblica.* Vols 1–3. Ed. by T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. Edinburgh: Black, 1898–1902.
 11. *Exploratio Evangelica.* By P. Gardner. Edinburgh: Black, 1899.
 12. *Contentio Veritatis: Essays in Constructive Theology.* By H. Rashdall and others. London: Murray, 1902.
 13. *What is Christianity?* By A. Harnack. (Translation, by T. Bailey Saunders, of *Das Wesen des Christentums*.) London: Williams and Norgate, 1901.
- And other works.

It has been recently said that the task of the twentieth century will be to appreciate, in its ultimate bearing upon life, the new knowledge accumulated in the nineteenth. If so, few more momentous questions await the attention of the new age than that of the attitude of trained and truth-loving minds toward the Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament. The present article will be directed to a survey of the bearing of recent work upon the latter; but we can best approach the subject by a preliminary glance at the Biblical question as a whole.

A hundred years ago the elements of Biblical criticism, as now conceived, hardly lay before the student. To begin with, the verbal inerrancy of the Bible in all matters of fact was still axiomatic for orthodox Christian scholarship. To ascertain the true text by clearing away errors accumulated in the process of transmission was recognised as a legitimate and indeed necessary labour. Simon, Mill, Bentley, Bengel, Griesbach, and others, had made the first steps in textual criticism of the New Testament; the Septuagint had been explored by Holmes and Parsons; and the principal ancient versions were beginning to be investigated. But, apart from the work of a few pioneers, like Père Simon in the seventeenth century and the Germans influenced by the *Aufklärung* in the eighteenth, the problems of historical criticism—the examination of the external and internal evidence as to the authorship, date, and origin of books—were quite in their infancy. The English writers on the evidences had indeed learned to marshal the arguments for the authenticity and credibility of our historical Scriptures, but subject always to well-understood limitations within which the enquiry must, in Christian hands, be restrained.

To men imbued with these traditions, as they moved quietly on in their accustomed groove of Bible-reading under the guiding principle of ‘plenary’ inspiration, it came as a sudden and painful shock, even forty years ago, to learn that scholars of recognised pre-eminence disputed the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy and of the Levitical law, and placed the book of Daniel three centuries and a half after its traditional date. Without seriously considering the detail of the arguments used to support such strange conclusions, the cry was naturally raised that they undermined the historical accuracy of definite statements in the Bible; and consequently they were ruled out of court.

But before the voice of criticism had awaked any clear response in the public mind of this country, the ‘Biblical question’ had been raised very effectively from a quite different quarter. The accumulating evidence, derived from geology, from the science of language, from the knowledge of the languages and early civilisation of Egypt and Babylonia—we may now add Greece—and from the results of general anthropology, as to the

antiquity of the human race on earth, forced upon the reluctant mind of Christian *savants* the conclusion that the beginnings of human history belong to an antiquity immeasurably transcending the precise data of the Old Testament, whether we take the figures of the Hebrew text, or the somewhat larger margin furnished by the Septuagint. If this is so—if the Bible definitely offers us a chronology which falls immensely short of even an approximately correct estimate of the antiquity of civilisation and of human life—then the question of principle is removed from further discussion. The statements of fact which the Bible contains are not, by the mere fact that they stand in the Bible, stamped with the divine guarantee of truth. The Biblical history may still compare, and we believe that it does compare, very favourably indeed, as history, with the annals of antiquity generally. But on grounds wholly prior to any critical question whatever, it has become impossible to claim that the Bible, in whatever sense divinely inspired, was produced under conditions which elevate it in all respects above the limitations to which everything written by man is subject; impossible to rule out of court any conclusion of criticism on the sole ground of its collision with categorical words of Holy Scripture.

For details of this change in presuppositions we must refer our readers to the luminous work of the Abbé Houtin, placed at the head of our list. It is difficult, as we lay down this book, to resist the impression that the 'Biblical question' stands to-day upon a very different footing from that which it occupied a century ago. The general credit of the Bible as a collection of historical documents stands high, and will, we believe, stand higher as further progress is made in the critical reconstruction of history. But it is no longer axiomatic that the literal statement of the Bible overrides, without debate, conflicting evidence of whatever kind. If we have once grasped the fact that the presuppositions of Biblical scholarship are no longer what they were in the days of our great-grandfathers, we shall regard the debatable questions raised by criticism pure and simple as matters of minor moment. Larger issues may be involved; the evidence for miraculous events, with which Christian belief is vitally concerned, may be affected by conclusions

as to the date and origin of documents. But in themselves, questions of authorship and date, even when they involve the date of the Levitical law—the most transitory element in the Old Testament dispensation—are no matter of life and death.

Of the two most comprehensive embodiments of expert opinion which have recently appeared in this country, namely, Dr Hastings' 'Dictionary of the Bible' and the 'Encyclopædia Biblica,' the former unquestionably is the more accurate reflection of the general attitude of English-speaking divines. The 'Encyclopædia' is too strongly saturated with the peculiar idiosyncrasy of its clerical editor (as shown, for example, in the selection of Dr van Manen—the spokesman of a small and wildly paradoxical group of free-lances—as the contributor of the article on St Paul) to be taken as representative of the general tendency of critical investigation. Hastings' Dictionary, on the contrary, the work of typical men of most various schools, is none the less marked by a certain wholeness and coherence in the general drift of their contributions. The perusal of its four volumes leaves us with the impression that our representative scholars are prepared to accept heartily the most modern conclusions of sane criticism on all textual questions, and to go very far in the same direction as regards the debatable matters of Old Testament criticism; but that on New Testament subjects they take up what may in the main be characterised as a decidedly, though not unreasonably, conservative attitude.

Some of the contributors to the 'Encyclopædia' would doubtless set this down to a timorous inconsistency which, on approaching the more sacred ground of the Gospel history, and the central points of Christian belief, flinches from the application of principles of historical evidence which have been freely accepted in dealing with less vital matters. Professor Percy Gardner, in his recent volume of lectures,* complains that 'historic science,' allowed to prevail when the Old Testament is discussed, 'is commonly warned off the ground occupied by the New Testament.' From this view we entirely dissent. The attitude of Dr Hastings' Dictionary is, in fact, not

* 'A Historic View of the New Testament' (Black, 1901).

widely different from that of Reuss, one of the ablest of German critics and a forerunner of the Wellhausen hypothesis, who to the end of his long life adhered to a position in New Testament criticism which may fairly be described as conservative. No doubt the problems of criticism are the same in kind, whether we deal with the Old Testament or with the New. We seek in each case to place the documents in their proper relation to the matters of fact to which they relate. But for this very reason the conditions of the problem in the two cases differ widely. In the New Testament, speaking broadly, the ultimate facts and the documents which form our evidence all fall within, or nearly within, a single century; whereas, in the case of the Old Testament history, many centuries lie between the facts and the documents. If Moses, for example, wrote Genesis, he wrote on any computation nearly three thousand years after the creation of the world which he describes. The books of Kings, written during the captivity, are far from constituting anything like contemporary evidence for what happened in the time of Solomon, or even of Elijah and Elisha.

If only for the reason thus baldly stated, it is antecedently intelligible that scholars who would take up a somewhat sceptical attitude toward the historical material comprised in the Old Testament books, might feel that in the case of the New Testament the margin of time available for the growth of legendary tradition, and for the transformation of documents by repeated recensions, is very much less. And, as a matter of fact, this is the prevalent attitude among representative English-speaking scholars, such as Dr Hastings has gathered together for the production of the Edinburgh 'Dictionary of the Bible.' At the same time a somewhat formidable body of English opinion appears arrayed on the side of a more radical criticism of the New Testament as well. In addition to the 'Encyclopædia Biblica,' whose editor has for many important New Testament articles drawn upon continental scholarship, we have Prof. Percy Gardner, whose critical position, moderate as compared with that of Schmiedel or Van Manen, is certainly less than conservative, and furnishes a basis for a somewhat revolutionary reconstruction of theology; Mr Moffatt, whose 'Historical New Testament' is a most meritorious piece of work, and of

value even to those who, like ourselves, would demur to many of his opinions; the late Dr Martineau, together with the most able living representatives of the Unitarian body, and not a few American scholars, of whom Dr McGiffert may be taken as a type. The existence of such a body of opinion is by no means a misfortune. The mere predominance in this country of a conservative estimate of the New Testament would inspire little confidence among thinking people without the safeguard of keen and earnest discussion in which the negative side should be adequately stated. Thirty years ago Bishop Lightfoot's replies to the author of 'Supernatural Religion' came to many lay minds as a revelation of the solid and manifold grounds for beliefs which they had been content to accept on the authority of tradition. The peculiar confidence inspired by Dr Sanday was due in no small degree to the feeling that he approached New Testament problems, not with the *parti pris* of an apologist, but with a judicial mind, cautiously testing method and conclusions, and ever alive to the evidence which led others to conclusions different from his own.

In fact, the Christian Church, in the region of learning and theology, is increasingly exchanging the defensive for the historical spirit. The change is inevitable, and commended by the instinct of a larger faith. Controversial advocacy, necessary for the presentation of an *ex parte* case, is suitable rather to narrow sectional causes than to the investigation of fact and truth. As soon as we detect ourselves in the act of special pleading, the discovery is a summons to retrace our steps till we recover *terra firma*. 'It makes all the difference,' said Archbishop Whately, 'whether we place truth first or second'; and it is just in this respect that the Christian learning of to-day is in advance of that of former times; learning is slowly but surely ceasing to be controversial. But individuality of conviction remains; scholars, united by their common devotion to truth, will remain at issue as to what is the truth. Where the task in hand is not so much to ascertain facts as to test the value of the higher generalisations, the divergence will be very wide; and where, as in the case of the New Testament, the interpenetration of the questions of fact and of religious conviction is intimate, it can only be by a very

slow process, with keen debate of every step, that questions of fact will come to final decision.

The work of New Testament criticism, as of historical criticism in general, is two-fold; it embraces both the history of the text, and enquiry into the origin of the documents and their value as material for history.

The achievements and problems of textual criticism, though not less solid and interesting in themselves, are more technical than those of 'higher' criticism, and interest a smaller circle of readers. We will therefore deal with them in comparatively brief compass.

Twenty-five years ago much had been done to pave the way for a scientific textual criticism of the New Testament. In Germany, Lachmann, 'who first broke with the "Textus Receptus" altogether,' and Tregelles in England, had published critical editions; Tischendorf had brought out an eighth edition before his death in 1874, and his pupil Dr Gregory was just beginning the splendid companion volume of 'prolegomena,' in which we now possess the completest available account of the materials for the history of the New Testament text. The edition itself ('octava maior') contained a most ample 'apparatus criticus,' including the readings of \aleph , the Sinaitic Codex whose discovery was not the least of Tischendorf's titles to lasting fame. The readings of 'B,' the famous Vatican MS., were also known, although it was seven years after Tischendorf's death when a satisfactory edition of it was completed, and only thirteen years ago that it was published in facsimile. In addition to these two great codices (practically our sole direct witness for the Greek text as it was in the fourth century), most of the uncials, versions, patristic citations (largely in untrustworthy texts), and a vast number of cursive MSS., were already available as material. In the critical texts, and in many editions of particular books, a general classification of authorities had been made, and the text favoured by the oldest MSS. was, as may be seen by means of Scrivener's Cambridge edition with the collated readings of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, beginning to displace the 'Textus Receptus.'

But the task of applying, in detailed thoroughness, to the history of the New Testament text the scientific

method, recognised as of sole validity in other fields, was first comprehensively taken in hand by Bishop Westcott and Dr Hort, whose edition, published in 1881, after very many years of patient labour and discussion, is the decisive event in the history of the subject. It may be desirable to say a few words in explanation of its importance. The method employed is 'genealogical.' Assuming that, at the first moment of the completion of a book, one copy alone existed, all extant copies are ultimately derived from that single original. The problem, when the extant copies differ among themselves, is to trace the history of their variations. This can often be done, e.g. when a number of MSS. can be shown to be derived from a single original characterised by some peculiarity which all have reproduced. If this copy can be shown, in its turn, to be derived from a copy in which the peculiarity in question was absent, the presumption is that the peculiarity is an error; in any case the MSS. which contain it reduce themselves to one, for (except in cases where a text is copied from two or more originals, or corrected by aid of a second MS.) no copy can testify to more than the text from which it was copied. We count our witnesses, as lawyers say, *per stirpes*, not *per capita*.

Where, as in the case of the New Testament, the number of MSS. (to say nothing for the moment of other data) is enormous, everything depends upon the soundness of the principle upon which the MSS. are grouped into families. As the result of successful grouping, the whole history of the text would lie before us like a network of streams, labyrinthine in its complexity, but, as we remount toward the source, reducing itself to a few main branches, and these in turn drawn ultimately from the one common fountain-head, the autograph of the author or his amanuensis. At one point or another of this network of streams, every known MS. or group of MSS. would find its proper place, and every variety of text its point of origin. Versions would branch off (each with its own network of transmission) at assignable points, and we could lay our finger on the places where the different writers whose quotations are recorded came to draw.

Such a complete result is of course hardly attainable. To begin with, many of the junctions and divergences of our stream are hidden from view, and must be 'located'

inferentially. Again, we never get quite within sight of the fountain-head; we reach perhaps the middle of the second century, to find the text already so far the worse for accidents of transmission that, as Dr Hort computes, about one thousandth part of the New Testament is faithfully preserved in no known channel. But, in spite of these drawbacks, the success of the investigation has been such that, after twenty years of keen debate, while many details and some wider generalisations comprised in the results reached by Westcott and Hort appear destined to be modified, the soundness of their fundamental principles is generally allowed, and has received striking confirmation from more sources than one.

It follows from the conditions under which the text of the New Testament has come down to us, and especially from the early divergence of the main branches of the stream of tradition, that, as we examine individual various readings, the MSS. will fall into groups, the members of which will, with occasional exceptions due to mingling of texts and other causes, be constantly found in company with each other. This is actually the case; and the groups thus constituted are bound together in many cases by external indications also; for example, the Græco-Latin MSS. unite in exhibiting a 'Western' type of text. The result is that we are able to classify the MSS. in a genealogical system, and to distinguish the fundamental types of text; and a patient inductive study of the variant readings characteristic of the several types leads to conclusions as to the probable relative 'superiority,' i.e. priority, of the different classes of authorities.

Westcott and Hort distinguish four leading types of text. To begin with, there is the so-called 'Textus Receptus,' which owes that name to the circumstance that it was the first type to become popularised in print. This was an accident, in so far as Sixtus V, who, by printing for the Old Testament the text of the Vatican MS. 'B,' made that the 'Receptus' for the Septuagint, might have secured a similar position for the New Testament text of B. But, as the text actually first current in print, instead of being taken from B, is practically the text that prevailed in the Greek Church from the fifth century to the end of the Middle Ages, the term 'Textus

Receptus' embodies a dominant ecclesiastical tradition. The 'Textus Receptus' is the Byzantine text, the authorised text of St Chrysostom and of the Church of Antioch. From the latter circumstance Westcott and Hort called it Syrian; it was, moreover, the text, not only of the Greek-speaking Syrians, but of the vernacular Syrian Church, which used the 'Peshitta' as its 'authorised version.' But Westcott and Hort regard it as a purely eclectic text, the result of a recension in which the earlier types of text were combined. All 'Syrian' readings which are not eclectically drawn from earlier types are, they maintain, explicable on the hypothesis of a deliberate revision, as touches of an editorial hand. This is one of the points upon which their judgment has been most warmly challenged, but it has on the whole held its own. It is endorsed by Nestle* and (with some reserve) by Kenyon; and the mainstay of the objectors, viz. the claim of high antiquity for the Peshitta version, has recently been proved to be precarious. In place of the somewhat question-begging title 'Syrian,' Mr Kenyon proposes, and we will adopt, the symbol '*a*.' Assuming then that the readings distinctive of *a* are all—at earliest—of late third-century origin, we have to identify the leading types of text which were previously current, and supplied the materials for the eclectic process to which the 'Textus Receptus' is mainly due.

The text which was most widely prevalent in the first three centuries, we may, with Mr Kenyon, denote by the symbol δ . It was formerly known as 'Latin,' 'African,' or 'Western'; and the last term, adopted by Westcott and Hort, is still in common use. But such a title is misleading; even 'Syro-Latin,' which Chase and Nestle would substitute for it, is not sufficiently comprehensive. The δ type of text characterises not only the old Latin but also the old Syriac versions, and predominates in the quotations of all the extant Christian writers of earliest date. 'It is found in Justin and in Tatian, in the heretic Marcion and in Irenæus, in Origen and in Clement of Alexandria.' But, early as must be the origin of a body of readings thus widely diffused, Westcott and Hort were

* 'Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament' (Williams and Norgate, 1901):

quite clear that, as a whole, they were not original. We shall recur to the subject later, but for the present it may suffice to note that the δ text was regarded by the editors in question, on the basis of a careful critical induction, as a very early aberrant type, preserving perhaps in a few cases the only extant witness to interpolations absent from its own text, but present in every other.

There remained, however, a small body of readings not assignable to the δ type, but which it was nevertheless impossible to regard as original. These readings, mainly preserved in documents of Egyptian provenance, were referred by Westcott and Hort to the work of the textual scholarship of the Alexandrians. We may for the present adopt for this limited and not very clearly identifiable group of readings, Mr Kenyon's symbol γ .

Eliminating, then, from the text readings characteristic of the α , δ , or γ type of text, we are left with a residual type, the readings of which, if not in every case original, at any rate remount to an origin beyond the ken of any process of inductive and documentary inference; conjecture, in one case out of a thousand or two, may be called for. But as regards the bulk of the New Testament, we have a text free from any element that can be shown to be secondary, and may be reasonably sure that we possess the *ipsissima verba* of the sacred authors themselves. This is the claim made by the editors for their 'neutral' text, which, from its close correspondence with the text that lay before the scribe of the great Vatican MS. B, Mr Kenyon denotes as the β text. This text, which their printed edition of the New Testament in Greek seeks to embody, is the great legacy of Westcott and Hort to New Testament criticism.

In its claim to go behind the text dominant in the Church for more than fifteen centuries, in its substitution of inductive method for current tradition as the tribunal of appeal, it may be said to range itself on the side of science in the face of ecclesiastical authority; and unquestionably the instinctive perception of this fact has inspired many of the keenest attacks upon it and upon the critical principles, set forth in Hort's 'prolegomena,' upon which it is founded. With this aspect of the question, however, we are not concerned. The questions

raised by Westcott and Hort's text will ultimately be decided by science, not by authority, and upon principles of evidence alone. Our present task is merely to sketch, with the utmost practicable brevity, the general progress of discussion since the great modern text appeared.

(1.) The unique authority ascribed by the editors to a single MS., B, has certainly an appearance of paradox. We may, it is true, put aside the counter-paradox of Dean Burgon, that the oldest MSS. owe their preservation to their badness, their numerous faults rendering them useless for any practical purpose, so that we have in them merely condemned and unused copies. This *jeu d'esprit* ignores the vital distinction between the mechanical errors of the scribe (of which B has many) and the readings preserved by the MS. from its original. A copy may be perfect; but, if it transmits a corrupt text, it will be useless compared with an even careless and unskilful copy of a good text. A poor daguerreotype of the person we seek to identify is a thousand times more valuable to us than the most finished and exact photograph of some one who may be his cousin but is certainly the wrong man.

The question is, however, whether a method which practically issues in the supremacy of a single manuscript—'Athanasius contra mundum'—to the disparagement of so great a cloud of other witnesses, does not refute itself by a *reductio ad absurdum*. In reply to this very natural question it must be pointed out that the supremacy of B is, at all events, fairly established. To say nothing of elaborate examinations of its authority for the text of particular books, e.g. by Bishop Lightfoot and Dr Sanday in the case of the Epistles of St Paul, it is remarkable that Dr Bernhard Weiss, the veteran New Testament scholar of Berlin, who is wholly antagonistic to Westcott and Hort's general principle of classification, is equally emphatic in his claim of peculiar authority for B. He regards it as the only MS. of the New Testament which preserves a text free from any evidence of deliberate revision. The supremacy of this one manuscript is therefore no *reductio ad absurdum*, but rather an admitted factor of which any system must take account.

(2.) As to the comparatively late origin of the *a* text, hotly contested as it has been by Dean Burgon, the late

Prebendary Miller, and others, there can be but little doubt. The main objection, founded on the supposed high antiquity of the Peshitta text, has received something like its quietus by the discovery that the apparent quotations from it in St Ephrem are due to assimilation in the printed text of that father. It is true that neither this nor the discovery of the Sinaitic Syriac prove the late origin of the Peshitta; but the evidence for its relatively early date is thereby reduced to inappreciable dimensions. There is, in fact, no evidence to prove that it was at any time in the fourth century the accepted version of the Syrian Church; while, on the other hand, there is distinct evidence connecting the publication of a standard Syriac text with the person of St Rabbula of Edessa, the contemporary of Cyril of Alexandria; and fairly abundant evidence for the very early currency of a text akin to that of the Curetonian and Sinaitic Syriac.

But this is after all only part of the question. Criticism, before the question of the *a* text can be regarded as quite closed, is bound to offer some at least probable explanation of its origin. This Westcott and Hort did in their famous theory of an Antiochene revision of the text at the end of the third century. At no point has their general theory offered so attractive a target for attack. The main objection, urged by Scrivener as well as by more extreme advocates of the *a* text, has been the lack of direct evidence of such a recension. But indirect evidence, if strong enough, would suffice to justify the theory, at any rate as a working hypothesis; and the indirect evidence has convinced both Dr Nestle and Dr Kenyon that the hypothesis is at least highly probable. It derives, moreover, some collateral support from the fact that Lucian the Martyr, whose name was (on somewhat slender inferential grounds) connected by Hort with the conjectural Syrian recension, is known to have undertaken a recension of the Greek text of the Old Testament. What is still wanted is paleographic evidence associating together, as parts of one complete Bible, a New Testament MS. of the *a* type with an Old Testament MS. of Lucianic derivation. This would, as Nestle remarks, convert the hypothesis 'into something like certainty.' On the whole, then, the discussion of the date and origin of the *a* text tends, in its most recent

phases, to confirm the general position of Westcott and Hort on this question.

(3.) But this does not necessarily settle the question of the relative value of the earlier forms of texts β , γ , and δ . Dr Salmon, in a very acute and characteristic criticism of Hort published some six years ago, questioned the substantive existence of the 'Alexandrian' or γ text, and the right of the β text to the title of 'neutral.' What Westcott and Hort had, according to Salmon, accomplished was the recovery of a local, an Alexandrian text, of great antiquity and excellence, no doubt, and in most cases preferable to other extant texts, but with no monopoly of authority. This question, the central problem of New Testament textual science, cannot be adequately discussed without reference to the problems of the δ text; but before proceeding to refer to these we may say that Dr Salmon's scepticism with regard to the independent existence of the γ text is not wholly borne out by recent additions to knowledge. Our slowly accumulating knowledge of the middle Egyptian—and in part also of upper Egyptian—Coptic versions points decidedly to the existence of an early Egyptian (rather than Alexandrian) type of text, neither of the α nor of the δ type, nor yet wholly of the β type—in short, possessing just the characteristics claimed by Hort for the γ text. But a decisive verdict on the question must await further evidence.

(4.) The most burning question of textual criticism is that of the δ text, embodied, with considerable variations, in Codex Bezae and its Græco-Latin *confrères*, in the old Syriac and old Latin versions, in the quotations of the ante-Nicene fathers, and not unrepresented, be it added, in the text of the Pauline Epistles preserved in the great Codex B itself. That this type of text, with its looseness of paraphrase, assimilation, interpolation, and omission, is, as a whole, nearer to the original than the β text, it is impossible to suppose. But what is its origin? and may it not be the case that it not only in some cases omits (as Westcott and Hort hold) spurious readings present in the β text, but in some others preserves the true? The questions raised are vast in their complexity, and will task the patience of a generation. But it seems clear that the various readings comprised under the comprehensive category of 'Western' or 'Syro-Latin' must

have begun to come into currency as soon as the books of the New Testament came to be circulated, and that only as the growing carefulness of the second century restrained transcriptional licence did the tendency to deal freely with the text finally disappear. The δ text is, in fact, on any theory extremely early. Moreover, in the Acts of the Apostles, where its variations are especially important, its readings, as Professor W. M. Ramsay has shown, bear evidence of some degree of first-hand acquaintance, if not with the facts, at any rate with the geographical and social conditions of the Apostolic age. And even this statement hardly does justice to the problem set by such a reading as 'we were assembled together' (Acts xi, 27).

The readings of the δ text are also of exceptional importance in St Luke's Gospel; and it is round the phenomena of the Lucan writings that many of the interesting problems bearing upon this text are concentrated. We can do no more than refer to the theory, revived with new cogency by Blass, that St Luke issued second editions both of Gospel and Acts, so that in each work β text and δ text alike proceed from him, the δ text representing his second edition of the Gospel, and his first of the Acts. Although there is no *a priori* objection to this hypothesis—the 'Clouds' and 'Plutus' were, we know, each re-edited by Aristophanes, and Mr Plummer has made it probable that Bede issued two editions of his 'Ecclesiastical History'—yet, in spite of its many attractions, it must be confessed that the theory of Blass, examined in detail, creates more difficulties than it solves. For a statement of these difficulties we would refer our readers to Dr Kenyon's discussion, admirable, as all else in his volume is, for its lucidity, thoroughness, and judicial serenity. On the whole, we must regard Blass's theory of the text of St Luke's Gospel and the Acts as not made out; while, even if it were more probable than it is, it would fail to account for the facts as regards the other books of the New Testament.

The δ text, or rather the 'congeries of readings' which we collectively refer to the δ type, owes its origin, not to any systematic editing, but to lack of system, to the rough and ready multiplication of copies at a very early stage of Christian history, before the text of the New

Testament had acquired its later sacrosanct character as a thing not to be paraphrased, supplemented, or otherwise loosely treated—in a word, before the New Testament had been canonised as a sacred ‘library’ side by side with the Old. But Westcott and Hort’s results are so far under revision that the ‘Western’ readings, as such, are no longer *ipso facto* ruled out of court. In the great majority of cases, no doubt, the β text is the original; but it contains a few passages which, in view of their absence from δ , must probably be regarded as no part of the original text; and if δ is sometimes right in its omissions, the possibility remains open that in some other classes of readings also (as, for example, in the addition, ‘and the bride,’ in Matthew xxv, 1) it may occasionally preserve a more original text than β .

Here then we leave the question of textual criticism. The method of Westcott and Hort, which is after all the method of all scientific criticism, stands intact. If their results are to be modified in detail it will be by the application, in the light of new data, of their fundamental principles. The discovery of new MSS. may bring with it unexpected reversals of results at present in possession of the field; but, judging by the discoveries of the past twenty years, it is unlikely that the general method of investigation will be forced out of the course it has hitherto followed.

Turning now from the problems of textual criticism to the broader and deeper issues involved in the criticism of the documents of the New Testament as material for history, it may be said that a quarter of a century ago scholarship had hardly shaken itself free from the spell of the Tübingen school. In England the influence of that school had not indeed gone very deep. The second edition of Davidson’s ‘Introduction’ had embodied its main conclusions; and the works of Strauss, who was in part a product of its spirit, were taken by many as the last word of German science. The author of ‘Supernatural Religion’ had furnished English readers with a vigorous, if crude and violent statement of its most extreme results. Yet Lightfoot’s replies to that work, and his great commentaries on three of St Paul’s Epistles, as well as Westcott’s work on the Canon of the New

Testament, had disclosed a mass of scholarly conviction not inferior in learning to that of the more radical critics of Germany, and wholly undaunted by its challenge. Still, by meeting the Tübingen school on their own ground, Lightfoot had opened a new era in English study of the New Testament; the reader of his 'Galatians' learned perforce to appreciate features of New Testament history with which English scholarship, even as represented by Alford and Ellicott, had not hitherto been accustomed to reckon, and to which Baur and his school had once for all directed attention.

But in Germany, at the period of which we speak, the influence of the Tübingen school had already given way to newer methods. The second edition of Ritschl's 'Entstehung der Altkatholischen Kirche' had appeared in 1857. In it, as is well known, he threw off his former allegiance to the Tübingen school, and added his weight to that of eminent *savants* such as Hase, Reuss, and Ewald, who had all more or less resisted the dominant stream. Baur, the brilliant founder of the school, died in 1860, and his abler disciples were, many of them, short-lived. The ablest of them all, his son-in-law Zeller, abandoned theology for philosophy, in which he has won brilliant distinction; Hilgenfeld, another survivor, represents the Tübingen view with marked concessions. By the period we speak of, it had become recognised as a precarious method to proceed by 'the high priori road' and to force early Christian history into the Hegelian *tripudium* of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The advanced critical school, of which Holtzmann of Strassburg may be taken as the most thorough-going type, and which took the place of that of Baur, substituted for the *a priori* method that of literary history; not 'tendency,' but analysis of sources and proofs of literary dependence were now the clues to the criticism of documents. And, however unduly sceptical may be the solutions tendered by this more modern critical school, they may be said at any rate to have brought back saner methods and to have fairly raised the problems which are occupying us still. Ritschl exercised a widespread influence upon the theological and historical presuppositions of most of the modern critical school. For the idea of a synthesis between Jewish and Pauline Christianity, by which

the 'Tübinger' had explained the transition from the Gospels to second-century Catholicism, he substituted that of the influence of Hellenism upon Christian thought and belief—an influence the reality of which, exaggerated as it has sometimes been, no one will now question. These then are the broad generalisations under which the early history of Christianity is conceived, and which serve as the framework for the history of the New Testament books.

The Tübingen school, assuming that the synthesis referred to above belonged to the second century, relegated most of the New Testament books, betraying, as they were supposed to do, traces of the Catholic synthesis, to a date well on in that age. The original 'thesis,' Jewish Christianity, was found in the Gospel of St Mark, at any rate in the original nucleus of that Gospel; also in the Apocalypse. The Pauline 'antithesis' to this was revealed in four epistles, viz. Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Romans. All other epistles were referred to the 'synthesis' and were regarded as late in origin. Our authentic New Testament was thus reduced to one Gospel, represented by St Mark; the Apocalypse, written, partly as a protest against Paulinism, about A.D. 68; and the four Epistles above referred to.

But the growing distrust of the mere 'tendency' criterion, coupled with the demand for evidence of a more tangible and positive kind, led to a gradual restoration by common consent of other books of the New Testament to the list of authentic works. To begin with, it was recognised that, independent of St Mark, a source of high authority, containing discourses of our Lord with a connecting narrative, had been used by the authors of the first and third Gospels. This source, thought to be that referred to by Papias under the title of 'Oracles of the Lord,' at once carries back the bulk of St Matthew's and St Luke's Gospels to an antiquity not lower than that of the original Mark: the synoptic records appear as the three-fold recension, with some additional matter, of a two-fold original. A more unbiassed criticism soon restored 1 Thessalonians, Philippians, and Philemon to the list of genuine Epistles of St Paul; parts, and then the whole, of Colossians were rehabilitated by unimpeachable critics; a reaction in favour of Ephesians began to be apparent;

and even 2 Thessalonians found defenders in the critical camp. Some were disinclined to consider the first Epistle of St Peter as wholly lost. The Pastoral Epistles contained at least a genuine element. At any rate the nearly simultaneous appearance, seventeen years ago, of three works of the highest critical value so different in their conclusions as the 'Introductions' of Holtzmann and Weiss, and Weizsäcker's 'Apostolic Age,' made it evident that the negative conclusions of New Testament criticism were by no means wholly in possession of the field in the critical school itself.

During the next ten years the same process continued, until, in 1898, Harnack frankly allowed that the general movement of criticism had set steadily 'back to tradition.' As regards the dates of the books, this is still the case. If our readers will refer to the able and lucid lecture of Mr Headlam in the volume of St Margaret's Lectures mentioned at the head of this article—not overlooking the highly valuable summary of external evidence in the appendix—they will, we think, agree that this is no case of ephemeral reaction, but rather a settling down of sane opinion, based upon the results of a careful sifting of evidence. Mr Headlam's trenchant judgments may here and there need qualification, e.g. by such considerations as are set out by Mr Allen in 'Contentio Veritatis'; but, on the whole, we must agree with him in treating the historical scepticism of such able writers as Dr Abbott and Schmiedel in the 'Encyclopædia Biblica' as a critical anachronism.

We can only briefly summarise the present position of critical opinion as regards particular books. First, as to the Synoptic Gospels, the hypothesis of a two-fold source still holds the field. It is admirably sketched by Dean Robinson in his 'Study of the Gospels,' and more briefly by Mr Allen in 'Contentio Veritatis.' Apart from questions of detail, e.g. as to whether our existing St Mark is the source itself, or a recension of an 'original Mark,' we may take it as settled that the matter covered by the 'two sources' goes back to a tradition very near to the earthly life of our Lord. Debate turns upon those parts of the record which lie beyond their limits, for example the narratives of the birth and infancy of Christ, to which we shall recur later.

As to the fourth Gospel and the first Epistle of St John, opinion is less unanimous. On the one hand, there is the somewhat slender thread of external evidence. That the author of the Ignatian Epistles knew the fourth Gospel is, we think, hardly open to doubt. Nor can we feel doubtful of the finality of Bishop Lightfoot's researches, which result in a date not later than A.D. 110 for the Ignatian Letters. Tatian's 'Diatessaron' (before 170) quite certainly presupposes the currency of St John's Gospel as one of the four. Irenæus is consistent in his testimony as to the residence of John at Ephesus and as to the authorship of the Gospel. Justin, whether he knew the Gospel or not, at any rate knew of the residence at Ephesus. Papias is a more embarrassing witness. He certainly knew the first Epistle and, as Corssen has recently shown from independent proofs, presumably knew the Gospel. But his testimony to the latter comes down to us in a late source, and is perhaps *prima facie* neutralised by the strange statement, ascribed to him by Philip of Side and the late writer Georgius Hamartolus, that 'John the son of Zebedee was killed by the Jews.' As this can hardly have taken place at Ephesus, the statement is puzzling; but, unless and until we recover the writings of Papias, we must be content to balance probabilities, with an inevitable margin of uncertainty as to some important points. Lastly, numerous internal signs, which have been collected by Godet and Westcott in their Introductions to this Gospel, make it certain that in many respects it shows original knowledge of Palestine, and acquaintance with the historical environment of our Lord himself. It is clear also that its author was able to go behind the Greek version of the Old Testament to the original Hebrew.

On the other hand, there are undeniable differences between the fourth Gospel and the Synoptics in respect to the scene of our Lord's Ministry, the chronology of His life, and the nature and method of His teaching, which, at any rate, show that the Gospel bears the strong imprint of its author's individuality. The possibility of a 'mediate,' or indirect, Johannine authorship cannot, we think, be wholly ignored. Mr Headlam, in his lecture, we observe, leaves the question open. But to say this does not commit us to the possibility of an

accurate determination of sources such as is offered us by Dr Wendt, who maintains that Justin knew, not the Gospel itself, but only the source whence the author drew his knowledge of the speeches. Ingenious and interesting as Dr Wendt's essay is, and tempting as is its vindication—at the expense, it is true, of the narrative—of the substantial authenticity of the discourses in the fourth Gospel, we fear there is justice in Dr Sanday's verdict that its argument leads into 'a blind alley.' We notice that Wendt would apparently agree with Dr Illingworth,* who claims that our verdict on the authorship of the fourth Gospel turns wholly upon 'presuppositions.' There is some force, certainly, in this contention; presuppositions are apt to colour all men's judgments, even on historical subjects. But 'hoc Ithacus velit'; to regard the results as wholly dependent on presuppositions would be to despair of ever placing questions of criticism on a satisfactory basis of ascertained fact; and this is the very thing at which, not without legitimate prospect of success, the critical investigation of evidence aims. Nothing would better please the critic with a negative bias than what he would regard as the admission on our side of a *parti pris*.

Closely allied with the question of the fourth Gospel is that of the Apocalypse. Nothing, it must candidly be said, has permanently resulted from modern discussion to make it easier to us than it was to St Dionysius the Great in the third century to conceive of the Gospel and the Apocalypse as the work of one and the same author. External evidence—somewhat ampler in the case of the Apocalypse—connects both with the Apostle; phrases and figures ('the Lamb,' 'the Word' of God, and others collected by Davidson, Salmon, etc.) connect the two books together; yet the diversity of style, great as it is, is hardly so striking as the wide spiritual distance which separates the most Jewish from the least Jewish book in the New Testament. Here, again, the difficulties begin with Papias, and would be greatly cleared up by the recovery of his works. Did Papias know of one person or of two who bore the name of John? He speaks of John among the Apostles, and in the next breath of

* 'Reason and Revelation,' p. 107 (Macmillan, 1902).

‘Aristion and John the Elder.’ Was this, as Dr Salmon thinks, a piece of slovenly writing, or was Eusebius right in understanding him to be speaking of two distinct individuals? And when Dionysius of Alexandria concludes that one John wrote the Gospel, another the Apocalypse, is he going back to a tradition as old as Papias, or independently coining a duplicatory hypothesis? and what of his hearsay statement as to the two tombs at Ephesus? What, in fact, is the link between the dilemma of Dionysius in regard to authorship and the Papias suggestion of a John other than the Apostle? The question is, for the present, an insoluble puzzle. We cannot cut the Gordian knot so confidently as Dr Salmon and others, who deny to ‘John the Elder’ any historical existence. Pending further discoveries, we need not throw in our lot either with those critics who eagerly exploit the Elder at the expense of the Apostle, or with apologists who would shoulder him out of the question at the expense of the evidence.

Leaving this side of the matter with a *non liquet*, it may be said that the dilemma of authorship is as difficult as ever. The Tübingen school, in spite of their negative attitude toward the Gospel, had, by placing the Apocalypse in the reign of Nero (54–68), some thirty years before the earliest possible date of the Gospel, left the door open to an obvious solution. The Apostle, fresh from Judæa, a stranger both in language and thought to the Greek world of Ephesus, might naturally have clothed his visions, saturated with a Christianity intensely Hebraic, in the broken Greek of the Apocalypse. Thirty years would make a change; the mastery of Greek would be acquired hand in hand with advancing emancipation from Palestinian limitations, and with the growth of an universalism beyond even that of St Paul. The Apocalypse, accordingly, written not long after Paul’s death, was the work of the pillar-Apostle of Jerusalem; the Gospel, the last word of the last survivor of the Twelve, who had lived to assimilate thoughts that lay far beyond his earlier ken. But the Neronian date for the Apocalypse, great as were its attractions—and both Lightfoot and Westcott favoured it—was dead against the express testimony of Irenæus that the vision ‘was seen at the end of Domitian’s reign’ (81–96). Although this is no more to be followed

implicitly than the witness of Papias to John the Elder, the assertion of Irenæus has some internal evidence in its favour; and critical opinion is more disposed to uphold it than it was twenty years ago. But, if so, the Apocalypse and the Gospel are nearly coincident in date; and the difficulty of ascribing them both to one author is as great as ever. Possibly the two-fold evidence furnished by the Apocalypse may point to a two-fold date. As Dr Sanday points out in his St Margaret's lecture, apocalyptic literature has rarely escaped revision; and whether the Apocalypse draws—as he seems prepared to admit as possible—from Jewish sources, or from a Christian Apocalypse of earlier date, or has gone through a double edition by the seer himself, it may be in this direction, coupled with some allowance for indirect Johannine authorship in the case of the Gospel, that the truth will ultimately be found.

The Pauline Epistles furnish many points of interest which we must pass rapidly over. The integrity of the last two chapters of Romans, as to which we do not expect to be dislodged by the forthcoming volume of the 'Encyclopædia Biblica' from the conclusion to which the evidence marshalled in Hastings' Dictionary would lead us; the integrity of 2 Corinthians, which has rather gained in credit by the later extravagances of Lisco, who had won his spurs by his skill in dissecting it; the date of Galatians, and the thorny question of the Galatia of the Acts and of St Paul—these and other questions of critical history would require an article to themselves. As to the last point, we may note in passing that the 'south-Galatian' theory of Ramsay is still on the flowing tide. Even Dr Chase does not seem so confident as he once was that it is 'shipwrecked on the rock of Greek syntax'; and Schmiedel, who puts the case against it with much ability in the 'Encyclopædia Biblica,' is most unfair in treating it as a mere apologetic makeshift in the interest of the 'Acts.' As a matter of fact, if our memory is correct, it was Renan who first gave wide currency to this suggestion, and Lightfoot who was for ruling it out of court. The question of Ephesians can hardly be regarded as wholly closed; but the article by Jülicher (a competent representative of the best German criticism) in the 'Encyclopædia Biblica' is remarkable as a

withdrawal from the unquestioning confidence with which Holtzmann, in his classical monograph of some twenty years ago, set this epistle aside as indefensible.

The case of the Epistles to Timothy and Titus is less clear. The difficulty is not lack of external evidence, nor even peculiarity of style, though this may be allowed; in fact Reuss—no apologist—pronounced that no epistle of St Paul bore such an inward stamp of genuineness as the second Epistle to Timothy. But the events presupposed—a visit to Ephesus with Timothy, who is left there (a curious inversion of what happens in Acts xix, 22); a visit to Crete with Titus, who is left there; a winter in Epirus; a mission of Titus from Rome to Dalmatia, and other details, making up a whole framework of personal history for which the Acts leaves no room—compel us to assume that, if the Apostle wrote these letters at all, he did so after the end of the two years' imprisonment at Rome referred to in the last words of the Acts. But there is a growing consensus on all sides that we cannot safely assume that the Apostle's life was prolonged beyond the summer of A.D. 64, when, according to the most probable meaning of our evidence, he met his death in the Neronian persecution. If, with Wieseler, Lightfoot, etc., we bring him to Rome in the beginning of 61, only a year and a few months are available between the end of his imprisonment and his death. But recent chronological investigations, for example, the monumental article by Mr C. H. Turner in Hastings' Dictionary (s.v. 'Chronology'), make it not improbable that the whole scheme of dates for the Apostle's life must be placed a year or two earlier, in which case the time for the movements implied in the Pastoral Epistles becomes fully sufficient. Perhaps the other internal difficulties will still so far weigh with us that we may feel rather less confidence as to these three letters than that with which we affirm the genuineness of Galatians or Romans. But there are true Pauline touches in them for which the hypothesis of small fragmentary notes worked up by a later hand into the form of continuous epistles offers a hardly satisfying account.

Of the Epistle to Philemon, which stands or falls with Colossians, and which Baur accordingly allegorised, it requires a Van Manen to doubt at the present day. But the Epistle to the Hebrews is still anonymous, as it was in

the days of Origen. The few personal notices at the end connect it with the *entourage* of St Paul; but no serious scholar ascribes its authorship to the Apostle. The only certain fact about the readers for whom it was meant is that they were a community of Jewish Christians conspicuous by the alms sent by them to other churches. They were therefore not the church of Jerusalem, nor probably Palestinian; more than this we can scarcely say. At any rate, as Mr Headlam justly remarks, 'it must have been written before the close of the first century. There is no book the early date of which is better attested.'

Of the Catholic Epistles we shall not speak at length. Those of St John are bound up with the questions raised by the fourth Gospel; that of St James, a problem by itself, is, unless we reject it altogether, quite conceivably, as J. B. Mayor contends, pre-Pauline. Of the Epistles of St Peter, the most valuable recent study is by Dr Chase in Hastings' Dictionary. After a most careful scrutiny of the evidence, and with some regret, he decides that the second Epistle is no work of the Apostle; and with this judgment, although it has apparently left so candid a scholar as Dr Bigg unconvinced, we must express our concurrence. This result, it is true, raises a serious doubt as to St Jude; but, apart from that point, we may say that the second Epistle of St Peter is the one New Testament book which is, in our opinion, of more than doubtful genuineness. All the more weight is due to Dr Chase's equally deliberate and measured judgment in favour of the first Epistle, which has evidently gone far to secure the similar verdict of a critic so distinctly 'left-centre' as Mr James Moffatt. Neither conclusion is of course final. The first Epistle *may* not be by St Peter himself, the second Epistle *may* be; but we think historical probability confirms the judgment of the early church in drawing a distinct line between the two writings.

We have incidentally alluded to a few of the many interesting problems which surround the book of the Acts of the Apostles. The past ten years have seen a revival, after long stagnation, of interest in this most important book. Contemptuously tossed aside by the school of Baur as a monument of 'synthesis'—what could be more hostile in bias than Zeller's commentary, unless it be the arbitrary and even insolent 'Introduction'

by Overbeck, prefixed to the English translation?—delicately belittled by Renan, treated by common consent as the work of a writer who had read his Josephus, the Acts lay under a cloud of critical discredit for well-nigh a generation and a half. But Meyer, and Wendt, who revised his later editions, disposed of the more monstrous travesties of exegesis; Schürer upheld the author's independence of Josephus; and Lightfoot, in an article* which hardly attracted the attention it deserved, brought his massive knowledge to bear upon the current objections. Then, since 1893, have come Ramsay in Britain, Blass in Germany, and new commentaries by Knowling and Rackham, both—especially perhaps the former—of high excellence. And now we have the late Archbishop Benson's lectures, not dealing directly with criticism, but full of suggestive interpretation, and Dr Chase's Hulsean Lectures—a temperate and reasonable *apologia* for the historical value of the Acts. There are, we think, some defects in this book: we desiderate some discussion of the writer's relation to Josephus, and a more direct dealing with the apparent anachronism in the mention of Theudas, in regard to which even Lightfoot falls into something approaching special pleading. Nor again does the subtle bit of rationalism in the treatment of the first Pentecost (where the mysterious utterances reduce themselves to the 'Hear, O Israel,' and the 'eighteen benedictions') please us much better than the novel suggestion that the name of Christian was originally applied to Jews. But these are minor blemishes, removable, we should hope, in a second edition; as a whole, the book gives a most useful statement of the case. Especially weighty, from so careful a student of the Petrine Epistles, is the treatment of the Petrine speeches in the earlier chapters, which cannot henceforth be ascribed, as they have too recklessly been, to the unbridled invention of the narrator.

Taken along with the article in Hastings' Dictionary, Dr Chase's volume will enable the reader to estimate at its proper value the highly sceptical attitude of Schmiedel in the corresponding article of the 'Encyclopædia Biblica.' Not, of course, that all questions are settled as yet. At the latest likely date for the Acts, viz. about 90 A.D.—some

* In Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' second edit. (Murray, 1893).

place it as early as 70, though this is only less improbable than the date of Schmiedel, 105-135—a man who was twenty-one at the probable date of the first certain 'we' passage (Acts xvi, 10) would be about sixty years old. There is therefore nothing *a priori* unlikely in the Lucan authorship. The only question is of the actual evidence. Supposing Luke to have been the author, how did he know the history of the early church at Jerusalem? The prologue to the Gospel proves his acquaintance with earlier documents; had he access to any that covered the early history of the Apostolic church? The early chapters of the Acts are almost as markedly Hebraic in colouring as the first two chapters of the third Gospel; may we not ascribe them to a written source, worked into the fabric of the Acts with the same literary skill which the author shows in his use of the sources that he had in common with St Matthew and St Mark? This is all fair matter for dispassionate debate; the only serious question is whether the final editor (say, about A.D. 80) was the actual 'ego' of the 'we' passages, employing no doubt earlier documents for the earlier history, or was a mere editor, who took over the passages in question with so little change as to leave the ἡμεῖς undisturbed.

On this question we would not lay down the law. German opinion answers it mostly in one way, English opinion in the other. We confess to the belief that, in a work so homogeneous in style as the Lucan history, the final editor, if other than the 'ego' of the 'we' passages, would in all probability have used the third person in inserting them, not the first. And we may remark that the singular accuracy of the Acts in its archæological, institutional, political, and topographical allusions—which hostile critics grudgingly allow—is by no means limited to the ἡμεῖς passages, but binds the book together as a whole. The Acts gives us a somewhat fragmentary life of St Paul; of the three shipwrecks mentioned in 2 Corinthians, which all fall earlier than Acts xx, not one is mentioned; his preaching in northern Galatia, if it ever took place, is passed over in silence. Probably the writer leaves out many things which lay outside his observation. But, so far as it extends, the Pauline part of the Acts is of the highest authority; and the objections to it are mainly of the nature of cavil.

Our interest in these questions of criticism, whether of text or of the history of literature, interesting as all historical questions are in themselves, necessarily varies in its intensity with the importance of the texts and documents under consideration. Containing, as they do, the only satisfying answer to the most profound questions we all have to face, enshrining, as they do, the life and words of One upon whose personality the deepest trust and devotion of which human nature is capable have for nearly two thousand years been founded, the New Testament documents have naturally concentrated upon themselves a minute solicitude of detailed investigation such as has been bestowed on no other literature. Their sacredness—and to any feeling man, apart from personal religious belief, documents charged with such associations are sacred—does not, indeed, exempt them from the ordinary processes of enquiry. The more momentous the issue, the more thorough and scrupulously accurate ought such enquiry to be. But its issues cannot be ignored, and our task will not be complete unless we add to the above brief outline of the present state of some critical questions an estimate of their bearing upon deeper matters still. We will attempt this under two heads, first, the place of miracles in Christian belief, second, the kindred question of the essential and permanent elements of Christian belief, in so far as they can be distinguished from what is transitory and relative to conditions which have passed away.

Matthew Arnold bequeathed to us the convenient formula that 'miracles do not happen.' In a sense this is true. No usual occurrence, however marvellous and inexplicable, is a miracle. A miracle is an event, unusual and unaccountable, which we ascribe to the direct influence of the divine will. This latter element lies beyond the reach of human testimony.

The argument latent in the axiom is simply this—that, as knowledge advances, men are less likely to ascribe unaccountable events to direct causes other than secondary; and further, that, were we in the place of those who believed that they saw a miracle, we should not share that belief. The question is, granting this to be true in many cases, must it hold good in all? There are, for example, certain passages at the end of the Epistle to the Romans, and the second to the Corinthians,

in which St Paul categorically asserts that he has wrought miracles—in the last-named passage with an implied challenge to his readers to contradict him if they could. This is first-hand testimony; and upon it Dr Sanday rests the whole question of principle as regards the New Testament. We think he is right. In view of St Paul's words, we may venture to assert that miracles did in his case happen—events, that is, unaccountable in the ordinary course of nature, and claimed by him as due to supernatural power.

Still, as we have reached this result on the basis of St Paul's testimony to his own miracles, the premiss is so far coloured by presuppositions as to cast some suspicion on the old apologetic method of proving revelation by miracle, as though mere evidence could bring us, by a process from which all presuppositions have been absent, to the certitude of a revelation having been given. In days when miracle was easily believed, this may have been so; but now we believe miracle because we believe in the revelation, not *vice versa*. This does not render us independent of evidence in any particular case, but it removes miracle from the region of 'evidences' to that of the corollaries of belief. If the Christian revelation is nothing short of the language, addressed to us, of a loving, and therefore personally willing, God, we expect to find it accompanied by clearly attested acts which bear upon their face the marks of direct and special purpose; and this is supplied by miracle in a way which transcends the implications of facts common to human experience.

It is one thing, therefore, to withdraw our reliance from the old argument from miracles, and to subject each miracle to candid scrutiny; quite another to claim that religion, to retain its hold upon us, must be non-miraculous. The latter position involves the abandonment of what ultimately distinguishes historical Christianity from impersonal Theism, and destroys the idea of personal intercourse with God. For miracle is miracle, whether its sphere be the world of matter or the world of spirit. 'Prayer asks for miracle.' It is a hard saying perhaps, but it must be faced; and we fear that Professor Gardner, who would uphold the power of prayer while condemning *in limine* the idea of physical miracle, has failed to face it.

The same consideration has a direct bearing upon the demand, common to Gardner, Harnack, and other less able critics of historical Christianity, that we should eliminate from the permanent heritage of Christian belief such miracles as the virgin-birth and bodily resurrection.

The critical analysis of the Gospels, as we saw above, reveals two main sources of the synoptic narrative, both indicated by Papias: the narrative of Peter, preserved to us in St Mark, and the 'oracles of the Lord,' embodied in the non-Marcian matter common to St Matthew and St Luke. Neither of these goes back beyond the beginning of the Ministry. The birth and childhood of our Lord come down to us in two independent and not absolutely concordant accounts, which form the introductory chapters of the first and third Gospels respectively. From what sources do they come? when were they incorporated with the books to which they now belong? and what is their rank as historical evidence? The second question depends upon the date to be assigned to the first and third Gospels in their present form. Of the two, the third Gospel seems to present the more definite data for an answer. It can hardly have been written earlier than A.D. 70, nor later than A.D. 80, if we are to allow a moderate interval between its appearance and that of the author's second treatise, the Acts of the Apostles.

Usener argues, in his article in the 'Encyclopædia Biblica,' that the author of Acts i, 22 and x, 37, since he dates back the Gospel history to the baptism only, cannot have been the author of the chapters which recount the birth and infancy of Christ. But this argument, like some which may be read in the same learned writer's 'Weihnachtsfest'—the most able impeachment known to us of the history of the Nativity—is somewhat precarious. Apart from the question—not to be lightly dismissed—whether the passages in question may not be a true report of Peter's words, uncoloured by the narrator's own knowledge, we demur to the use made of the reference to the date when the public Ministry began, as if it closed the question of the narrator's knowledge of our Lord's earlier life. Even the true reading *οἱ γονεῖς*, in Luke ii, 43, might be taken straight from an earlier

source by a writer who had none the less also incorporated in his narrative the history of the virgin-birth. There is, we hold, no solid reason for doubting that the latter was added by the author of our present Gospel when first it took its present form. This, we say, was probably not earlier than A.D. 70. There is solid internal evidence to warrant the supposition that the earlier chapters of the third Gospel were derived by its author from the very heart of the original society of the disciples. The chapters in question, among the most markedly Hebraic in colouring of any part of the New Testament, are incorporated in the work of the most Hellenic of New Testament writers. There is therefore good reason for holding that these chapters, although not part of either of the two main sources of the Gospel of St Luke, and incorporated with it at a comparatively late date, were nevertheless taken from a very early source of information to which the evangelist had access.

The position, then, is this. The history of the virgin-birth was not part of the current preaching of Peter as preserved to us in the Gospel of St Mark. It was not part of the very early 'gospel' used by St Matthew and St Luke, which may have been derived from a document originally written by Matthew. It *may* not have been known even to St Paul; but we think the language of Gal. iv, 4 (although, as Lightfoot points out in his note, not to be claimed as a direct reference to the fact) is, to say the least, compatible with such knowledge on his part. Of the silence of St John, too much has been made. When he wrote, the belief we are discussing had become common Christian property.

The question is, assuming for the sake of argument (a modest assumption, surely) that the belief in the virgin-birth *may* be a true belief, how could it have become known, and by what steps was it likely to pass into the common heritage of Christian belief? It must have been originally believed on the unsupported testimony of one person, for Joseph has disappeared from the history before the Ministry begins. That testimony was not likely to be ostentatiously put forward, even in the inner circles of the brotherhood of the disciples (Luke ii, 19; John xix, 27). That the doctrine, if true, instead of being proclaimed from the house-tops from the very first, should

appear in ordinary preaching at a considerably later date than the rudimentary truths of the Gospel (1 Cor. xv, 3, 4), is in keeping with the spirit of the New Testament in regard to the genesis of faith, and with every most delicate instinct of spiritual reserve. We can only express our cordial agreement with what Professor Ramsay has urged on this point in his interesting little essay, 'Was Christ Born in Bethlehem?' and with the exquisitely tactful and discriminating discussion of it by Professor Sanday in his article, 'Jesus Christ,' in Hastings' Dictionary. The state of the evidence is such as, assuming the reality of the virgin-birth, was inevitable. To desiderate more, to demand that no traces of the belief, shared by disciples and Jews alike during the Ministry, that He was 'the carpenter's son,' should have been allowed to survive, is, we think, to miss the spirit of the Apostolic age. The genealogies, which (even apart from the reading of Matt. i, 16, as to the Sinaitic-Syriac text, on which Mr Kenyon has some sober and noteworthy observations) trace the descent through Joseph, the free references to Joseph as His father, and Joseph's sons as His brethren—all these things are the result of the inevitable conditions under which the secret of Mary (assuming its truth) could alone have become known.

The state of the evidence, we repeat, is not such as to discredit the immemorial belief of the Christian Church. That that belief, however true, could by any possibility have been matter of historical proof, we are far from asserting. Like the doctrine of the sinlessness of Christ, the doctrine of His birth from a virgin must be allowed to rest on grounds other than simple historical evidence. The doctrine of the Incarnation stands or falls with that of the sinlessness of Christ; and both doctrines are, at any rate, not easy to dissociate from the truth of the birth from a virgin. Professor Gardner, who claims that they ought to be so dissociated, is fully sensible that the sinlessness of Christ, in which he believes, is a fact which historical evidence does not prove. It goes, he rightly says, 'far beyond all historic evidence into the realm of doctrine. It is a thesis, not of the understanding, but of the will and the heart.' We may go, we venture to suggest, further than Prof. Gardner is prepared to follow us, and claim that, in incorporating into her creed the virgin-

birth of Christ, the Church is declaring a legitimate 'thesis of the heart.' Prof. Gardner would reply that physical miracle is excluded from that rational assent which may legitimately be given to moral miracle. Here, as we have already said, we think he lacks logical foothold.

Of the bodily resurrection we will speak but briefly. The positive evidence for the empty grave of Easter morning is, we venture to say, convincing to an unprejudiced mind. The psychological change from the cowed and scattered disciples of the Crucified to the lofty enthusiasm of the preachers of the glorified Messiah is inexplicable on the assumption that it was in the power of a dominant and intensely hostile priesthood to obtain evidence which would have signally confuted their claim that Jesus had risen. The history of the actual appearances of the risen Christ is no doubt difficult. The tradition preserved in the first two Gospels, that His disciples first saw Him in Galilee, whither they went for that purpose at His express command, does not harmonise with that of St Luke and St John, according to which He appeared on the day of the resurrection in Jerusalem, and further commanded the disciples not to depart from Jerusalem (Luke xxiv, 49). It would, we think, be difficult to put these difficulties with more clearness and candour than that displayed in Dr Sanday's article above referred to. But we must remember that one serious difficulty in the whole question is to account for the demonstrably very early belief in the resurrection without allowing it to have taken place in fact. From Dr Abbott's 'Philochristus' down to the latest article in the 'Encyclopædia Biblica,' numerous hypothetical constructions have been attempted with this object, mainly in the direction of some theory of visions more or less subjective. One and all, such theories raise difficulties not less formidable than that which they seek to conjure away.

If the sceptical historian is content to forgo any such hypothesis, and to fall back on a *non liquet*, subject to a general caveat against any assumption of a miracle, we have no quarrel with him. The matter, then, reduces itself to a question of 'presuppositions.' But we are entitled to insist that the Christian belief holds the field, and that those who feel unable to accept it have nothing

definite to put in its place. There is, however, one observation which it is fair to make: that the crucified body of our Lord did not remain in the grave, or 'see corruption,' we may assert without hesitation. But we do not thereby assert that it resumed the ordinary course of physical life. We have no record of His appearance to the eye of flesh, i.e. to the non-believer, after His resurrection. We have positive indications that the appearances were not the same in kind with the life He led during the Ministry under the daily ocular observation of friend and foe. We have to reckon with St Paul's doctrine of the 'spiritual body,' which carries us beyond the ordinary laws of sense and the general conditions of human experience. The Christian doctrine, while asserting that the risen body was a true body, bearing the scars of the Passion, does not assert that it was in all respects such as it was before His death. Certainly we are carried here 'far beyond all historic evidence into the realm of doctrine,' into the unknown region which environs our ultimate notion of matter and of its relation to spirit.

Professor Gardner, no doubt, would brush aside all such considerations as beside the mark. The doctrine of a bodily resurrection is to him the crude externalisation of a true fact of spiritual experience, the fact, namely, that 'Jesus lives' and is actually exercising spiritual power over our souls as a living Lord. He therefore emphasises somewhat unduly the literalism of the synoptic writers in contrast both to the 'untenable' spirituality of St Paul's conception of the risen body and to that repudiation of miracles which, with some touch of special pleading, he ascribes to Christ himself. But we gravely doubt whether those whose scepticism is just a shade deeper than his own would allow to the 'spiritual experience' which is so real to him any greater validity than he himself allows to the Pauline doctrine of the bodily resurrection.

We have referred to Professor Gardner's books with frequent expressions of dissent, and we frankly confess that he appears to us, not only to labour under an unconscious bias against the miraculous, but, as we have said, to occupy a position of somewhat illogical compromise between naturalism and supernaturalism. At the same time we welcome his books as written sincerely

in the cause of truth and in the spirit of reverent enquiry. But the reader must expect occasional excess of ingenuity, occasional lapses into advocacy, and a frequent tendency to overrate the conclusiveness of some of the more negative results of criticism.

Similar faults, with a somewhat more aggressively incisive tone, characterise the work of Dr Harnack, whose general position has marked intellectual affinities with that of Professor Gardner. For the axiom that 'miracles do not happen,' he substitutes the half-truth, 'it is not the miracles that matter.' He seeks to reach 'das Wesen des Christentums'—the answer to the question, 'What is Christianity?'—by shelving the whole question of the miraculous, and with it the deeper question of the person, and even of the redemptive work, of Christ. His position with regard to critical questions is, as we mentioned in an earlier part of this article, fairly conservative. But, as he says in a private letter quoted by Dean Robinson, differences are henceforward likely to appear 'in the interpretation of the books rather than in the problems of their date and authenticity.' And the differences in this respect are certainly startling. 'It is not the miracles that matter': 'it is not,' he practically adds, 'the doctrines that matter.'

Christology, he maintains, a doctrine of redemption—these things were no part of the religion taught by Christ. Christianity, the Christianity of Christ himself, is exhaustively stated under any one of three heads: (1) the kingdom of God and its coming; (2) God the Father and the infinite value of the human soul; (3) the higher righteousness and the commandment of love. These are the permanent and fundamental categories of the religion of Christ: all else is transitory and of minor importance. These three heads of Christ's teaching are, once more, mutually inclusive. They are not three heads of doctrine, but three aspects of one and the same fundamental experience, which, in the person of Christ, became once for all the property of man. He, and He alone, entered into that perfect filial relation to God which is the true fulfilment of human nature, and in virtue of that Sonship carried out to the full, by His passion and death, that law of self-sacrifice which is, in our sinful humanity, the highest thing to which man can attain. Moreover, He is the perennial

fountain of life for man; in Him we find God our Father, in Him we live. That Christ not only died for us, but lives still, is the ground of those hopes 'which make our earthly life worth living and tolerable.'

All this—and it is beautifully and truly stated by Harnack—he finds in the authentic words of the Lord. Whence then comes his inability to accept the articles of the Christian creeds? Because he demurs *in limine* to the formulation of the religion of Christ as a creed, in the shape of positive doctrine. He will have the *fides qua creditur*, but not the *fides quæ creditur*. 'Were we to attempt to measure and register what He did, as was soon attempted, we should fall into dreadful paradoxes'; that is, as readers of his great 'Dogmengeschichte' will at once understand, the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity and the Chalcedonian doctrine of the Incarnate Person. But he freely admits that these 'dreadful paradoxes' have their roots in the New Testament, i.e. in the Epistles of St Paul. With this Apostle began the formulation of a Christology and of a doctrine of Atonement: 'the way in which he ordered his religious conceptions, as the outcome of his speculative ideas, unmistakably exercised an influence in a wrong direction.' We should bear in mind that Harnack, at the time of the Schrenpf agitation, refused, when invited to do so, to throw in his lot with the *Protestantenverein*, the distinctly Unitarian organisation of Germany. He would have us find God in Christ; and he allows that 'Christianity is the religion of redemption.' But he will allow no dogmatic analysis of this: 'to demand assent to a series of propositions about Christ's person is a different thing altogether.'

This is, we think, the essence of his position. Its weakness is one which is inherent in the system of Ritschl, to whose school Harnack in many respects belongs. In his anxiety to keep metaphysics out of religion, he runs the risk of reducing Christianity to a mere inward experience, without intellectual content, and independent of an historical basis. He would have us be content with the 'Easter faith' that 'Jesus lives,' without relying too much on the 'Easter message' of the empty grave and the resurrection of the Crucified from the dead. Can the two be so readily separated? Not without some violence done to the synoptic record, he affirms that our Saviour's

person was no part of His Gospel. '*The Gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with the Father only and not with the Son*' (the italics are his own). That this was not the case with the belief of the Apostolic church, he allows. But was it really the case with Christ himself? 'It was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill . . . *but I say unto you*' . . . What limits are there to the personal claim involved in this right to review and amend the words uttered by the Divine Majesty from the midst of the thunders of Sinai? Is there not here, in the Sermon on the Mount itself, the germ of every Christological problem?

Again, was not every unfolding of Christological instinct into Christological dogma forced upon the Church, not by an inborn tendency to dogmatising speculation, but by the perverse and hasty dogmatising of rash innovators? Dogma may be in itself undesirable—a necessary evil—but the Nicene and Chalcedonian dogma was the inevitable reply to Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches. Harnack himself allows that it is an opinion 'borne out by the facts,' that Paul 'was the one who understood the Master and continued His work. Those who blame him for corrupting the Christian religion have never felt a breath of his spirit.' He explains that St Paul was the necessary agent of an inevitable transition, but a transition inevitably accomplished at the cost of the original simplicity of the Gospel. All that is characteristic of St Paul is therefore, if we understand Harnack aright, regarded by him as secondary and transient. The permanent Gospel of Christ is reducible to the two-fold gospel of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. But, so long as man remains a sinful creature, forgiveness must remain his primary need. Without that element of the Master's teaching, which it was given to St Paul to interpret for all future time, the Gospel is no longer a gospel of redemption and forgiveness; and the Fatherhood of God lies outside the limits of experience for the heart that 'knows its own bitterness.' And, as Dr Mason observes in his very lucid and temperate criticism* of Harnack, 'it is difficult to separate the consideration of this element of the Gospel from the consideration of the person of Christ and of His work.'

* 'Christianity: What is it?' (S.P.C.K., 1902.)

Nor is it (as Dr Mason also pertinently notes) a very high tribute to the unique greatness of Christ, merely considered as a religious teacher, to argue in effect that what was essential in His teaching so far failed to impress His disciples that even 'the one who understood the Master and continued His work,' managed, in all sincerity, to substitute for it something which Christ did not intend to convey. As Dr Harnack himself points out,

'the more powerful the personality which a man possesses, and the more he takes hold of the inner life of others, the less can the sum-total of what he is be known by what he himself says and does. We must look at the reflection and the effects which he produced in those whose leader and master he became.'

But then, as he says in a later passage,

'there is no historical fact more certain than that the apostle Paul was not, as we might perhaps expect, the first to emphasise so prominently the significance of Christ's death and resurrection, but that in recognising their meaning he stood exactly on the same ground as the primitive community.'

If so, the nucleus of all Christian dogma is part and parcel of the movement initiated by the Lord himself.

It is not then to be wondered at that not only orthodox Christians but critics who stand apart from Christian belief decline to accept Harnack's proffered answer to the question 'What is Christianity?' The essence of Christianity, writes von Hartmann, 'is in the doctrine of the person of Christ if any where at all. To eliminate Christology is to reject essential Christianity along with it.' Harnack and Gardner are, in fact, both examples of a fate common to many who attempt the analysis of a delicate phenomenon. Their assay leaves a residual product which no longer contains the substance of which they were in quest; in the course of their analysis much of the very thing they sought to preserve has slipped through their fingers. We do not for this reason condemn or even deprecate their attempt; we only note its partial non-success.

Art. XIII.—THE POLITICAL LIFE OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

Queen Victoria. A Biography. By Sidney Lee. London : Smith, Elder, 1902.

MR SIDNEY LEE has performed, with marked success, a work which required in no common measure a combination of assiduous labour, skilful arrangement, and unfailing tact. The material out of which the biography of Queen Victoria has to be constructed is enormous ; and great judgment is necessary in order to give due weight to each authority, and to balance against one another the personal bias and predilections of this or that narrator. The nicest sense of proportion is required in order to give to each incident in that crowded canvas its proper space and no more ; and the temptation to dwell unduly upon episodes on which the sharpness of public controversy bestows an apparent importance far beyond the reality, is constantly present. Moreover, while august position, and, still more, the reverence of an Empire's loyalty, and the unstinted warmth of its personal affection for the subject of his biography, had to be respected, Mr Lee would have irretrievably injured the value of his book had he presented it as a mere official account, had he ignored personal idiosyncrasies and even prejudices, had he refrained from that right of impartial characterisation and of independent criticism, which is not only the right but the duty of the biographer, and without which his work would lack both interest and authority.

Mr Lee would be the first to acknowledge that in this respect the nature of his subject made his task comparatively easy. With many, perhaps we may say with most, sovereigns it might be difficult at once to comment boldly, and to respect the natural sensitiveness of recent loss, without hiding or even palliating flaws and defects. The warmest admirers of her late Majesty have no need to claim for her such one-sided treatment. No infallibility need be claimed for her ; her memory demands no fulsome and indiscriminate adulation. She was subject to the human weakness of prejudice inherent in strong convictions, of judgments occasionally perverted by the personal aspects of the questions presented to it, of sympathies necessarily limited by personal conditions.

We may admit all this, but the preponderance of the good is overwhelming; and the essential features of Queen Victoria's character and of her political influence are shown all the more conspicuously, by full and impartial examination, not only to deserve, but to command our gratitude, our reverence, and our pride. There are few sovereigns, indeed, whose record could be set forth, within two years of her death, so freely, yet without a vestige of real damage to her fame.

Mr Lee has used, without abusing, the prerogative of the biographer; and his is therefore no unreal and formal presentment, couched in courtly or official phrase, but a picture of human interest drawn from the life. The biography of Queen Victoria will doubtless be written hereafter on a fuller scale; and the countless questions which it offers for discussion will be elucidated by documents which cannot yet see the light, and will receive fresh illustration from the development of political movements which are as yet only beginning to be felt. In the interests of historical truth and proportion, it is much better that we should have to wait for some years before that larger biography appears. Meanwhile, within the modest limits which he has allowed himself, Mr Lee has performed with practised dexterity and skill the task he has essayed, which is one of real historical importance. He gives us no 'purple patches' of fine writing, and he wastes no space on rhetoric. Sentiment and moral reflections he keeps within most wholesome limits. He does not permit himself to linger unduly over any dramatic incident. On the other hand, he sails upon an even keel and with a steady rudder. The aim of his book is admirably conceived; and he never permits himself to lose grip of the thread that is to guide the narrative on the lines which he lays down. Nothing is allowed to interrupt the steady sequence of events, which he treats in their chronological order, and with no attempt to arrange them in what a less practised workman might have deemed picturesque groups. By his rigid adherence to this method he inspires us with a confidence in the balance of his judgment, and gives a sense of vividness and truth to the narration which no other plan could have ensured. Our interest is sustained from the first page to the last; and, what is much more

important, the book, early as it appears, has that weight and authority which make it a fair basis for forming an estimate of the influence, political and constitutional, of Queen Victoria's personality upon her country and her age, and of the general results of her reign. To attempt such an estimate, with Mr Lee's assistance, is the object which we now set before us.

With this aim in view, we must first discover what were the inherent qualities which she brought to the task. We do not mean those characteristics that revealed themselves only in the privacy of intimate and familiar intercourse, but those which were the common property of the nation, and which the history of her country will, of necessity, record. If we look back upon contemporary comments at the time of her succession, we are at once impressed by their wideness of the mark. The succession of a female sovereign, at a time when political feeling ran high, and momentous changes were taking place, was regarded as an event fraught with some danger to the constitution, or at least as likely still further to reduce the power of the monarchy. The main practical interest of the change appeared to lie in conjecture as to the influences which must certainly shape the conduct of the new ruler—influences beside which her own character, mental capacity, and force of will would count for little. None could then tell what her personal characteristics were; but those who speculated on the political horoscope would certainly have regarded them as counting for little in their calculations, or as very unlikely to enhance the position of the Crown. An experience of sixty years proved how profoundly mistaken the wisest political prophets may be.

In a retrospective view it will probably be admitted by all that the first of these personal characteristics was as unswerving tenacity of purpose. For good or ill, there can be no doubt that Queen Victoria possessed a firmness of will which was based on something far stronger than mere education or the influence of advisers, and which, had it been combined with certain other elements from which she was conspicuously free, might have led to serious political embarrassments. As it was, that tenacity of purpose might cause occasional difficulty to ministers bent on a special course of action, and impatient of inter-

ference; it might occasionally blind the ruler to considerations of policy, or give force to prejudices strong but never ignoble; but, on the whole, we do not hesitate to say that it was a national asset of the very highest value.

It was this quality which lay at the root of the scheme of life which the Queen early formed for herself, and to which she clung with a determination so unswerving that it became a dominating part of her character. Let us remember exactly what this means. There are few, even among the stronger members of what is conventionally styled the stronger sex, who do not occasionally give way to the tide of some strong impulse which conscience does not condemn; and if this is true of men, it is still more true of the great majority of women. Nor need such conduct be generally blamed. To seek the stimulus and the excitement to be found in the variety of impulsive emotions, and in the pursuit of passing enthusiasms, is an ideal of life to which the ordinary man and woman may conform, probably with increased satisfaction to themselves, and with no detriment to public interests. The burden of sovereignty denies such relaxation to those who are called to bear its weight. The path of history is strewn with the ruin caused by those rulers who forgot to apply the discipline of self-restraint.

By whatever instinct or whatever suggestion, Queen Victoria very early formed the conception of her life as one in which no indulgence in enthusiastic fancies, no fantastic rhapsodies were permissible, but which must be ordered by fixed adherence to an undeviating rule of conduct. It was no selfish pride or arrogance, but a high ideal of duty which made her determine, like her great predecessor Henry V,

‘I will keep my state,
Be like a queen, and show my sail of greatness.’

It was a high resolve, that by no yielding to the moods and caprices of a woman's heart, by no spasmodic impulses whose very keenness would bode a speedy reaction, would she ever impair the dignity of that Imperial office which she was called upon to hold. The resolve was none the less strong because it was silently formed and unobtrusively carried out, with nothing of theatrical display. It was possible only to one possessed of that first charac-

teristic of indomitable tenacity of purpose. But that tenacity might easily have developed into obstinacy; the resolution to maintain the unabated dignity of kingship might have passed into arrogance, had it not been for some other characteristics that were embedded just as deeply in the nature of our Queen.

The first of these was that absolute simplicity which was one of her peculiar gifts, the simplicity which our greatest satirist felt to be the one quality that blunted his weapons, and which he has called 'the highest ornament of human things.' It was that stately simplicity, impressing all alike who came under its influence, banishing the very thought of subterfuge, treating chicanery when detected as only one of the furtive devices of cowardly weakness, that dissociated her tenacity of purpose from any thought of self-aggrandisement, and made it all the more potent because it scorned concealment, and did not cloak itself in any mock humility.

Equally conspicuous amongst the few and simple traits that formed the very warp and woof of her character, was that complete freedom from personal vanity, which not only refuses to find any petty satisfaction in the display of power and its emblems, but scorns amusements and the tinsel shows of life as compared with its stern realities, and, in the habitual presence of great and august issues, attains to a profound humility. In proportion as her conception of her duty, clearly formed and rigidly adhered to, came to penetrate more and more deeply into her character, so any trait of vanity became more utterly alien to her nature.

Lastly, all these characteristics were welded together, and their efficacy was enormously enhanced by that imperious sense of duty which dominated her very being. Opinions may differ as to her action in various episodes: principles to which she adhered with obstinacy may to some seem little better than prejudices; we may think that of one or another constitutional problem she formed a mistaken view; but no dispassionate observer will deny that the one rule of her conduct was a rigid adherence to that which her conscience told her at the time was right, so far as she could interpret its dictates justly and disentangle them from the intricate mesh of perplexing considerations.

Such then were, in our view, the simple and fundamental elements of character which the Queen brought to her task. These elements would have been efficacious whatever the constitution over which it had been her destiny to preside; they were of peculiar and inestimable value in fitting her for the duty of ruling the British Empire, poised as it is upon a constitution of peculiar delicacy. On the manner in which she envisaged the special functions of her position, Mr Lee's narrative throws much interesting light. Not the most profound legal knowledge, not the deepest study of comparative politics, not the most acute introspective power, could enable any one to know the possibilities of that intricate political machine, or to predict its operation in novel circumstances, without the addition of wide practical experience. In her early years the Queen had before her no very ideal example to enable her to form a true conception of royal duties and powers. The careers of her immediate predecessors supplied few lessons which she could accept as worthy to be followed. Her only guides were a sound but necessarily conventional education, and the loyal help of advisers who, while they were for the most part persons of sound judgment and of no ignoble aims, did not possess any marked intellectual ascendancy or any special acuteness of insight. Of these the most conspicuous perhaps were the Baroness Lehzen, a governess who inspired awe in at least equal measure with affection; Prince Leopold, the Queen's uncle, who was early debarred from personal intercourse, except at rare intervals, by his acceptance of the throne of Belgium; Baron Stockmar, the former physician and secretary of Prince Leopold, a man of singularly unselfish character, but possessing little sympathy with English ways; and the Queen's mother, the Duchess of Kent, whose guidance was hampered by her inability to converse in the English language. After all, her chief dependence was upon herself and the fund of saving common-sense which rarely deserted her throughout the long vicissitudes of her reign.

It need not surprise us that her first conception of the constitution over which she was to preside was a somewhat rudimentary one. She knew that hers was a stupendous task, implying heavy duties and grave responsibilities; and it is no wonder that, at the outset, the extent

rather than the limitations of these duties and responsibilities impressed her. As her opinions strengthened, and as they were listened to with that respect which her position demanded, she naturally failed to see what only acute intuitive power, aided by long experience, could have taught her, in what direction her range of greatest influence lay, and where her power was essentially restricted by the spirit of our constitution. Her merit was that no prejudices, however deeply engrained, no petulance, however lively it occasionally might be, prevented her from learning the lessons of experience. Her title to our lasting respect and reverence was that no selfishness, no personal vanity, no temporary irritation, even if justifiable, prevented her from gaining the full harvest of these lessons.

But for the full development of her character and of her powers one thing more was needful. Had she remained like 'the imperial votaress,' her great predecessor, 'in maiden meditation, fancy-free,' the danger to her Empire would have been great, the loss to the development of her character irreparable. With Elizabeth the habitual and solitary exercise of an imperious will not unfrequently degenerated into caprice, and sometimes came perilously near tyranny. For such rank growth the character of Queen Victoria would in any case have found no room; but none the less the presence of a helpmate was essential for the full accomplishment of her work; and the choice of that helpmate involved issues of supreme importance both for herself and for her country.

That choice was, in the main, her own. It was undoubtedly guided by her uncle, King Leopold, and fostered by his faithful lieutenant, Baron Stockmar. In selecting as a husband Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, her own first cousin, the Queen certainly gave umbrage to many sentiments and prejudices that prevailed both at home and abroad. The Prince's family was of no such importance or rank as to warrant such an alliance. Complications had already arisen too often in England's experience from ties between the Royal Family and the minor German principalities. Neither the lessons of history nor the types of national character made Englishmen and Germans very congenial to one another. But, on the whole, the choice was justified by many motives of

political expediency, even if it had not had, as it most assuredly did have, the simpler and the surer foundation of mutual inclination and obedience to the dictates of natural affection. And here the Queen was to learn the lesson, which her later experience so often and so fully confirmed, that she best consulted the good of her people, and at the same time best attracted their sympathy and their support, by no elaborate calculations of political possibilities, by no subtle balancing of diplomatic motives but by that simple and straightforward obedience to the dictates of her heart which often out-distanced the chicanery of the politician.

In all its essential features, in its bearing upon the character and conduct of the Queen, in its ultimate result upon the welfare of the Empire, above all in the example which it set, the arrangement which made Prince Albert the consort of our Queen was one fraught with many blessings. The type to which he belonged was not one altogether formed according to English taste. Lack of sympathy, quite as much as positive prejudice, prevented the nation from receiving him with cordiality. He failed at times to understand the spirit of the British constitution; he occasionally went too far in his interference with ministerial responsibility; he perhaps unduly stereotyped a certain bias in the Queen's foreign sympathies which was out of harmony with the prevailing feeling of the country. During the twenty years of his life in England it cannot be said that he did more than struggle with fair success against a constant tide of unpopularity. But of no one can it more truly be said that his death placed the coping-stone upon his work. The influence he attained was enhanced a thousand-fold when his memory alone survived, and when the real worth of his character, the absolute rectitude and unselfishness of his aims, the lofty ideal of chivalrous service which he rendered to his wife, were fully realised.

The personality which gradually became known to us during forty years of widowhood was one in which the native elements of character had been deeply modified by the wise guidance of her husband and by undying fidelity to his memory. The short interval between the Queen's accession and her marriage was recalled by her with little

satisfaction. These two years were, in her own words, 'the least sensible and satisfactory part of her life.' They had shown to the full that obstinacy of temper which lack of experience both created and excused. They had seen her involved in at least one serious constitutional struggle with her ministers, which might, if repeated or prolonged, have led to serious, if not disastrous, results. They left her perplexed and disheartened, distrustful both of others and of herself. Thenceforward she was, in her own words, 'in a safe haven, and there remained for twenty years.' For the tenderness of a tutelage based on deep affection; for the careful maturing of a character at once strong and impressionable; for the judicial balance which he imparted to the impulses of the woman's heart, the Prince commands our profoundest gratitude. That gratitude was accorded to him in the measure he deserved only when his task was done.

His was, indeed, a position in which failure was only too easy. By a series of most untoward circumstances the Queen had become alienated from the Tory party, who were in power during the years following her marriage; and that alienation, for no sufficient reason, was increased by the supposed predilections of her husband. When the Whigs recovered power, which they maintained with casual interruptions down to his death, foreign policy—that sphere of political action which almost absorbed the interest both of the Queen and of the Prince Consort—was in the hands of a minister between whom and the Prince there was an absolute lack of sympathy. The Prince's views of international relations were based on principles to which the nation as a whole was scarcely awake, and to which, even if awakened to them, it would have been either apathetic or opposed. There was an inevitable anomaly in the position of a consort who could not but share in every thought and anxiety of the Queen, under a constitution which absolutely forbade any interference between the sovereign and her government. Friction might easily have arisen with the most tactful of ministers; and tact was a gift which Lord Palmerston neither possessed nor sought to acquire. In his aims and in his conceptions of policy he was, even when in the right, totally at variance with the Queen and her husband. In his methods he was

uniformly perverse and unconciliatory to them. The wonder was, not that there was friction, but that it did not more seriously dislocate the working of the delicate machine of constitutional monarchy.

The differences between Palmerston's views of foreign politics and those of the Queen and Prince Albert manifested themselves immediately after her marriage. At that time Palmerston, pursuing a line which was to obtain abundant confirmation in our subsequent action, supported so strongly the rights of the Sultan against Mehemet Ali, and offered such strenuous opposition to the Court of Louis Philippe in its encouragement of the Egyptian rebellion, as to bring him into active conflict with the sympathies of the Queen. These sympathies were undoubtedly coloured, not only by a wish to maintain peace, but also by the less constitutional reason of her personal friendship towards the Orleans family. Constitutionally, Palmerston's position as against the Crown was strong; but he weakened it then, as he did afterwards, by a determination to take the most decisive steps in an international crisis, not only without the knowledge of the Queen, but even without consulting his colleagues. His action was to some extent justified by complete success; and, however unpalatable to the Queen, its foresight was proved by the speedy yielding of Louis Philippe. This success, however, did not lessen the breach between the Queen and her imperious minister; and that breach perhaps contributed to the ready acceptance by her of the Tory ministry which soon came into power under Sir Robert Peel, and which her early associations might otherwise have led her to regard without sympathy and even with dismay.

The ministry of Sir Robert Peel, from 1841 to 1846, certainly did much, not only to define and strengthen the Queen's prerogative and influence in the country, but to make the position of Prince Albert more tolerable, and to render his efforts to assist her more effective. In the first place, the necessarily close contact into which the Queen was now brought with the Tory leaders rendered their relations cordial, and dispelled for good and all those prejudices of early training which, unbalanced, might have attached her too exclusively to one party in the State. There remained some possibility of friction in

foreign affairs ; and, smoothly as these affairs proceeded under the charge of Lord Aberdeen, he was compelled to place limitations upon the interference of the Crown which recalled some of Palmerston's criticisms, and might, upon occasion, have given rise to antagonism between the Queen and himself.

Fortunately for both, no serious foreign crisis arose during this period. The difficulties of the ministry lay rather in domestic affairs; and in these the Queen adopted an attitude which entirely agreed with their own. In regard to the questions of the Maynooth grant and of fiscal regulations, the Queen leant to the policy of compromise and opportunism, and, perhaps fortunately, sympathised with that widely prevalent view, which avoided the stern logic of political principle and shrank from its extreme application. In the Maynooth grant she recognised none of that abandonment of principle which forced such members of the Tory party as Mr Gladstone to leave its ranks; and she was equally far from justifying it as a deliberate policy of concurrent endowment. It was to her—as it was perhaps to the majority of her subjects—‘a wise and tolerant concession to the dominant religion in Ireland.’ Such a justification has its dangers, and involves an opportunism that might play havoc with political principle; but it was none the less acceptable to the common-sense of the nation, and its adoption by the sovereign was convenient as a basis for her attitude towards party disputes.

The Queen took a similar line with regard to Peel's surrender of Protectionist principles. She felt it to be, at the time, an arrangement necessary to prevent worse inconvenience. She discussed it, not on the ground of political principle, but as a prudent compromise about a matter which might well cause friction in the political machine. What she apprehended most was difference of opinion in the Cabinet; and for any rigid adherence to the principles of the party she had, by training and predilection, but little sympathy. In her own words,

‘the Queen thinks the time is come when a removal of the restrictions on the importation of food cannot be successfully resisted.’

This is the language of pure opportunism; but it is

justified by the obvious dangers of any other attitude on the part of a constitutional sovereign—dangers of which the Queen was so conscious that it was only in extreme cases that she carried her adherence to political principles to the length of active resistance to a change. For her, in the present instance, there was no thought of dishonour in Peel's surrender. She spoke of his 'high-minded conduct, his courage, and his loyalty.' When Melbourne frankly condemned that conduct, in language of which the freedom was habitual and characteristic, as 'damned dishonest,' she declined the topic and bade him keep silence. The vehement attacks, of which Peel was the object, she bitterly condemned; and only consummate tact and skill enabled Peel's chief assailant, in later days, to dispel her antipathy, and to become the most trusted and sympathetic of all her ministers.

Peel's fall (1846) brought the Queen and the Prince once more into those troublesome relations with Palmerston which were the source of their bitterest annoyance. The struggle was at once renewed; and unfortunately, during the course of Lord John Russell's ministry, the crises which provoked it were both numerous and acute. In the first of these—the Spanish marriages—the views of the Queen were not fundamentally different from those which Palmerston adopted. But his methods were to the last degree offensive. His dispatches almost precipitated the nation into war, and were sent off not only without the knowledge of his colleagues, but in deliberate defiance of the wishes of the Queen. The tone of conciliation which she would fain have employed, at once out of deference to the friendship subsisting between herself and Louis Philippe, and in the interests of peace, was roughly brushed aside; and a breach was created between the two nations, inevitable perhaps, and certainly in accordance with the general feeling of England, but none the less distasteful to herself, and dangerous to the tranquillity of Europe.

During the revolutionary troubles of 1848, the differences between the Queen and the minister became even more frequent and more acute. Palmerston sympathised with the Liberal movements on the Continent, and he was ready to mark his sympathy by an obtrusive intervention. The Queen and Prince Albert, on the other hand, were

linked by the closest ties with many of the reigning families abroad, for whom the revolutionary movement meant absolute ruin; and they strongly deprecated intervention on Palmerstonian lines. In regard to every country in Europe the same divergence of view prevailed. Their methods were equally antagonistic. Palmerston resented direct correspondence between the Queen and foreign courts; the Queen and Prince Albert resented the constant transmission of dispatches which had not been submitted to the Queen. The minister could appeal to the popular acceptance of his policy; the Queen could stir up against him the jealousy of his colleagues, whom he treated with as little consideration as herself. At length the strain, which was carried to a point at which a serious constitutional crisis appeared imminent, was relieved. Palmerston committed both the Crown and the ministry to an acceptance of the 'Coup d'état' of Napoleon III, for which neither was prepared. The patience of the Queen had long been exhausted; that of Lord John Russell was now at an end. In December 1851 Palmerston ceased to be Minister for Foreign affairs; but only a couple of months later he defeated his former colleagues, and the administration of Lord John Russell came to an end.

The struggle with Lord Palmerston, in which this was a crucial episode, had a most important bearing on the joint influence of the Queen and Prince Albert. A stage yet more acute was to be faced before the outbreak of the Crimean War, when Palmerston forced the hands of his colleagues in Lord Aberdeen's ministry and frustrated the conciliatory efforts of the Queen. At that juncture the popularity of the minister certainly rose, at the expense of that of the Queen and of the Prince, who had to meet a gathering volume of abuse against his supposed truckling to Russia in deference to personal ties.

After Palmerston's dismissal in 1851 his hold on the nation, often increased by that truculent arrogance by means of which he managed to appear as the chief defender of national honour, grew year by year stronger. He had joined the coalition ministry of Lord Aberdeen in 1853, only to resign in a few weeks, and to compel his colleagues to recall him with added influence. Even the Queen came to recognise that, however faulty his methods

may have been, war had become inevitable, and that the only course left was its vigorous prosecution. When Aberdeen's Government tottered to its fall, Palmerston replaced it. The growing friendship between the Queen and Napoleon III, marked the success of Palmerston precisely in that direction where the sympathies of the Court had once been most in opposition to his own. The temporary defeat of his Chinese policy (March 1857) only enhanced his triumph at the ensuing election.

The incessant anxiety of the Queen during the Indian Mutiny, and the vigilance with which she watched and criticised the action of ministers, continued to give Palmerston food for irritation and to provoke outspoken remonstrance; but substantially the views of the Queen and of the minister came more and more to agree. When, finally, he was defeated, in 1858, on the Conspiracy Bill, which was contrived to punish the attempt of Orsini on the Emperor's life, the point in dispute was one as to which the Queen and he were substantially at one; and she viewed with regret and even with alarm the resignation of a minister with whom she had been obliged to maintain so many and often such acrimonious struggles. Palmerston became Prime Minister again in June 1859. But in the two critical episodes of the period which intervened between his return to power and the Prince Consort's death in December 1861—namely, the war between France and Austria, and the threatened hostilities with America—the Queen and the Prince Consort were able to assert their influence in favour of moderation without provoking any semblance of rupture between themselves and the Prime Minister. The avoidance of a breach with the Northern States was the last occasion on which she was to have that wise and loyal help which for twenty years had been her mainstay, and the memory of which endured as the most permanent influence in her life.

The constitutional struggle had often been acute, and, under the irritation which it caused the Queen, it might easily have led to complications still more serious had it not been for the calmness and restraint which the balanced judgment and unselfish loyalty of the Prince were able to impart to her attitude. Henceforward she was to have other topics of disagreement with her ministers; but that none of them provoked any serious political crisis was

due to the ripened experience and sensitive perception at once of the limits of her prerogative and of the means by which her rightful influence could be exerted, which she owed to the tuition of the Prince. To her native sense of rectitude, to her strenuous adherence to what she believed to be the dictates of duty, he brought only the confirmation of steady and unswerving sympathy; but the constitutional tact which she acquired and which became the most potent influence in her later work, she owed to his masculine grasp of political problems and to the lessons of self-command which he imparted.

Henceforward, under a crushing sense of bereavement which took the light out of her life, the Queen had to face, alone and unaided, a long and heavy task for which her past experience was but a training and preparation. The forty years that were to follow constituted the longest and the most august portion of her reign. These years saw the loyalty which had already been deeply planted in her people's breasts, growing into a stately and wide-spreading tree. They saw the boundaries of the Empire widely extended and knit together with a growing sense of unity, and the name of Victoria inscribed securely on the page of history as at once the symbol of that unity and one of its most potent bonds.

To the task which now faced her she brought those natural gifts of which we have already spoken, now ripened and mellowed by wise guidance and by an already long experience of the difficulties and dangers which beset a constitutional monarch. She had learned where to insist and where to yield, and had skilfully avoided bringing any struggle for her prerogative to the point where defeat or success would have been almost equally fatal to its maintenance. She had learned how to hold in severe restraint a naturally imperious temper; but the very necessity of compliance had taught her how and when her real influence might be safely exercised, and had crystallised that influence into a potent force. These later years brought her into contact with ministers of great intellectual power, backed by enthusiastic party spirit, bent upon carrying out far-reaching schemes, and secure in great parliamentary majorities. None of them sought, none of them would probably have been able, to place such curbs on her influence as she had to endure on

more than one occasion from Lord Palmerston. That this was so in an age of ever-increasing assertion of popular rights was a remarkable tribute to the position which character and ripe experience achieved for her.

It would be difficult, and might be misleading, to attempt to define precisely the line of policy which the Queen pursued, or to say that she consistently pursued any definite line, either in foreign or in domestic affairs. It was in the former of these departments that her main interest lay, and that her opinions were most pronounced. But it is a prevalent fallacy to attribute to the chief actors in a nation's foreign policy one undeviating aim, which permits to the historian that easy classification in which his soul delights. The fallacy, thus encouraged by the historian, is helped by party spirit. Each political party attempts, with somewhat indifferent success and with varying degrees of enthusiasm, to represent its foreign policy as a consistent whole. It repeats certain catchwords, decries certain connexions, advocates certain alliances, because these have obtained a traditional currency as party distinctions. But neither the historian nor the party politician gives nearly sufficient weight to personal predilections, or to those accidental circumstances which upset the shrewdest calculations and alter the balance of international conditions.

We should be equally mistaken if we were to attribute to the Queen's views of foreign politics, which absorbed so much of her attention, any artificial consistency such as is implied in adherence to one principle of policy. It would be idle to pretend—nor does Mr Lee seek to prove—that her own personal relations to many of the reigning families of Europe did not exercise a very large share in determining her bias. She formed no fixed idea as to any scheme for adjusting the balance of power in Europe. She had no preconceived opinion as to the direction in which the Empire should advance, the alliances which it should cultivate, the sources of power in the maintenance of which its energies should be mainly spent, or the principles which this nation should consistently support or oppose. It was not for her to elaborate a doctrinaire scheme of England's proper influence in the world, still less to represent a single political party, or to initiate a policy. She felt it to be a part of proper fidelity to her

order to resist revolution, and not to condone disturbance for the sake of any chimerical scheme of political regeneration. She never allowed a popular cry to influence her, and on several occasions she took a line in foreign politics which was distinctly opposed to that of the majority of her subjects. In her first contest with Lord Palmerston as to the treatment of Mehemet Ali; in the strained relations with Greece over the Don Pacifico affair; in the long dispute as to the Duchy of Schleswig-Holstein; in the support which she gave to Lord Canning's policy after the Indian Mutiny; in her hesitation before the Crimean War; and in her sympathy with the North rather than the South in the American conflict—in all of these she took the side which was distinctly unpopular, at all events with the ruling classes, at the time. In some, at least, of these questions her judgment has been proved by later events to have been wiser than that of her ministers or her people. It is true that we can trace no uniformity of view in her conception of our proper relations with foreign powers; but the aspect of European affairs in her reign neither permitted nor encouraged any such persistence of aim as was needful to the France of Richelieu, or to the England of Chatham or of Pitt. To each case as it occurred she strove to apply a balanced judgment, sufficient for the moment, based on clear information, and on the accumulated experience which unrivalled opportunities had brought her, dominated by the crowning virtue of moderation, clinging to peace while peace was possible, and untiring in effort when an open conflict became inevitable. The only consistency in her views of foreign politics was her rigid obedience to these conditions; and it was this consistency which made her influence so potent as it was.

In the sphere of domestic politics it would be just as absurd to claim the Queen as the consistent ally of either party in the State. Those ecclesiastical questions, which divide the nation so deeply and plunge it into conflicts of such intensity, roused neither her interest nor her sympathy. Her early training inclined her rather to Presbyterianism than Episcopacy; but she never allowed these inclinations perceptibly to affect her conduct. Into the sphere of economical and fiscal legislation she never sought to intrude, regarding the questions involved as

matters of administration with which the Crown ought not to interfere. Without enthusiasm for parliamentary reform, she regarded its settlement as desirable and expedient in the interests of the stability of the constitution. She intervened with strong opinions, which she did not hesitate to express, only when domestic legislation appeared to trench on the prerogatives of the Crown and the integrity of the Empire. She disliked the disestablishment of the Irish Church because it seemed inconsistent with her coronation oath. She disliked army reform, and hesitated long before she consented to issue the royal warrant abolishing purchase, because such measures seemed to threaten one of her most imposing prerogatives. Above all, she regarded the menace of Home Rule as a danger of the first magnitude. But she carried her resistance to the first two measures no further than a protest; the pain and humiliation of the last were spared both to the nation and to herself.

The preservation of the integrity of the Empire, the promotion of its prosperity, the maintenance of the broad lines of its constitution—these, and no preconceived political ideals, were the aims to which she made all her efforts subservient. No previous sovereign formed so clear a notion of the Crown as the central tie that binds together our vast and heterogeneous Empire; and the position which Queen Victoria thus assumed she maintained with ever-increasing force down to the last day of her reign. Her success in this direction proceeded, no doubt, largely from the warmth of her heart and from the readiness of her sympathy, which responded to every phase of national joy and sorrow, and gave utterance to simple but telling words of congratulation or encouragement in every great crisis of the national fate. But it also arose from the profound feeling of confidence which her acts and words increasingly inspired throughout a long career—of confidence in her large wisdom and the uprightness and unselfishness of her aims. A character of consummate rectitude, imperious, but without the least taint of pettiness, blending the simple grace of the domestic virtues with an exalted standard of public duty, formed a unique centre to which the warmth of national enthusiasm might be attracted, and upon which it might be securely anchored. Thus the Queen became indeed a

'mother in Israel'; and the resulting sense of filial and fraternal relationship made a common pulse beat through all her vast dominions. Had it been the contrivance of the most astute politician, and not merely the prompting of a woman's sympathy, the process could not have been more deftly adapted to the great political and imperial object at which it aimed and which it achieved.

Nor can we omit here to note the respect and admiration engendered by her blameless private character and the example of domestic purity and family affection which throughout a long life she set before the world. The effect of such an example can hardly be exaggerated, either in its moral effect upon the nation, or in the increased influence which it lent to the monarchy. The sane and simple domesticity portrayed, for instance, in the 'Journal of our Life in the Highlands,' appealed to multitudes incapable of appreciating the political action of the sovereign. The Queen took the great public, as it were, into her confidence. It was a compliment as wise as it was delicate; and the touch of nature made the palace and the cottage kin. Whatever may be the case in certain sections of society, there can be no doubt that so pure a vision as was presented by the private life and the inner court of Queen Victoria appeals with enormous force to the mass of this nation—to the middle class, which, after all, turns the scale of public opinion in Great Britain and her Colonies, as well as to yet humbler ranks of the people. The personal feeling, the respectful admiration, which this vision inspired, is one of the most potent influences that can at once support a throne and keep a nation sound; and, among all the debts we owe to Queen Victoria, there is none greater than that such an influence was hers.

Such then were the guiding principles which this great Queen brought to the task which, with no partner in her heavy burden, she discharged for forty years. Crushed by a grief for which time admitted no dulling of memory, assailed by ever-recurring sorrows, seeking solace only in unremitting toil for which a woman's strength might well have proved inadequate, she never relaxed her efforts, never allowed her alert and ready sympathy to slumber, never lost heart or hope for her Empire. Time brought its rich reward.

But that reward came slowly : the light only gradually pierced the clouds. It is strange to recall the disloyalty that in those early days of widowhood assailed one whose later years were acclaimed by a people's whole-hearted love and reverence. We revive these memories of ignorant criticism, the fantastic schemes of a crude republicanism, as though they were the disordered figments of a nightmare ; and it is half with shame and half with amusement that we remind ourselves that these formed the theme of responsible politicians, and found an echo in many breasts. Complaints became vociferous that the Queen unduly withdrew herself from the sight of her people, took too little part in social functions, and permitted herself an undue indulgence in the luxury of grief. Little heed was paid to the causes which prevented such public appearances, amongst which ill-health was alone sufficient. It was suggested, with an astonishing want of discretion, that, in the absence of public ceremonial, the cost of the monarchy was money wasted ; and that, if the eyes of the crowd were not dazzled by profuse display, the simplicity and cheapness of republican forms might be a convenient substitute. Those who argued thus were singularly blind to the true value of the Crown as a political institution, to the deeper objects for which it exists, and to the considerations and principles on which public respect for it depends.

That there was some popular discontent there can be no doubt ; and it is painful to read of the vexation which it caused the Queen, and of her complaints that the words which might have dispelled it were not spoken. It might, indeed, have been more chivalrous had those amongst her ministers to whom the Queen appealed taken more energetic steps to correct an impression as to her neglect of public duty which was singularly false, and had they not left remonstrances to be made by the Queen herself in the pages of the 'Court Journal.' But that silence may after all have been a blessing in disguise, for it left the truth to shine out all the more conspicuously when the nation became fully conscious of the lifelong devotion of the Queen, and discovered that in the midst of her troubles she had never neglected the more important if less conspicuous duties of the sovereign.

We confess, however, to a suspicion that Mr Lee somewhat exaggerates the amount of unpopularity that the Queen's withdrawal from the public eye entailed. He has, no doubt, strong ground for his opinion in the feeling which prevailed amongst the Queen's immediate circle, and in the impression which it made upon the Queen herself. But the popular irritation was, we suspect, never very deep, and its manifestations were chiefly to be found in the tirades of journalistic scribblers—always the most fallacious guides. Let us only consider the real facts of human nature. Constancy to a memory, the sacred reverence paid to the affection of a life—these may cause a passing irritation when they jar upon the petty enjoyments of the hour, but none the less they move our admiration and provoke our deeper sympathy. If one whose presence is eagerly sought departs from our company and retreats from the noisy throng under the pressure of a great sorrow, we may regret the decision, but we do not withdraw our affection or dethrone the object of our admiration from its pedestal. That unpopularity is somewhat unreal which fancies itself to entertain a dislike of what it venerates only because it cannot show its veneration as it fain would do. In this case the grumbling was superficial; the real heart of the nation would have been untrue to itself if it had not cherished a secret sympathy. The memory of one significant incident, which Mr Lee recounts, is yet fresh upon us. It was at a meeting in St James's Hall, on December 4, 1866, that Mr Ayrton, a somewhat truculent politician, who achieved a temporary notoriety largely owing to the fantasies of comic opera, denounced in unsparing terms what he was pleased to call the Queen's neglect of public duty. The crowd listened in silence; but when it was the turn of Mr Bright to speak, he gauged the feeling of his audience better, and stirred their hearts by a rebuke which was all the more scathing because its language was studiously moderate.

'I think' (he remarked) 'there has been, by many persons, a great injustice done to the Queen in reference to her desolate and widowed position; and I venture to say this, that a woman, be she the Queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her life and her affection,

is not at all likely to be wanting in a great and generous sympathy with you.'

No other man could have uttered these words with such telling force. The audience would have been false to their English manhood had they failed to respond to the call; and it is not surprising that they declined to listen to the paltry apologies by which Mr Ayrton tried to cover his retreat.

The cloud looked blacker than it really was; and the sustained effort of a courageous heart that never flinched from serious work, and slowly schooled itself to face the ordeal of public functions, completely dispelled it in the end. All the real and vital achievements of a noble life gradually stood out more and more patent to the eyes of all, and transformed those lukewarm feelings which prevailed at the outset of the reign into an intensity of personal devotion and loyalty of which our grandfathers could hardly have had a conception. The influence of this feeling upon the cohesion of the Empire we have already noted. If it was in some sense the effect of Imperial expansion and unity, it was also a potent cause. Mr Lee points out that the result was partly due to 'a force of circumstances not subject to any individual control.' The enthusiasm which gathered round the Queen in her later days was, as he says,

'largely the outcome of the new conception of the British monarchy which sprang from the development of the Colonies and dependencies of Great Britain, and the sudden strengthening of the sense of unity between them and the mother-country.'

But while we admit this to the full, we must not forget the praise that is due to the Queen for the fostering of this feeling, which entered so deeply into her own heart as to become part of the warp and woof of her being.

Suddenly, with only the shortest warning, in the midst of work, and with the burden of anxiety heavy on her, that quick brain, that sympathetic heart, that unsparing energy sank to rest. On January 19th, 1901, the nation was startled by an ominous report: at half-past six on the evening of the 22nd the Queen was dead. No sovereign ever passed from her people amidst a sorrow so

universal and so profound. The successive stages in her obsequies thrilled the heart of the nation like the scenes of a mighty drama, in which not only the spectators themselves, but the whole world seemed to take a part. Each phase of that august ceremonial, as it carried her further from the home of her own choosing, the scene of domestic joys and of long vicissitudes of sorrow, to her final resting-place beneath the shadow of the mightiest of England's palaces, seemed to drop something of the element of mere personal feeling, and to absorb her into the mighty bosom of her Empire's history.

To the keeping of that solemn record we may commit her memory. Two years have passed since we heard that the name which had become familiar as a household word for two generations was now only a memory; that she, who had so long been an active and ruling force in the world's affairs, had become the typical and dominant figure in a momentous epoch of the past. Our first emotions of personal grief are spent, our natural tears are dried. The great Queen stands now before the august tribunal of History, where the verdict on her work must be passed. Time is already permitting us to see that work more and more in its just proportions, to form a judgment more and more dispassionate as it shakes itself free from the accompaniment of personal feeling. Whatever the final verdict may be, we await it with confidence and pride, sure that it will not diminish the lustre of her many virtues, or detract from the permanent importance of her Imperial work.

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CONTENTS

OF

No. 394.—APRIL, 1903.

	PAGE
ART. I.—MONTESQUIEU IN ENGLAND - - - - -	331
1. Histoire de Montesquieu d'après des documents nouveaux et inédits. Par Louis Vian. Deuxième édition. Paris: Didier, 1879.	
2. Mélanges Inédits de Montesquieu. Publiés par le Baron Albert de Montesquieu. Paris: Rouam, 1892. And other works.	
ART. II.—IMPERIAL TELEGRAPHS - - - - -	364
1. Submarine Telegraphs: their History, Construction, and Working. By Charles Bright, F.R.S.E., etc. London: Crosby Lockwood, 1898.	
2. The Pacific Cable. By Charles Bright, F.R.S.E. (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; Bristol Meeting, 1898.) And other works.	
ART. III.—LEPROSY - - - - -	384
1. Mitteilungen und Verhandlungen der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Lepra-Conferenz zu Berlin im Oktober 1897. Berlin: Hirschwald, 1897.	
2. Lepra. Bibliotheca Internationalis. Edited by E. Ehlers (Copenhagen), assisted by George Pernet (London), Marcel Sée (Paris), and W. L. O. Cahnheim (Dresden). Vols I and II. Leipzig: Barth. London: Churchill, 1900-1902. And other works.	
ART. IV.—BYZANTIUM OR RAVENNA? - - - - -	409
1. Le origini della Architettura Lombarda. By G. T. Rivoira. Vol. I. Rome: Loescher, 1901.	
2. The Monastery of St Luke of Stiris in Phocis. By R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley. London: Macmillan, 1901. And other works.	

	PAGE
ART. V.—JOHN GOWER, POET - - - - -	437
The Complete Works of John Gower. Edited from the Manuscripts, with Introductions, Notes, and Glossaries. By G. C. Macaulay. Four vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899–1902.	
And other works.	
ART. VI.—THE MACEDONIAN MAZE - - - - -	459
Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South-Eastern Europe. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of his Majesty. February 1903. (Cd. 1403.)	
And other works.	
ART. VII.—A MILTONIAN ROMANCE - - - - -	484
Nova Solyma, the Ideal City; or Jerusalem Regained. An anonymous Romance written in the time of Charles I, now first drawn from obscurity, and attributed to the illustrious John Milton. With Introduction, etc. By Rev. Walter Begley. London: Murray, 1903.	
ART. VIII.—HELLENISM IN THE EAST - - - - -	503
The House of Seleucus. By E. R. Bevan. Two vols. London: Arnold, 1902.	
And other works.	
ART. IX.—THE PROVINCIAL MIND - - - - -	522
ART. X.—THE NEEDS OF RURAL ENGLAND - - - - -	540
Rural England: being an account of Agricultural and Social Researches carried out in the years 1901 and 1902. By H. Rider Haggard. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1902.	
And other works.	
ART. XI.—THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION - - - - -	569
Reports of the Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland. London: Spottiswoode, 1901–1903. (Cd. 826, 900, 1229, 1483, 1484.)	
And other works.	
ART. XII.—THE CONSULAR SERVICE AND ITS WRONGS -	598
The Foreign Office List, 1903. London: Harrison and Sons.	
And other works.	
ART. XIII.—LONDON EDUCATION AND THE ACT OF 1902 -	627
Statutes . . . passed in 1902, with Notes, incorporated Enactments, and selected Statutory Rules. By J. M. Lely, Barrister-at-Law. London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1903.	
And other works.	

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Art. I.—MONTESQUIEU IN ENGLAND.

1. *Histoire de Montesquieu d'après des documents nouveaux et inédits.* Par Louis Vian. Deuxième édition. Paris: Didier, 1879.
2. *Mélanges Inédits de Montesquieu.* Publiés par le Baron Albert de Montesquieu. Paris: Rouam, 1892.
3. *Voyages de Montesquieu.* Publiés par le Baron Albert de Montesquieu. Tomes I et II. Bordeaux: Gounouilhon, 1894.

THE year which witnessed the departure of Voltaire from our shores witnessed the advent of another of his illustrious countrymen. Voltaire's memorable visit came to a close in the spring of 1729; in the following autumn arrived Montesquieu. The abundant material which throws light on Voltaire's movements and experiences while he was among us is unfortunately not accessible in the case of Montesquieu. By a singular fatality, or rather series of fatalities, almost all those documents which would have enabled us to trace his career during this interesting part of his life have been destroyed or mislaid. We know from Maty that he regularly corresponded with Chesterfield—who was his host during a portion at least of his visit—and Chesterfield with him; but of the letters which passed between them, not one has been preserved. We are enabled by the courtesy of Sir Robert Herbert to state that, though there are many memoranda among the Chesterfield papers bearing on the period of Montesquieu's visit, there is nothing which has any reference to him.

It is highly probable that he recorded as fully and carefully his impressions of England and of the English

as he did of the other countries which he visited in the course of his travels; but such records are represented only by the 'Notes sur l'Angleterre,' published in 1818, which are so meagre and trivial that they have all the appearance of being garbled and mutilated. To the history of his manuscripts we shall presently recur, but we may here remark in passing that it is not unlikely that his grandson, Charles Louis, who settled, became naturalised, married, and passed some thirty-four years of his life in England, dying at his seat, Bridge Hill House, near Canterbury, in 1824, deliberately destroyed the missing commentaries. He was, we are told, grateful to England for the asylum which she had afforded him during his exile, and had become much attached to his adopted country. Such notes as have been preserved sufficiently indicate the probable tendency of the fuller commentaries, for nothing could be more offensively anti-English than these jottings; and Montesquieu's grandson, from considerations of courtesy and gratitude, might well have wished a more elaborate expression of such sentiments to be suppressed. Enough, however, may be gathered from various sources to sketch, at least in outline, an important episode in the history of the literary relations between England and France.

We are sorry to begin, as we are obliged to begin, by finding fault with the only attempt which has, as yet, been made to throw light on this passage in Montesquieu's biography. The chapter in M. Vian's 'Histoire de Montesquieu' dealing with the visit to England is the most unsatisfactory part of his work; it is jejune and superficial, and is, moreover, full of errors and misrepresentations, and that not in trifles but in matters of capital importance. A few of these we will specify.

Montesquieu did not travel with Chesterfield in Italy, as M. Vian states; he did not even meet him there, for Chesterfield was then in residence as ambassador at the Hague. Nor is there any evidence that he met Chesterfield at the Club de l'Entresol in Paris. He met him, as he himself tells us, for the first time at the Hague, with a letter of introduction from Lord Waldegrave ('Voyages,' ii, 235).^{*} There is no evidence that he stayed with Ches-

^{*} Vian, p. 115, and this is reasserted by M. Zévort. See his 'Montesquieu,' pp. 130, 131.

terfield during the whole of his visit to England; and indeed this is impossible, for the Earl was only occasionally in England. There is no evidence that Montesquieu left England in April 1731; and to support this, as well as the assertion that he resided with Chesterfield, M. Vian has recourse to an expedient which cannot be sufficiently reprehended. He quotes a letter of Fontenelle's, which he describes as dated 1731, and as being addressed to Lord Chesterfield's house: we turn to the letter and find that it has no date and no address.* In M. Vian's account of Montesquieu's introduction to the Queen, and of his conversation with her at Kensington in 1730, we are actually informed that the Queen was Queen Charlotte! Nor does M. Vian add anything to our knowledge of this episode in Montesquieu's life beyond what may be gathered from perfectly obvious sources.

It is scarcely necessary to say that Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brède, afterwards Baron de Montesquieu, sprang from a family long distinguished by its soldiers and its lawyers, and was born at La Brède, near Bordeaux, on January 18, 1689. He received his early education at the hands of the Oratorians at Juilly, and at Juilly he remained from his twelfth to his twenty-second year. He then went through a course of legal study, and was entered as Counsellor in the Parliament of Bordeaux in 1714. In the following year he married, and about two years afterwards became *Président à mortier*, his uncle, the head of the family, who held this office, having bequeathed it to him, together with all his property, on condition that he would take the title of Montesquieu. The condition and the responsibilities were accepted by him, but his heart was neither in his work nor in his home. His wife was plain and homely; his official duties were dry and most distasteful to him; but he neglected neither. If in private life, as a husband and father, and in public life, as a magistrate and citizen, he reduced his responsibilities to a minimum, he decorously and punctually discharged them. The rest of his time he gave to congenial friends wherever he could find them—and he sought them assiduously among the choice spirits of his

* See 'Œuvres de Fontenelle' (Paris, 1818), vol. II, p. 566. The letter does not appear in the edition cited by M. Vian, Paris, 1758.

age—to his studies, to his liaisons, and to ambition. In his temperament there was a singular mixture of the philosopher and of the libertine, of austerity and of voluptuousness. In the ‘*Lettres Persanes*’ we find these characteristics blended; in the ‘*Temple de Gnide*,’ and in the ‘*Considérations sur la Grandeur et Décadence des Romains*,’ in remarkable and curious contrast; in the ‘*Esprit des Lois*’ occasionally discernible.

Montesquieu’s attention was directed to anatomy, botany, and natural history. But he was of Gascon descent, and the Gascon strain in him soon led him to less positive studies; and he fell under the fascination of Montaigne, with whom constitutionally he had so much in common. Indeed, in the admirable portrait which he has given of himself in his ‘*Pensées Diverses*,’ he might be describing his master.

‘*L’étude*,’ writes this happy man, ‘a été pour moi le souverain remède contre les dégoûts de la vie, n’ayant jamais eu de chagrin qu’une heure de lecture n’ait dissipé. . . . Je suis presque aussi content avec des sots qu’avec des gens d’esprit; car il y a peu d’hommes si ennuyeux qui ne m’aient amusé.’

His thirst for knowledge, for all that could be gathered from books, from observation and experience grew insatiable. He revelled in the Latin classics; he devoured history and political philosophy; he explored the ancient philosophies, being particularly attracted by stoicism; and, as the fruit of these studies, he produced for the Academy at Bordeaux two essays, entitled respectively, ‘*La Politique des Romains dans la Religion*,’ and ‘*Le Système des Idées*.’ Fiction and *belles-lettres* were the recreation of his lighter moments; ‘*Télémaque*’ he pronounced to be a divine work; and in ‘*The Thousand-and-one Nights*,’ we are told, he absolutely revelled. But what chiefly interested him and soon formed the centre of his studies was man, not regarded psychologically so much as in relation to politics and society. Of manners, of character, of all in which human nature reveals itself, he was an acute and unwearied observer. With him, though he had as much delight within the walls of a library as Goethe and Wagner, the world of books was but the vestibule to the world of active life; in no writer were the instincts of the scholar and recluse more happily tempered with

the instincts of the philosopher, the philanthropist, and the critic of society and manners.

All this found expression, before he had completed his thirty-third year, in a work which has long lost its vogue, but which will find delighted readers as long as the French language exists. The scheme of the 'Lettres Persanes' was suggested partly by Dufresny and partly by Chardin's Persian travels; but what constitutes the vitality, the power, the charm of these brilliant sketches and studies belongs solely to Montesquieu. There can be little doubt that the twin brothers Usbec and Rica were drawn from Montesquieu himself; the one is Montesquieu the philosopher, the other is Montesquieu the painter and satirist. The work is a masterly picture and an equally masterly analysis of the world of which Saint-Simon was the historian and Dubois the type; of a world of libertines and harlots, of fribbles and sycophants, without religion, without heart, and without hope.

But Montesquieu is neither a Tacitus nor a Knox; on his brow is no scowl, in his mouth no jeremiad. To the *dulcia vitia* of that corrupt time he may certainly be described as pandering. Nothing, in truth, could be more grossly licentious than many passages in these letters. His social sketches are inimitable; his satire, though not without touches as severe and poignant as anything in La Bruyère, is the perfection of urbane and delicate mockery. But when he scans society with the eye of a patriot and a political philosopher, he assumes quite a different tone; and there are many passages which read like extracts from the 'Esprit des Lois.' Of all his writings these letters most comprehensively illustrate his genius and temper; and of all his writings they were, and always have been, the most popular.

The 'Lettres' could not, of course, be published in France, or appear with the author's name. A sagacious friend, indeed, attempted to dissuade him from giving them to the world at all, adding, however, that, if published, they would 'sell like bread.' To escape proscription they were, like Pascal's 'Provinciales,' printed at Rouen, and published at Amsterdam. Within a year they had run through four editions and four pirated reprints. Their authorship was soon an open secret; and Montesquieu tasted all the sweets of fame. A nobleman as well as an

author, he soon counted among his friends the great men and the great ladies who were the flower of Parisian society—the Comte de Caylus, Maurepas, the Chevalier d'Aydes, Madame de Lambert, Madame du Deffand. At Chantilly he was the guest of the Duke de Bourbon, whose sister, Mademoiselle de Clermont, is said to have inspired the 'Temple de Gnide.' This work, in which Montesquieu gave the reins to the voluptuous fancies in which, in the 'Persian Letters,' he had only occasionally indulged, was published at Paris in 1725. It does him little honour even as an artist, and might, without loss, have gone the way of the various *bonnes fortunes* which, according to the Abbé de Voisenon, it brought him.

He was now anxious for the honour to which every *savant* and man of letters with any title to distinction aspired. A member of the Academy having just died, Montesquieu became a candidate for the vacant place, and was elected. But the author of the 'Persian Letters,' if he had many powerful friends, had many equally powerful enemies, who gained the ear of Louis XV. The King, thus prejudiced against him, refused to confirm the election, on the ground that Montesquieu did not reside in Paris; and Montesquieu returned in pique to Bordeaux. Two years afterwards, having disposed of his Presidentship, and settled in Paris, he again presented himself. This time he had the support of the director, Marshal d'Estrées, who at last succeeded in gaining over Fleury; and the coveted honour was conferred on him in January 1728. His 'Address,' which was unusually brief, disappointed every one. The truth was that courtesy and decorum compelled him to say much that was against his conscience; panegyrics on Richelieu and Louis XIV were strange things to come from the lips of the author of the 'Persian Letters'; and he felt, no doubt, the humiliation of having to pronounce them.

He now began to prepare himself seriously for the composition of the 'Esprit des Lois,' the first sketches of which he appears to have begun after his return from Paris to Bordeaux. Accordingly, he determined to investigate the constitutions and characteristics of all the chief countries in Europe, and to collect by personal observation and enquiry the materials necessary for his work. Setting out from Paris with Lord Waldegrave, he

first visited Germany and Austria. In Vienna he was received by Prince Eugène, and seriously thought of abandoning his literary pursuits and adopting diplomacy as a profession. That, however, was not to be. He next visited Hungary, and from Hungary he passed to Italy. In the spring of 1729 he left Italy, and spent the greater part of that year in Switzerland, in the Rhine country, and in Holland. At the Hague he made the acquaintance of Lord Chesterfield, and in October sailed with him in his yacht to England.

Of his experiences in these countries he made full and elaborate notes, the most voluminous and valuable being the records of his journeys in Italy, Germany, and Holland. These have been preserved in their entirety. Of his notes on Austria and Hungary we have only fragments; and that seems to be the case also with the notes on England. Till 1894 these records, with the exception of the jottings on England, remained in manuscript; but between that year and 1896 the late Baron Albert de Montesquieu, with the assistance of M. Céleste, published them. The history of the Montesquieu manuscripts, of which these records form only a portion, is so interesting that it well deserves a digression.

When Montesquieu died in 1755, his son, Jean Baptiste, inherited his manuscripts. A year or two afterwards an elaborate edition of Montesquieu's works was prepared by Richer for the press, and Jean Baptiste was asked to allow the unpublished papers to be included in it. But he was by no means sure that their publication would be judicious, so he consulted a friend, one Latapie, in whose judgment he had great confidence. Latapie was opposed to their publication, very sensibly observing:

'tout ce qui intéresse des amis n'intéresse pas également le public, toujours très sévère sur ce qu'on lui présente d'un homme célèbre, parce qu'il le juge d'après lui-même, d'après le point de perfection où il a porté ses premiers ouvrages'

—an observation which, especially in these days, might often with advantage be remembered. In accordance with this advice, Jean Baptiste refused his consent to the publication of the manuscripts; and Richer's edition, which appeared in 1758, appeared without them. Their

suppression was greatly regretted by Montesquieu's many admirers; and, some years later, Jean Baptiste was most absurdly taunted with having withheld them because he was jealous of his father's reputation, he himself being a candidate for fame on the strength of certain unimportant contributions to natural history. However, in 1783, he gave to the world one of the unpublished papers, 'Arsace et Isménie,' and, having done so, turned the key on the rest.

Jean Baptiste died in 1795, and the manuscripts passed into the hands of his son, Charles Louis, whose property was confiscated after the Reign of Terror, he himself having emigrated to England. In 1795 another edition of Montesquieu's works was in preparation, and again the publisher desired to include the manuscripts. Accordingly, he wrote to one Darcet, who had in his youth been tutor to Jean Baptiste, and was acquainted with Latapie, asking him to communicate with Latapie. Latapie stated in reply that the manuscripts could not be found; that Jean Baptiste had fled during the Terror, taking them with him; and that his widow did not know where they were deposited. All that Latapie could do, he said, was to give from memory a list of the pieces; and that he did very accurately, as afterwards appeared. Meanwhile, it turned out that the manuscripts were in the possession of one Joachim Lainé and his brother Honorat, to whom Jean Baptiste had entrusted them before his death in 1795. The Lainés transmitted them to Charles Louis after his 'radiation de la liste des émigrés,' and the restoration of his property in 1801. By him they were deposited somewhere in London, where they remained for some years after the Baron's death. At last, on an application being made for them by the Prefect of the Gironde in the name of the representatives of Montesquieu's family, the descendants of his daughter—for the male branch had become extinct—they were returned to La Brède.

But the history of their strange vicissitudes was not yet ended. Lainé expressed a desire to edit them, and many of them were sent to him for that purpose; but he died without carrying out his intention. Then one Aimé Martin, with the assistance of Honorat Lainé, took up the work; but both died without making any way in it, and without returning the papers to La Brède. On their

recovery it was found that some of them were missing. The Baron de Montesquieu now determined that they should never again leave La Brède, and continued for many years to turn a deaf ear to all applications even to inspect them.

At last it was determined that they should see the light. In 1891 two tracts were printed; in the following year appeared a still more interesting instalment, edited by the Baron de Montesquieu himself, '*Mélanges Inédits*.' Next appeared the '*Voyages*'; and the others are now in course of publication. Montesquieu's fame is not likely to gain by anything which appears in these papers, and many pieces were certainly not worth printing. Indeed, if we except the '*Voyages*'—which are of interest for reasons quite unconnected with literary merit, of which they have very little—we are by no means sure that Latapie's original advice was not after all the best.

But to turn from Montesquieu's manuscripts to Montesquieu himself. It does not appear that he had prepared himself for his visit to England by acquiring the language; but that he had studied English history with care is clear from the hundred and fourth Persian letter. To English society he had the best of introductions, for his sponsors were the Earls of Waldegrave and Chesterfield. No man was more respected and popular in diplomatic and fashionable circles than Waldegrave, who was grandson on his mother's side of James II and Arabella Churchill, and nephew of Marshal Berwick. With Berwick, whose acquaintance he had made in 1716, when Berwick was commandant in Guienne, Montesquieu was on intimate terms; and it is not unlikely that his intimacy with the uncle led to his intimacy with the nephew. Waldegrave was at this time minister plenipotentiary at Vienna, but had been called to Paris as one of the representatives of England at the Congress of Soissons. At Paris, Montesquieu met him, and the two men soon became great friends.

Waldegrave was in a delicate and most difficult position, in which it is quite possible that Montesquieu may indirectly have been of service to him. He had been instructed to watch Berwick and the Jacobite leaders, who, with Chauvelin, were doing all in their power to exasperate

Fleury against England, and to thwart the negotiations preliminary to the Treaty of Seville. On Montesquieu's return from his travels, Waldegrave presented him to George II at Hanover; and shortly afterwards he did him another and more useful service by introducing him to Chesterfield. Chesterfield had, about a year and a half before, been appointed ambassador at the Hague, and was at this time residing there in that capacity. Montesquieu arrived at the Hague about the middle of October 1729. The author of the 'Persian Letters' and the friend of Madame du Deffand and of the Duke of Bourbon had no doubt little need to present the letter of introduction with which Waldegrave had furnished him. Chesterfield received him most graciously, and, on hearing that he was on his way to England, told him that he was about to leave for England himself, and offered him a place in his yacht. Montesquieu gladly accepted the offer, and the two friends—for cordial friends they had become during the voyage—arrived in London on Thursday morning, October 23, 1729.*

He found himself, he writes to his friend Cerati, in a country which bore very little resemblance to any other in Europe. He was by no means favourably impressed by London. The streets, he complains, were quite frightful, so badly paved, and so full of holes and ruts that it was almost impossible for a carriage to make its way along them; and the carriages were as frightful as the streets. The passenger, he says, on scrambling into them, found himself seated on an elevation as high as a theatre; but, high as this was, over him towered the coachman and the luggage. In peril alike from what was above and from what was below, the unhappy traveller was indeed to be pitied if he had not made his will.† The houses that overhung the streets he thought grim and ugly; and, with a few exceptions, he saw nothing to admire in the architecture of the churches and of the public

* 'Universal Spectator.' for Saturday, October 25, 1729. 'Thursday morning the Right Honourable the Earl of Chesterfield arrived here from the Hague.' It is strange that Montesquieu in his 'Notes sur l'Angleterre' should say that he left the Hague on the last day of October. 'Je partis le dernier octobre 1729 de la Haye.' The newspaper is hardly likely to be in error.

† 'Lettres Fam.,' 'Œuvres Complètes' (edit. Laboulaye), vol. vii, p. 229; and 'Notes sur l'Angleterre.'

buildings. But he was pleased with the parks and the many *rura in urbe* which were so conspicuous in the London of those times. A jotting in the 'Notes' no doubt sums up his general impression. 'It seems to me,' he writes, 'that Paris is a beautiful city with some ugly things; London an ugly city with some beautiful things.' The gloom of the climate oppressed him, and he had no difficulty, he said, in understanding why the English were so addicted to suicide.

In the life and habits of the lower classes he seems to have taken no interest, but the aristocracy and the middle classes he studied with minute attention. He notices the gross sensuality everywhere prevalent. 'An ordinary Englishman,' he says, 'must have a good dinner, a woman, and comfort. So long as he has the means of getting these, he is contented; if these means fail him, he either commits suicide or turns thief. As he gorges himself with meat, he is very robust till he is about forty or forty-five; at that age he breaks up.' Corruption he found universal. 'La corruption s'est mise dans toutes les conditions.' 'The sovereign power here,' he wrote, 'is gold; honour and virtue are held in small esteem. The English are a free people, but they do not deserve their liberty; they sell it to the King, and if the King returned it to them they would sell it to him again. Every vote is for sale; some of the Scotch members being contented to receive 200*l.* a year as the price of their supporting the Government.' He comments with the greatest disgust on a story he had heard of an English gentleman who had given a hundred guineas on condition that for each one he had given he should receive ten whenever he appeared on the stage. He adds that extraordinary things are sometimes done in France, but they are done to spend money; extraordinary things in England, but they are done to get money. So far, he continues, from there being any honour and virtue here, there is not even the idea of them.

'I do not judge England by such men as these, but I do judge her by the approbation which she gives them. If such men were regarded as they would be regarded in France, they would never have dared to degrade themselves in such a way.'

But what he dwells on most is the coldness and reserve of the English, and the impossibility of making friends with

them. 'It is lamentable,' he says, 'to hear the complaints of strangers, and especially of the French, who visit England. They say that they cannot make a friend; that the longer they remain the less way they can make; that their civilities are regarded as insults. But how,' he asks, 'can the English love strangers when they do not love themselves? how can they ask us to dine with them when they do not dine with each other?'

'If it be pleaded that one comes to a country to be loved and honoured, the answer is that neither is necessary. We must do as the people of the country do, live for ourselves, care for no one, love no one, count on no one. When I am in France I make friends with every one; in England I make friends with no one; in Italy I pay compliments to every one; in Germany I drink with every one.'

'The English,' he says in his '*Pensées Diverses*,' 'are so occupied that they have not time to be polite; but if they have little politeness they are never unpolite' ('vous font peu de politesses, mais jamais d'impolitesse'). He notices the originality of the English character; they will not even imitate the ancients whom they admire. Their performances are not so much like the regular products of nature as the freaks in which she has been guided by happy accidents. He notes also their freedom from prejudice. They have no bias in favour of war, of birth, of titles and dignities, of success with women, of any honours which ministers can bestow; all they wish is that men should be men; they value two things only, riches and merit.* But they are full of envy, and think less of their own prosperity than of the prosperity of others; and this spirit he discerns in all our laws relating

* '*Pensées Diverses*,' '*Œuvres Complètes*' (ed. Laboulaye), vol. vii, p. 169. It is impossible not to be struck with the similarity between Montesquieu's picture of the English temper and character and that given by Goldsmith in '*The Traveller*.' After commenting on the mildness of the climate, he goes on to say:

'Extremes are only in the master's mind.
Stern o'er each bosom Reason holds her state
With daring aims irregularly great.

Fierce in their native hardness of soul,
'True to imagin'd right, above control,
While e'en the peasant boasts these rights to scan
And learns to venerate himself as man.'

to navigation and commerce.* To the influence of the climate he attributes two other characteristics peculiar to the English temper—the depression, the *tædium vitæ* which so often leads them to self-destruction, and the impatience, not to be confounded with levity, which makes them incapable of allowing things to remain long in the same state.†

He speaks with admiration of the quick-witted intelligence which he found almost universal. ‘It is impossible,’ he says, ‘to be too clever in dealing with the English. A man who is not as quick-witted as themselves can never understand them and will always be deceived by them,’ adding that the ministers of his time knew no more of the people of this country than a baby; and he instances D’Hiberville and Kinski, D’Hiberville being fooled by the Jacobites and Kinski by the representations of the Tories. He notices how, beneath the seething and tossing surface of a society agitated by as many factions as human nature has passions, lay solid and immovable a bottom of sound practical good sense. ‘To judge England,’ he says, ‘by what appears in the newspapers, one would expect a revolution to-morrow; but all that is signified is, that the people, like the people of every other country, grumble at their governors, and are free to express what the people in other countries are only allowed to think.’ But, though there is much malice, there is no mischief. ‘A man in England,’ he says, ‘may have as many enemies as he has hairs on his head, yet no harm befalls him.’

Forgetting apparently the money which he himself made out of his own vineyards, he seems to have had something very like contempt for the mercantile spirit, which extended even to the aristocracy; and he conceives that the custom of allowing the nobility to engage in trade is one of those things which has most contributed to weaken the monarchy.‡ ‘Had I been born in England, I should not,’ he says, ‘console myself for not having made a fortune; in France I am by no means uneasy at not having done so.’§ Of the young noblemen in England he gives anything but a flattering account. ‘They may

* See ‘L’Esprit des Loix,’ bk xx, chap. vii.

† Ib. bk xiv, chap. xiii

‡ Ib. bk xx, ch. xxi.

§ ‘Pensées Diverses,’ works, vii, 155.

be divided,' he says, 'into two classes. The first consists of those who have some pretensions to learning because they have been a long time at the universities, and that has given them bad manners and a constrained and awkward air; the others know absolutely nothing.' By English women he was plainly not attracted; he found them more unresponsive and repellent than the men. They imagine, he says, that a stranger who speaks to them wishes to insult them. '*Je ne veux point, dis-elles, give to him encouragement.*' He made no friends among them, nor does he in his subsequent correspondence, if we remember rightly, while frequently referring to his English acquaintance, mention any lady.

Of the state of religion in England, he gives a very unfavourable account, fully corroborating what Bishop Butler says in the preface to the 'Analogy.' 'There is,' he writes in his 'Notes,' 'no religion in England; in the Houses of Parliament prayers are never attended by more than four or five members, except on great occasions. If one speaks of religion, every one laughs.' The very phrase 'an article of faith' provokes ridicule. Referring to the committee which had recently been appointed to enquire into the state of religion, he says that it was regarded with contempt. In France he himself passed as having too little religion, in England as having too much; and yet, he grimly adds, 'there is no nation that has more need of religion than the English, for those who are not afraid to hang themselves ought to be afraid of being damned.'* To the Deistic controversy, curiously enough, he makes no reference; but he observes of Whiston's work on the Miracles that it was not calculated to improve the morals of the people.

In parliamentary affairs and in the politics of the time he was, as might be expected, profoundly interested. He attended the sittings of both Houses; he took notes of the debates; and he made a thorough study of our constitution and government, the results of which were afterwards embodied in two of the most brilliant and masterly chapters of the '*Esprit des Lois*,' namely, the sixth chapter of Book XI, and the twenty-seventh chapter of Book XIX.

* '*Pensées Diverses*,' works, vii, 167.

The evils inherent in party-government have, perhaps, never been so strikingly illustrated as in the history of Walpole's administration, from the appearance of the 'Craftsman,' in December 1726, to his fall in 1743. That he contrived to prevent England embroiling herself with continental affairs, and assisted in maintaining the peace of Europe at a most critical time; that he saved us from the miseries and horrors of a disputed succession; that he secured the repose which his country so sorely needed after the Treaty of Utrecht, and thus enabled her to develop her trade and domestic industries; that he passed many wise measures, and laid the foundations of a mercantile prosperity without precedent in our history—all this must in justice be conceded. But it was purchased at a heavy price. Never, since the days of the Cabal, had England sunk so low in all that constitutes the true life of a great people. The picture which Montesquieu painted is not a shade too dark. Walpole openly scoffed at principle, at virtue, at honour, at religion. Coarse almost to brutality in his manners, in his conversation, in his tastes, he cared for nothing but politics; and politics with him meant little more than the management of the House of Commons and the maintenance of his supremacy.

The important services which Walpole rendered to his country were the result of great abilities accidentally directed, in the course of a party game, to beneficent and legitimate objects. The only difference between himself and the Opposition was that he was in power and responsible, while they were out of power and irresponsible; he had to act, and to stand or fall by his actions; they had only to criticise, to protest, to clamour. He had the support of the Crown and the command of the public purse; they had what they could compass and effect by unscrupulous intrigue, and the equally unscrupulous use of the tongue and of the pen. He bribed, and they preached; he, with the means of corruption, practised it; they, without the means, denounced it. As he was in alliance with the Court, they thundered against royal favourites and appealed to the country. A very happy title was adopted by them for the double purpose of reflecting by implication on Walpole's policy, and of disguising the monstrous incongruity of such a coalition as they themselves represented: they called themselves

Patriots, and their tactics were simple and uniform—vexatious opposition to every measure, good or bad, which Walpole brought forward, and the inculcation of a policy in foreign and domestic affairs which had no other aim than to thwart and discredit his.

Montesquieu arrived in England when these ignoble feuds were at their height, and the 'Craftsman' had become so rancorous and unmeasured in its abuse that each number, before it issued from the press, was submitted to three lawyers to see that nothing in it could be brought technically within the law of libel.* In March 1729 the Treaty of Seville had been signed, and the Patriots were taunting Walpole with deserting our old ally Austria, and pandering to our old enemies France and Spain. The treaty had also furnished them with a pretext for harping once more on the grievance of maintaining a standing army in time of peace.

The first debate which Montesquieu attended was on the 28th of January, 1730. The question before the House was a motion, introduced by the Secretary at War, and seconded by Sir William Yonge, for keeping up the number of the land forces during the year. It was opposed by Shippen in a vigorous and eloquent speech. The accuracy of the notes taken by Montesquieu is corroborated by the report of the speech in the 'Parliamentary History'; but he gives some interesting particulars which are not found elsewhere. Shippen, after observing that the troops were not needed,

'considering the glorious scene of affairs which the honourable gentleman says is opened to us and to all Europe'—the reference is to the Treaty of Seville—goes on to say, 'Force and violence are the resort of usurpers and tyrants only.' ('Parl. Hist.' viii, 772.)

At these words, says Montesquieu, 'toute la chambre fut étonnée'; but, according to the 'Parliamentary History,' the orator continued thus:

'I perceive some gentlemen take offence at my words, and therefore, that they may not be misconstrued, I will repeat them (*et lui les répéta une seconde fois*). I assert, then, that it is a grounded maxim in civil science that force and violence

* This particular we owe to Montesquieu, 'Notes sur l'Angleterre.'

are the resort of usurpers and tyrants only, because they are with good reason distrustful of the people whom they oppress, and because they have no other security for the continuance of their unlawful and unnatural dominion than what depends entirely on the strength of their armies.'

He concluded, according to the report in the 'Parliamentary History,' with a humorous and sarcastic assurance that, however frugal he was inclined to be with regard to the expenditure of public money, there was one item in the Estimates which he did not grudge, and that was the salary of 200*l.* a year for the physician of the Tower. They were all interested, he said, and particularly the Opposition, in maintaining a competent medical officer in that particular place, 'for members of this House have been frequently sent thither, and for very different reasons, some for speaking freely, others for acting corruptly'—an allusion to Walpole's incarceration in 1712. Of this part of the speech Montesquieu says nothing, but he refers to a detail not reported in the 'History,' namely, that the speaker repudiated Hanoverian maxims. 'Il dit ensuite qu'il n'aimoit pas les maximes hanovriennes.' He also related—and of this there is no hint in the 'History'—that the excitement caused by the speech, and the fear of what the debate might lead to, were so great that it was abruptly brought to a close by cries on all sides of 'Divide, divide.'* 'Tout le monde cria "aux voix," afin d'arrêter le débat.'

The next debate, or rather series of debates, of which Montesquieu gives an account, and at some of which he appears to have been present, were the debates on the Pension Bill. This Bill was perhaps the most ingenious of the many manoeuvres of the Patriots. Walpole's strength lay in the support given him by those who were in the receipt of pensions or in the possession of places conferred by, and dependent on, the Crown. The Bill, introduced by Sandys and supported by the whole body of the Opposition, struck at the root of that corruption on which he mainly depended for securing his majorities. It proposed to disable any one from sitting in Parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure or for

* For all this see 'Notes sur l'Angleterre,' and Cobbett's 'Parl. Hist.' (edit. 1811), viii, 771-773.

a number of years, or any offices held in trust for them from the Crown; and to require from every member sitting in the House a statement on oath that he was not in receipt of such patronage.

The King, who called it 'a villainous Bill' which ought 'to be torn to pieces in every particular,' was as indignant as Walpole was perplexed. But Walpole was more than a match for his crafty opponents. As he knew what popular capital could be made out of an appeal against corruption—for it is one thing for men to defend and quite another thing to practise or utilise it—he allowed it to pass the Commons, knowing perfectly well that it would be rejected by the Lords. He thus threw the responsibility of its defeat on the Upper House, and so relieved himself and his supporters in the Commons of any odium which might be incurred by rejecting a measure so evidently framed in the interests of political virtue. It is not quite clear whether Montesquieu's notes refer to the debates of February 1730, when the Bill was first introduced, or to those of February 1731, when it was introduced a second time. In any case he gives some details, including a report of part of a speech of Townshend's in the House of Lords, which are not to be found, so far as we know, elsewhere. 'Why do we always allow ourselves to incur the odium of always rejecting this Bill? We ought to increase its penalties and so frame the Bill that the Commons would reject it themselves.' So, in accordance with this happy suggestion, the Lords proceeded to increase the penalty against the corrupter and corrupted from 10*l.* to 500*l.*, and decided that disputed elections should be tried by the ordinary judges and not by a committee of the House. 'It was a wonderful Bill,' adds Montesquieu, 'for it passed against the will of the Commons, the Peers, and the King.' He was evidently ignorant of the tactics of Walpole, and could hardly have been behind the scenes in English politics.

But by far the most interesting of Montesquieu's experiences of parliamentary methods was gained during the debate of March 2, 1730, on the affair of Dunkirk. It will be remembered that one of the provisions of the Treaties of Utrecht and of the Hague was that the port and fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished. This condition the French had been very reluctant to fulfil; and

the work of demolition had been so often interrupted, and had proceeded so slowly, that several protests had been made against this dilatoriness in the last reign. Finally, however, the destruction was, or was believed to be, completed. But towards the end of 1729 Bolingbroke had been informed that the inhabitants of Dunkirk had rebuilt and repaired what had been destroyed or half destroyed. The report was confirmed by his secretary, a drunken, blundering rascal, whom he had sent to enquire into the matter. He saw with joy what political capital could be made out of the information, and at once communicated it to the Opposition. The 'Craftsman' set to work. A cry was raised that the French were violating the Treaties of Utrecht and the Hague, and defying England; and it was insinuated that Walpole, in his sympathy with our old enemies, was conniving at their conduct. An address was presented to the King, praying that he would be pleased to give directions that the orders, instructions, reports, and all proceedings in regard to the port and harbour of Dunkirk since the demolition should be laid before the House. On the following day the King acceded to the request. The result was a debate almost without parallel in the heat and fury with which it was conducted. It lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon till nearly three o'clock in the morning of the following day. Walpole, knowing the source of all the misrepresentations on which the action of the Opposition had been based, as well as its object, took occasion to review the career of Bolingbroke, his treason, his treachery, his base ingratitude. Wyndham defended him, and drew a comparison between his friend and Walpole. Pelham answered Wyndham, and Bolingbroke again became the subject of a scathing exposure and philippic.

'In my opinion,' says Horace Walpole, 'it was the greatest day, with respect to the thing itself and the consequences of it, both at home and abroad, for his Majesty and the present ministry that I ever knew, and must, I think, prove a thunderbolt to the adversaries here as well as to their friends on your side the water.' *

Of this debate there are two accounts, one given by

* Letter to Harrington; Coxe's 'Walpole,' I, 324.

Horace Walpole in his letter to Harrington, a passage from which we have just quoted, and the account given by Montesquieu. Of the speeches made, no reports have come down to us; so the extract given by Montesquieu from Walpole's speech is of particular interest. There is only one discrepancy. Walpole says the debate began 'about five in the afternoon,' Montesquieu says it began 'une heure après midi.' It may be well in this case to give Montesquieu's account in the original:

'J'allai avant-hier au Parlement à la Chambre Basse; on y traita de l'affaire de Dunkerque. Je n'ai jamais vu un si grand feu. La séance dura depuis une heure après midi jusqu'à trois heures après minuit. Là, les François furent malmenés; je remarquai jusqu'où va l'affreuse jalousie qui est entre les deux nations. M. Walpole attaqua Bolingbroke de la façon la plus cruelle, et disoit qu'il avoit mené toute cette intrigue. Le chevalier Windham le défendit. M. Walpole raconta en faveur de Bolingbroke l'histoire du paysan qui, passant avec sa femme sous un arbre, trouva qu'un homme pendu respiroit encore. Il le détacha et le porta chez lui; il revint. Ils trouvèrent le lendemain que cet homme leur avoit volé leurs fourchettes; ils dirent: "Il ne faut pas s'opposer au cours de la justice: il le faut rapporter où nous l'avons pris."'

With these experiences it is not strange that Montesquieu had no very high opinion of English politicians. 'They have,' he remarks, 'no fixed purpose, but govern from day to day. Purely selfish and destitute of all principle, their sole aim is to get the better of their opponents; and to attain that end they would sell England and all the Powers of the world.'

The people, he found, had little respect for their rulers. The King he regarded as 'a gentleman who has a beautiful wife, a hundred servants, a fine equipage, and a good table; he is believed to be happy, but his happiness is all on the outside.' There was nothing to admire in him, and scarcely a day passes, says Montesquieu, in which one does not lose some respect for him. On the subject of the monarchy he makes one striking remark. He is convinced that it is to the interest of France to support the King in England, for a republic would be far more dangerous; a republic would act with all its powers in unison, whereas

* 'Notes sur l'Angleterre,' works (ed. Laboulaye,) vii, 191.

the King acts with divided powers. 'However,' he continues, 'things cannot rest much longer as they are.'

Of the King he speaks elsewhere with contempt. 'If he observes decorum in public, in private he quarrels with his wife and with his servants, swears at his steward, and allows the Queen to be grossly insulted by his subjects.' The Queen had, it seems, bought a piece of land to add to her private garden at Kensington. Thereupon Lady Bell Molyneux had some of the trees torn up, and brought an action against her for unlawful possession; and, on the Queen expressing her desire to make some arrangement with her, she not only refused to treat, but kept the Queen's secretary waiting three hours before she would admit him to her presence. A French aristocrat might well be excused for expressing disgust and wonder at such a state of things in a country which was ostensibly a monarchy.

Montesquieu was struck with the number and licentiousness of the newspapers and public prints, as well he may have been, for the daily and weekly journals together numbered at least twenty. Conspicuous among them were the 'London Gazette,' 'British Journal,' 'Weekly Medley,' 'Evening Post,' 'Whitehall Evening Post,' 'London Evening Post,' 'St James's Evening Post,' 'London Journal,' 'Appleby's Weekly Journal,' 'British Gazetteer,' 'The Postman,' 'The Craftsman,' 'The Daily Post,' 'Fog's Weekly Journal,' 'The Weekly Spectator,' and probably many more. Few indeed are aware that metropolitan journalism was as active at the beginning of George II's reign as it is in our day, and quite as popular among the masses. The very slaters, says Montesquieu, have the newspapers brought on to the roof that they may read them ('un couvreur se fait apporter la gazette sur les toits pour la lire').* It is clear that Montesquieu was a regular reader of these publications. One curious Anticatholic scandal he reports. He tells his friend, Father Cerati, with what indignation he had read how an innocent invention of the Cardinal de Rohan, for playing at backgammon and other games without noise and rattle, had in one of the current journals† been represented as designed

* 'Notes sur l'Angleterre.'

† The account and the misrepresentation will be found in 'Appleby's Weekly Journal' for November 15, 1729.

to encourage gambling in churches and bedrooms. He comments on the freedom of the press, and observes how easily it might be misunderstood by a foreigner. But its very licentiousness, he remarks, is its corrective; for, as it expresses with equal heat and intemperance the sentiments and opinions of the innumerable sects and factions into which the country is divided, it can do no mischief, because what is vociferated here neutralises what is vociferated there.

Of Montesquieu's social relations and connexion with men of science in this country, some interesting particulars can be collected. There can be little doubt that during the early part of his stay in England he was the guest of Chesterfield at his house in St James's Square; whether he continued to reside there when Chesterfield returned to the Hague early in the following year is uncertain. As the guest and friend of Chesterfield, every house in London was, of course, open to him. He was presented at Court; he was elected a member of the Royal Society; he became intimately acquainted with the Dukes of Richmond and Montagu, whom he visited, and in whose society he passed, he said, the happiest hours in his life; * with Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville; with Charles Yorke, son of the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; with Andrew Mitchell, afterwards ambassador at Berlin, a man of singular charm whom he appears to have regarded almost with affection; and with Martin Folkes, vice-president of the Royal Society, with whom, on leaving England, he regularly corresponded. What is curious is that he never seems to have met Bolingbroke or Walpole, or to have become acquainted with Pope, or indeed with any other of the distinguished men of letters then living in London. His social relations seem to have been confined almost exclusively to fashionable and aristocratic circles, and to members of the Royal Society.

The reason was probably this. Though he could read English and follow it, when spoken, with perfect facility, he could not speak it intelligibly. This we learn from an amusing anecdote told by Diderot. On his return to France Montesquieu happened to be with some ladies in

* 'Lettres Fam.,' 'Œuvres Complètes' (ed. Laboulaye), vii, 267.

the country, and, as one of them was an English lady, he addressed her in English; but his pronunciation was so bad that she burst out laughing. Upon which he good-naturedly observed that it was not the first mortification of the kind which he had met with in his life. He added that, when he was in England, he went to call on the great Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim—obviously a mistake of Diderot's for the Duke of Montagu, who had married Marlborough's daughter—and that, while being conducted round the palace by the Duke, he complimented his host on its splendours and beauties in the best English he could command, having very carefully got up what he thought were appropriate phrases. He had been talking thus for at least an hour, when the Duke said to him, 'I entreat you to be good enough to speak to me in English, as I cannot understand French.'*

On October 5, 1730, he was presented by Chesterfield to the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales at Kensington. The Queen, having asked him about his travels, went on to talk about the English stage. 'How is it,' she enquired of Chesterfield, 'that Shakespeare, who lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth, has made his women talk so badly and such fools as well?' Chesterfield replied that in Shakespeare's time women did not go to the theatres, and, as only inferior actors played female parts, Shakespeare did not take the trouble to make them speak well. 'But I,' says Montesquieu, 'suggested another reason. To make women speak well a poet must have a knowledge of the world and of good manners; but a knowledge of books is all that a poet requires to make heroes speak well.' A commentary on Shakespeare by Chesterfield and Montesquieu, we may remark in passing, would certainly have added most amusingly to the curiosities of criticism. The Queen then asked if it was true that the French preferred Corneille to Racine. Montesquieu, now on firmer ground, replied that Corneille was generally regarded as a sublimer genius than Racine, but Racine as a greater writer than Corneille.

He again met Queen Caroline on the evening of a day on which he had been dining with the Duke of Richmond.

* Diderot, 'Lettres à Mdlle. Volland,' Letter lxxx; 'Œuvres Complètes' (ed. Assézat et Tournoux), xix, 134, quoted by Vian.

At the Duke's table La Boine, whom he describes as a stupid person, though a French envoy, maintained that England was not so large as Guienne, and Montesquieu contradicted and set him down. In the evening the Queen said, 'I hear that you have been defending us against your countryman, M. la Boine.' Montesquieu gallantly replied, 'Madame, I could not imagine a country in which you reigned to be other than a great country.' * These were probably not his only interviews with the Queen. In any case, it was believed in Paris that he was a favourite with her, as we gather from a letter addressed to him by Fontenelle, asking him to use his influence to get her to befriend a young *artiste* who, having been most cruelly dismissed from the Opera in Paris, had taken refuge in London.

'On dit que vous êtes fort bien auprès de la reine,' and he flatteringly adds, 'je l'eusse presque deviné, car il y a longtemps que je sais combien elle a du goût pour les gens d'esprit et combien elle est accoutumée à ceux du premier ordre.' †

Before he was presented at Court he had had an honour conferred on him which he highly appreciated, and which was, in those days, coveted not merely by men distinguished in science and letters, but even by royalty itself. On February 26, 1730, he was elected a member of the Royal Society. This honour he no doubt owed partly to the influence of Chesterfield and the vice-president, Martin Folkes, and partly to the fact that he was a member of the French Academy. His chief claim to this distinction, and a very legitimate one, was the reputation which he had gained by the scientific papers read by him at the Academy of Bordeaux.‡ He announced his election to his friend, Father Cerati, in a letter dated March 1, 1730: 'Je fus reçu il y a trois jours membre de la Société royale de Londres.'§ During the remainder of his visit he regularly attended its meetings.

* Montesquieu relates this with great complacency in his 'Pensées Diverses,' 'Œuvres' (ed. Laboulaye), vii, 156.

† Fontenelle, 'Œuvres Complètes' (édit. Paris, 1818), ii, 566.

‡ 'Sur la cause de l'écho'; 'Sur l'usage des glandes rénales'; 'Sur la cause de la pesanteur des corps'; 'Observations sur l'histoire naturelle'; 'Sur la cause de la transparence des corps.'

§ 'Lettres Fam.' (February 1742), 'Œuvres,' vii, 253.

With the vice-president, Martin Folkes, who had been the friend of Newton, and was one of the most eminent scientific men of those times, he formed an affectionate friendship. In a letter addressed to him many years later, he says, 'Of all people in the world your memory is dearest to me; I would rather live with you than with any one. To live with you is to love you.' These words may imply that, during part of his visit to England, he resided with Folkes. His connexion with the Royal Society undoubtedly exercised great influence on him, and introduced him to much which was of incalculable importance to his great work. To the end of his life he took the greatest interest in its transactions; and it was under his supervision that Robert Wallace's 'Dissertation on the Numbers of Mankind in Ancient and Modern Times' was translated into French.

It was probably Folkes who introduced Montesquieu to Charles Yorke, who came afterwards to so tragical an end, just after receiving the Great Seal. Charles Yorke, in addition to various accomplishments, was one of the most charming men of his time, and Montesquieu highly valued his friendship, keeping up a constant correspondence with him after he left England.* Yorke sent him Warburton's 'Dissertation on Julian,' which Montesquieu highly appreciated, expressing his admiration in such flattering terms that Yorke forwarded the letter to Warburton. With the letter he sent a note, which is interesting as showing the impression which Montesquieu had made on him:

'His heart is as good as his understanding in all he says or writes, though he mixes now and then a little of the French *clinquant* with all his brightness and solidity of genius as well as originality of expression.'†

And this seems to have been his just measure.

We have seen that Montesquieu's real opinion of the English was not one which would be likely to please them; but he was too well-bred and too sincerely sensible of the hospitality he everywhere received to express

* For Montesquieu's relations with Charles Yorke, see Campbell's 'Lives of the Lord Chancellors,' vii, 75.

† Warburton's 'Correspondence' (ed. 1809), p. 507.

himself in anything but the most flattering terms. In Spence's anecdotes we read :

'Monsieur de Montesquieu, the author of the 'Persian Letters,' is now with Lord Waldegrave, and is come to England with him. He says there are no men of true sense born anywhere but in England.'

How little was generally known of his movements is indicated by the supposition that he was staying with Waldegrave, who was then at Vienna. And indeed it is singular that the presence of so distinguished a man was, so far as the general public was concerned, so entirely ignored. There is not a single reference to him, so far as we can discover, in the literary correspondence of those times, or in the current newspapers; his arrival, his movements, his departure, are alike unchronicled. And yet the 'Lettres Persanes' had been translated into English so early as 1722, had been extremely popular, and had been reissued in a second edition not long after his arrival in England. His name was not, indeed, on the title-page; but their authorship, as the translator's preface shows, was as much an open secret in London as it was in Paris. The only reference to him, or rather to his writings, which we can find in the public prints is an announcement in the 'Weekly Medley' for November 29, 1728, of a translation of 'Mahmoud and Genesvide,' 'written by the author of the "Persian Letters."' We need hardly say that no such work had ever come, or ever was to come, from his pen; but the fiction at least shows that the publishers thought his name a name to conjure with.

That so little notice should have been taken of him by the journals, and in the 'ana' of contemporary authors, is the more remarkable when we remember how frequently and how prominently Voltaire before him and Rousseau after him figure in both. But the reasons are not difficult to guess. One we have mentioned already—his defective knowledge of the language. Another is probably to be found in his aristocratic leanings. He says in his 'Pensées Diverses' :

'Quoique mon nom ne soit ni bon ni mauvais, n'ayant guère que deux cent cinquante ans de noblesse prouvée, cependant j'y suis attaché.'

In other words, he was an aristocrat who could not afford to trifle with his position. Like La Rochefoucauld and Bussy-Rabutin among his own countrymen, and like Horace Walpole and Gibbon among ours, he neither wished to be regarded as a man of letters nor affected the society of men of letters. Hence his acquaintance in this country was confined to Chesterfield's circle, and to a body of which almost every nobleman in England with any taste for learning was a member. If Chesterfield and Folkes were the links which connected him with intellectual society, the Dukes of Richmond and Montagu appear to have been the chosen companions of his less serious recreations. In his correspondence he writes that the happiest hours of his life had been spent with them, and that it was impossible to say whether they should be loved most or respected most.

As Montesquieu had convivial tastes, we need not question the sincerity of the statement about happy hours; but in his difficulty in settling the proportion of love and respect is, we fear, to be discerned the *clinquant* of which Charles Yorke speaks. A duller and grosser person than Charles Lennox, second Duke of Richmond, never lived. Queen Caroline compared him to a mule, and doubted whether he was more than half-witted; while Horace Walpole described him as 'the only man who loved the Duke of Newcastle.' He was a heavy drinker; and in his brutal and stupid orgies at Goodwood champagne flowed so freely that Montesquieu himself deemed it expedient to warn his friend, the Comte de Guasco, against toasting him too often at Richmond's table. John, Duke of Montagu, had certainly convivial qualities of the highest order, and was the author of a hoax compared with which the best of Theodore Hook's dwindles into vulgar horse-play;* but he was, and remained all his life, little more than an overgrown schoolboy. Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, his mother-in-law, thus describes him:†

'All my son-in-law's talents lie in things only natural in boys of fifteen years old, and he is about two and fifty: to get

* For an account of this inimitable pleasantry see Jesse's 'Memoirs of the Court of England from the Revolution to the Death of George II,' vol. iii, pp. 58-61.

† See 'Walpole's Letters' (edit. Cunningham), vol. i, p. 339.

people into his garden and wet them with squirts, and to invite people to his country-houses and put things into their beds to make them itch, and twenty such pretty fancies like these.'

Of one of these pretty fancies Montesquieu was the victim. The Duke had invited him, shortly after they had become acquainted, to his country-house, in all probability Blenheim. Not long after his arrival it was arranged that there should be 'a play of ambassadors,' which means, we suppose, that host and guest were to approach each other with stately ceremony. Meanwhile a large tubful of cold water had been concealed in a hollow under the ground just where the guest had to step as he made his bow. As soon as his feet reached the tub, in he went, soused over head and ears in the water. 'I thought it odd, to be sure,' said Montesquieu, when he told the tale many years afterwards to Charlemont,

'but a traveller, as you well know, must take the world as it goes; and indeed,' he good-naturedly added, 'his great goodness to me and his incomparable understanding far overpaid me for all the inconveniences of my ducking.'*

One of the most striking features of Montesquieu's temper is illustrated by his commentary on this incident. A grosser outrage on those social decencies which even savages respect could be scarcely imagined than the conduct of this English nobleman. But Montesquieu, with reference to it, went on to say:

'Liberty, however, is the glorious cause; that it is which gives human nature fair-play and allows every singularity to show itself, and which, for one less agreeable oddity it may bring to light, gives to the world ten thousand great and useful examples.'

And it was with the same lucid, balanced, and catholic intelligence that he penetrated beneath the surface of all that met his view in England. In the ignoble game which Walpole and the Patriots were playing at Westminster, in all the evils and curses inherent in party-government, in the unbridled licence of the press, in the coarse and brutal manners of the commonalty, he saw

* Hardy's 'Life of Charlemont,' vol. i, p. 65.

that for which all the elegance that made the Paris of the 'Grand Monarque' the home of the Graces and the comely image of specious tranquillity would have been, after all, but a sorry exchange.*

It is not likely that Montesquieu visited Ireland, but he was interested in the Irish question and divined its importance. In a conversation which he had with Charlemont many years later, at La Brède, he strongly advocated the Union.

'Were I an Irishman' (he said) 'I should certainly wish for it; and, as a general lover of liberty, I sincerely desire it; and for this plain reason, that an inferior country connected with one much her superior in force, can never be certain of the permanent enjoyment of constitutional freedom unless she has by her representatives a proportional share in the legislature of the superior kingdom.' †

But it was not in politics, in science, and in social life only that Montesquieu was interested. Just before his arrival in England, and during his residence here, Kent, the forerunner of Brown, was revolutionising horticultural embellishment and initiating landscape-gardening. The old Dutch and French style, in which, as Pope's happy satire expresses it,

'No pleasing intricacies intervene,
No artful wildness to perplex the scene;
Grove nods at grove, each alley has a brother,
And half the platform just reflects the other,'

was being exchanged for what Walpole calls the style 'that realises painting and improves nature.' It was thus that Kent laid out the gardens of Carlton House and Kensington, and Pelham's garden and park at Claremont. The new fashion had become the rage; and among its admirers none was more enthusiastic than Montesquieu. He determined, on his return to France, to reconstruct the grounds of La Brède on Kent's model, and he gave his steward L'Éveillé no rest till the work was done. He

* This is undoubtedly what is to be deduced from the general tenour of his writing; what he says in the preface to the 'Esprit des Loix' was no doubt a concession to prudence.

† Hardy's 'Life of Charlemont' (ed. 1810), vol. i, p. 70.

refers more than once in his correspondence to the delight he felt in seeing his pleasance thus charmingly transformed. 'I long to show you my villa,' he said to Charlemont, 'as I have endeavoured to form it according to the English taste, and to cultivate and dress it after the English manner ; and in describing it to a friend he is careful to add that he had laid it out in a fashion 'dont j'ai pris l'idée en Angleterre.'

The exact date of Montesquieu's departure from England it is impossible to fix. M. Edgar Zévort says that it was in April 1731, but he appears to have no authority for this statement. He was certainly at home at La Brède, as his correspondence shows, on August 10, 1731. The latest event of which the date can be fixed is his presentation at Court on October 5, 1730. But tradition agrees in assigning a longer period for his residence here than would be compatible with its termination in the autumn of 1730. D'Alembert in his 'Éloge' says that Montesquieu was in England for three years ; the writer of the article in the 'Biographie Universelle' gives two years ; so also does J. J. Rutledge in his 'Éloge de Montesquieu.'* In the 'Éloge' by his son the time assigned is nearly two years ('près de deux ans').† The dates given by MM. Vian,‡ Sorel, and others—from November 1729 to April 1731, and from October 1729 to August 1731—being purely conjectural, carry no authority. Taking tradition and probability as our guides, we may assume that he left England either in the spring or in the summer of 1731 ; and, as he arrived on October 23, 1729, he must therefore have resided here, as his son states, nearly two years.

Of his visit to England, he retained to the last the most pleasing impressions ; he spoke of it more than once as the happiest time in his life. When, many years afterwards, Charlemont visited him at La Brède, he found the President full of delightful memories of England and of the English, though perhaps courtesy had something to do with the enthusiasm with which he spoke of them. But his correspondence vouches for the sincerity of his sentiments. 'How I wish' (he wrote to his friend Cerati)

* 'Éloge de Montesquieu,' p. 17.

† See Appendix to Vian (ed. 1878), p. 401.

‡ 'Histoire de Montesquieu,' p. 128.

'that I could visit England again with you!' 'The longer you remain in London, the more kindness you will receive,' were his words to another friend, words difficult to reconcile with what he had written in his 'Notes sur l'Angleterre.' And for the rest of his life he kept in close touch with his English friends. With Folkes he regularly corresponded, and he proposed that they should interchange copies of important books printed in England and France, politely adding, 'il est bien certain que la marchandise angloise vaudra mieux que la françoise.'*

Some twelve years after his departure he communicated to the Royal Society, through Folkes, an interesting paper 'On stones of a regular figure found near Bagnères in Gascony.'† He corresponded with Hume, who sent him his 'Treatise on Human Nature,' which he read, he says, with delight. He exchanged letters with Warburton—whose 'Dissertation on Julian' had 'enchanted' him—on the subject of Bolingbroke's posthumous works; and his letter to Warburton on the distinction between attacks on Natural and Revealed Religion is of singular interest.‡ When his sight was failing, and when he had, as he tells us himself, almost forgotten all the English he knew, he employed an English secretary to read to him, and took care to be regularly informed of what was being produced in philosophy and science on this side of the Channel.

Of his correspondence it is quite clear that a large portion has either been destroyed or lost; and nothing is more to be regretted than the absence of the letters which passed between himself and Chesterfield. For Chesterfield he had the sincerest affection and esteem; he thought him the best of critics; and it is not unlikely that the 'Esprit des Lois' owed much, and very much, to his English friend's suggestions. The affection and esteem were mutual. As soon as the news of Montesquieu's death reached England, Chesterfield inserted in a London newspaper a memorial of his friend, which is a model of graceful and discriminating eulogy.§

* 'Lettres Fam.,' 'Œuvres' (Laboulaye), vii, 265.

† Printed in the 'Philosophic Transactions of the Royal Society,' xliii, 26-34, but not included in his works.

‡ 'Œuvres' (Laboulaye), vii, 431-434.

§ See the 'Evening Post,' February 1755, and Stanhope's 'Chesterfield's Letters,' iv, 148.

What Montesquieu owed to England is exactly indicated in D'Alembert's 'Éloge':

'He formed intimate friendships with men accustomed to think and to prepare themselves for great actions by profound studies; with them he instructed himself in the nature of the government and attained to a thorough knowledge of it.'

He said himself, in generalising on what his acquaintance with the chief countries in Europe had taught him, that Germany was made to travel in, Italy to sojourn in, France to live in, and England to think in.* His stay in England gave the ply to his future studies. It transformed the author of the 'Persian Letters' and of the 'Temple de Gnide' into the author of the 'Considérations sur la Grandeur et Décadence des Romains,' and of the 'Esprit des Lois.' The study of our constitution, of our politics, of our laws, of our temper and idiosyncrasies, of our social system, of our customs, manners, and habits, furnished him with material which was indispensable to the production of his great work. It was here that he saw illustrated, as it were in epitome and with all the emphasis of glaring contrast, the virtues, the vices, the potentialities of good, the potentialities of evil, inherent in monarchy, in aristocracy, in the power of the people. It was here that he perceived and understood what liberty meant, intellectually, morally, politically, socially. He saw it in its ugliness, he saw it in its beauty. Patiently, soberly, without prejudice, without heat, he investigated, analysed, sifted, balanced; and on the conclusions that he drew were founded most of the generalisations which have made him immortal.

Nor must we forget the importance of the more immediate result of his English studies. If Rapin de Thoyras anticipated him in interpreting constitutional government to Europe, it was not till Montesquieu reinterpreted it that its principles attracted serious and influential interest—with what momentous consequences we all know. In English history he was minutely and profoundly versed; and illustrations from it spring more readily to his pen than any others. Essentially original as his own work is, his indirect indebtedness to English

* D'Alembert's 'Éloge de Montesquieu.'

writers is certainly considerable. That he could read and follow our language in conversation is proved by the untranslated books with which he was acquainted, and by the notes which he took in Parliament. He was intimately acquainted with the writings of Locke, whom he calls the great instructor of mankind; he had evidently some knowledge of the writings of Hobbes; he had read Algernon Sidney's 'Discourses.' With Harrington's 'Oceana,' a work which has undoubtedly had great influence on him,* he was well acquainted. He had carefully perused the histories of Burnet and Echard, and knew Stowe's 'Survey of London.' He had read More's 'Utopia' and Mandeville's 'Fable of the Bees.' He more than once quotes Addison's 'Spectator' with a felicity which could only have come from familiarity. For Shaftesbury he seems to have had great admiration, whimsically placing him with Plato, Malebranche, and Montaigne at the head of the great poets of the world. From the narratives of English travellers are derived at least a third of his illustrations of eastern and savage life. To our poets, indeed, he seldom refers; but his reference to the poets of his own country are almost as rare. We had nothing to teach him in style and in the art of composition, though the England of his sojourn was the England of Bolingbroke and Pope; and, so far as mere books are concerned, he had little to learn. But it is not too much to say that the 'Esprit des Lois' would either never have seen the light, or would have appeared without many of its most shining parts, had Montesquieu never set foot on our shores.

J. CHURTON COLLINS.

* For the influence of Harrington on Montesquieu, see some interesting remarks in J. J. Rutledge's 'Éloge de Montesquieu,' pp. 19-22.

Art. II.—IMPERIAL TELEGRAPHS.

1. *Submarine Telegraphs: their History, Construction, and Working.* By Charles Bright, F.R.S.E., etc. London: Crosby Lockwood, 1898.
2. *The Pacific Cable.* By Charles Bright, F.R.S.E. (Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; Bristol Meeting, 1898.)
3. *Report and Minutes of the Pacific Cable Committee* (Cd. 9247), 1899.
4. *Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Cable Communications* (Cd. 1056), 1902.

THE hour of three o'clock on the morning of October 31, 1902, should be regarded as an important date in the history of the Empire; for then it was that the Puck of modern science carried out the promise which he gave three centuries ago:

‘I’ll put a girdle round about the earth
In forty minutes’;

and that by the completion of the last link in the Pacific telegraph the Australian Commonwealth was, at one stroke, brought, telegraphically speaking, ten thousand miles nearer to the Dominion of Canada than before.

The scheme from which the cable ultimately emerged was one formulated some twenty years ago. It has passed through many vicissitudes, and not a few disappointments. It has had to encounter and overcome many obstacles, both those inherent in the difficulties of the plan itself, and those raised by interested opponents. The late Sir Julius Vogel was perhaps the first to put the idea prominently forward; but the greatest credit is due to Sir Sandford Fleming for pressing the scheme with unremitting perseverance, as well as to the Silvertown Company, to Sir Charles Tupper, the late Sir John Macdonald, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Sir Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona), Mr J. Henniker Heaton, the Hon. Harold Finch-Hatton, and others. In the later stages of the project, the energy of Sir William Mulock, Mr W. Pember Reeves, and Sir Horace Tozer was of great use in bringing things to a head.

The plan was first talked of in the early seventies. It

was referred to in the official returns of the Canadian-Pacific Railway in 1880, and was discussed at the Colonial Conference of 1887; but the first real footing it obtained was at the Conference at Ottawa in 1894,* when the Canadian government invited and received tenders from responsible contractors. Powerful interests, however, stood in its way; and there was much opposition, which, combined with misleading statements as to difficulties, had the effect of shelving the scheme for some years. On Mr Chamberlain becoming Colonial Secretary, things began to bear a different aspect. He immediately took the matter up and appointed a Royal Commission to consider the whole question. The Commission, composed of representatives of the Treasury, the Colonial Office, and the colonial governments, with the Earl of Selborne as chairman, commenced its deliberations in June 1896. It examined various expert witnesses on the whole subject; and the Colonial Office also received a report from Mr Charles Bright as to the practicability of the scheme. The Commission issued its report in favour of the project in January 1897; but the report was not made public until April 1899, after the lapse of two years and four months, during which various offers were made by the Associated Telegraph Companies to compass the same ends and maintain control of the cable-system of the world. The result was that, in the end, tenders were invited from various contractors; and on December 4, 1900, the Telegraph Construction and Maintenance Company were entrusted with the manufacture and laying of the line.

In the following February a permanent Board of Control was established, representing the home government and the colonial governments concerned;† and in

* Blue-book Cd. 7553. It was at this time that the importance of H.M. government securing Necker Island as a resting-place for the cable (with a view to reducing the length of the long section) was publicly urged, the only result being that we were forestalled by the American flag being promptly hoisted there.

† The composition of the Board was as follows: Sir Spencer Walpole (chairman); Mr. G. E. Yorke Gleadowe, of the Treasury, and Mr W. Hepworth Mercer, Crown Agent for the Colonies, representing his Majesty's government; Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal and Mr Alexander Lang, representing Canada; the Hon. Henry Copeland and the Hon. Sir Andrew Clarke, representing New South Wales, Victoria and Queensland; the Hon. W. Pember Reeves, representing New Zealand.

August 1901 the Pacific Cable Bill was passed. The Act provides for the construction and working of a submarine cable from the island of Vancouver, by way of Fanning and Fiji Islands, to Norfolk Island, and thence by two cables to New Zealand and Queensland respectively. For this purpose it authorises the raising by the Treasury of 2,000,000*l.* at 3 per cent. out of the Consolidated Fund. The profits are to be divided in proportion to the disbursements of the contributory governments. After a good deal of discussion it was agreed that the home government should join in the cost of construction and maintenance to the extent of five eightieths, the rest being met by the colonies concerned.* Provision is also made in the Act for the borrowing of money for the purposes of the cable.

The surveying of the route was completed on August 30, 1901. The bed of the Pacific Ocean in this quarter had been said, by those who opposed the scheme, to be largely composed of coral; but there was no evidence of this. On the contrary, it was ascertained that 'globigerina' ooze—the best possible resting-place for a cable—was the main constituent feature. The construction of the cable was commenced in the autumn of 1901, and on March 13, 1902, the laying operations were begun. The entire work was completed on October 31, 1902, several weeks ahead of contract time; and on December 8 the new line was opened for public traffic. Thus it took only about a year and a half to make the line which had been under discussion for some twenty years. It has been estimated that our expenditure in cabling to Australia previously stood at over 1000*l.* per day. One of the immediate effects of the new Pacific line has been to lower the rate from 4*s.* 9*d.* a word to 3*s.*; another is to reduce the time

* Commenting on the question of payment for the Pacific cable, and criticising a historical record of Sir Charles Tupper, Sir John Colomb, M.P., wrote in the 'Times' of January 5: 'What I oppose are the demands made by the people of Canada on the pockets of the people at home for large cash contributions, or guarantees, to carry out transmarine projects for the commercial advantages of the Dominion, while the United Kingdom, without any contributions or guarantee from Canada, has to bear the burden of protecting these transmarine undertakings in war. . . . I am a real Imperialist, and decline to be a sham one.' Considering the large contribution made by Canada towards the cost of the line, and the fact that the commercial advantages referred to are by no means confined to Canada, these remarks can only be characterised as most unfortunate.

occupied in sending a message between Australasia and Great Britain from upwards of a day to less than an hour. The New-Zealander had previously to pay 4s. a word to cable to New York; and the message had to go by India, Europe, and the Atlantic. He has now only to expend 2s. 6d. To the colonial seeking a market this difference is all-important, and tends to create a stronger commercial union between the various countries now linked up. The amount of traffic already taken over the new route has exceeded all expectations.

The various sections of the line, as shown in the accompanying map, are as follows :—

Portions of the Line.	Length of Surface-route in Nautical Miles.	Length of Cable in Nautical Miles.
Vancouver to Fanning Island	3,221	3,458
Fanning Island to Fiji	1,906	2,043
Fiji to Norfolk Island	883	981
Norfolk Island to Doubtless Bay (New Zealand)	481	519
Norfolk Island to Brisbane	778	835
	7,269	7,836

Thus it will be observed that the quantity of slack used over the entire line was about 7·8 per cent. In the course of the preliminary survey, a steep submarine mountain was encountered about 100 miles from Australia, in the direct route between Australia and Norfolk Island, the depth changing suddenly from 2500 to a little over 200 fathoms. This elevation was christened, after the surveying ship, the 'Britannia Hills'; and a detour was made by the cable in order to avoid it.

In this connexion it may be noted that Sir John Wolfe Barry, as chairman of the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, indulged in a Parthian shot at the all-British line at a recent meeting. He spoke of the Pacific cable as having been 'laid with what was called a swing from point to point.' As he is a great engineer, and as the public sometimes forgets that an authority on bridges and railways need not be equally well acquainted with telegraphy, these words may carry more weight than is due

to them. The only sense in which the term 'a swing from point to point' could be reasonably applied to the laying of a submarine cable would be in the event of actual suspension from point to point; but this is not the case with any section of the Pacific line. The greatest depth experienced on the route of the line was 3200 fathoms (about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles) between Vancouver and Fanning Island, being only 87 fathoms in excess of that on the cable between Bermuda and Turk's Island, though it had been stated by some that a depth of fourteen miles would be encountered.

The cable between Vancouver and Fanning Island is the longest hitherto laid in one piece, being 285 nautical miles longer than the French Atlantic line from Brest to Cape Cod. The great length of this section constitutes the weak point in the system; and even with a special core the working speed of the line is only 100 letters per minute by automatic curb (simplex) transmission, or about 170 letters per minute by duplex working. The conductor is a modification of the Bright and Clark segmental conductor, which combines the electrical advantages of a solid conductor with the mechanical advantages of a strand. No special novelties being introduced, it is not necessary to describe in detail the mechanical construction of the cable.

The science of submarine telegraphy was, in fact, fairly well worked out many years ago; and the Pacific cable may be regarded as but an extension of what has already been done, though involving special arrangements and precautions. The difficulties that were raised remind one, however, of the incredulity manifested in regard to the first Atlantic cable, but with this difference, that in the earlier case there were practically no applicable data to go upon. It may be doubted, indeed, whether the Pacific cable would ever have been laid but for the vigour of the present Colonial Secretary. The scheme was coldly looked on until Mr Chamberlain took it in hand as part of a great national and imperial policy. He recognised its importance as a link for bringing the Empire into direct telegraphic connexion for political, commercial, and strategic purposes. In practically annihilating space, the telegraph is one of the strongest links between distant countries; and its importance from

a sentimental point of view is by no means to be despised. There is no question that direct and unbroken imperial telegraphy can do much, not only to stimulate commercial activity between the mother-country and the colonies, but also to strengthen that sense of unity and that community of feeling and policy on which the cohesion of the Empire, under present conditions, depends. In the words of Mr Rudyard Kipling,

‘ Here in the womb of the world, here on the tie-ribs of earth,
Words, and the words of men, flicker and flutter and beat—
Warning, sorrow and gain, salutation and mirth—
For a Power troubles the Still that has neither voice nor
feet.

They have wakened the timeless Things; they have killed
their father Time;

Joining hands in the gloom, a league from the last of the
sun.

Hush! men talk to-day o’er the waste of the ultimate slime,
And a new Word runs between, whispering “Let us be
one!”’

For purely commercial reasons, if the Pacific cable is to compete successfully with the Eastern system, and in order to provide for possible break-downs, not to mention ordinary conditions of traffic, it will probably require to be duplicated before long. Strategic reasons point strongly to the same conclusion. It is even quite conceivable that, in the event of a European war, the Pacific cable and the Atlantic lines might one day be the only means of communication between the different parts of the Empire, or even, between the Empire (including the British Islands) and Europe. Any scheme, therefore, for further reducing the chances of a total break-down of telegraphic communication between Great Britain and the colonies, and between the colonies themselves, by the provision of an extra string to our bow, can scarcely fail in the end to commend itself. If Britannia is to continue to rule the waves she will have to keep a sharp look-out in the Pacific as a probable scene of any future naval warfare; and naval strategists, such as Sir Charles Dilke and Mr Spenser Wilkinson, appreciate the fact that the combinations on which naval supremacy will depend require direct communication

with the nearest coaling-stations as well as with headquarters.

Apart from duplication, in the strict sense of the term, the utility and also the security of the imperial Pacific line would be largely enhanced by a linking-up and working arrangement with the American Pacific cable.* Such an arrangement might be made, in a manner at once economical and yet satisfactory, by laying the following cables, which would be of mutual use to the countries concerned, and therefore should be paid for jointly, viz. : (a) a cable from Vancouver to San Francisco; (b) a cable from Honolulu to Fanning; (c) a cable from the Philippines to Australia by way of either New Guinea or Borneo (see map). Such a scheme would have the advantage of increasing the scope of the Pacific line for traffic, and, in view of the immense commercial field of China and our important commercial and political relations with Japan, should appeal to all true Imperialists among us. On the other hand, with the object of avoiding a duplication of the all-British Pacific cable, there has already been some talk of an arrangement with the company controlling the rival lines to Australia which pass through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The experience of joint purses, however, in the case of the Indian traffic, is not very happy from the point of view of public interests. Anything like a partnership between a government and a company is objectionable in principle, seeing that public interests look to the government as their natural protector.

It was, however, pointed out recently by Mr Charles Bright, in the course of an address to the London Chamber of Commerce,† that, though the duplicating line of the all-British scheme may well be Anglo-American in character, the original line itself should be strictly all-British to and from headquarters at London. At present the new Pacific line provides an efficient means of private communication between Canada and Australasia, but not an absolutely safe one between the Admiralty here and the admiral in command of the Australasian station. It is insecure because the land-line passes through

* Cf. Mr Charles Bright in the 'Times,' June 3 and December 26, 1898; the 'Fortnightly Review,' September 1898.

† London Chamber of Commerce, special meeting, December 4, 1902,

American territory in the state of Maine, while several of the Atlantic cables pass in shoal water dangerously near to the island of St Pierre—a French possession off the south coast of Newfoundland, where two of the French Atlantic cables land.* Further, in the event of our being at war with the United States, the Canadian-Pacific telegraph, passing, as it does, close to the American frontier, could be interrupted at many points with comparative ease; and Mr McGrath has shown that the cutting of its wires would leave Canada at the mercy of her powerful southern neighbour. It is clear, therefore, that in such circumstances the Pacific line would be of little use to Great Britain.

All this points to the necessity of an independent all-British telegraphic link between the mother-country and the Pacific cable at Vancouver, run at a low tariff. By this alone will the requirements laid down by the Colonial Secretary be met;† and, it may fairly be asked, what is the use of establishing an expensive all-British cable if the land-line and the cable in connexion with it are open to easy attack? In view, too, of the fact that, even now, ten thousand messages cross the Atlantic per day, surely it cannot be said that there is no room commercially for another Atlantic cable; and, from a strategic stand-point, it should be remembered, first, that an Atlantic cable costs about half what a first-class battleship involves; secondly, that the ship is of little use if not in the right position at the right moment, and that she is unlikely to be so if not in telegraphic touch with headquarters.

As regards the rest of the route, any new all-British Atlantic cable should be taken at a respectful distance from St Pierre, whilst avoiding shoal water off Newfoundland as much as possible. The objection to the route by the northern entrance to the Gulf of St Lawrence on the score of ice is probably not insurmountable; and it would certainly be the best route strategically. If it is not adopted, St John's, Newfoundland, should at any rate be again fortified and provided with a cruiser, a

* Mr P. T. McGrath, of St John's, Newfoundland, in the 'Fortnightly Review' for September 1902, says that the French have already realised the bearing of the above, and that the French cable-ship, 'Amiral Caudet,' was there for strategic purposes at the time of the pro-Boer fever,

† Blue-book Cd. 46, p. 49 (1900).

cable depot, and a repairing ship to suit the present state of things. A new Atlantic cable should, at this end, be landed much nearer headquarters at London than any of the existing lines, and an underground connexion should be provided with a view to avoiding the delays and interruptions to which the overhead wires of our Atlantic and Eastern systems are liable. To this subject Sir Charles Dilke has paid special attention; and he considers the cables approaching Cornwall through the shoal waters off Brest and Cherbourg as strategically unsound, being seriously exposed to attack. This objection would less apply in the narrower and fortified part of the English Channel; and, for service reasons, Dover or Brighton would form a better terminal for our cables than the south-west coast of Ireland as a substitute for Penzance.

The Pacific cable has set an example which may well be followed. It is high time to grasp the fact that additional lines of communication on a variety of routes are desirable in the interests of the Empire, on both strategic and commercial grounds. Although the bridging of the Pacific goes a long way towards meeting imperial requirements, it should be regarded as a first step only. On our necessities in this connexion, the recommendations of the recent Cable Communications Committee, which are more or less embodied in this article, throw an important light; but whether they will ever get beyond the blue-book stage it is difficult to surmise. The Committee commenced its deliberations in February 1901, and the examination of witnesses was concluded in August of that year; but the report was not drawn up until March 1902, and was not presented to Parliament till six months later.

Let us now turn to the strategic aspect of alternative lines on different routes. For strategic purposes we require a number of lines in different directions, rendering it practically impossible for an enemy to cut us off, telegraphically speaking, from the rest of the Empire, and maintaining telegraphic communication with all our fortified and garrisoned coal-stations. Some would have us rest content with the shipping trade-routes for our avenues of communication with the rest of the Empire,

on the ground that they can be adequately protected by British ships of war ; but it should be remembered that—apart from the folly of putting all our telegraphic eggs into one basket—we have to provide against a ‘ surprise ’ war, and the possibility that our communications with the rest of the Empire, through the Mediterranean, might be cut off before the actual declaration of war. This would not be an easy matter to accomplish, but it would be a measure so damaging to us that an enemy would probably do his best to accomplish it. For that very reason it would be equally well worth our while to make such a *coup* impossible; and this object can best be attained by increasing the number of our telegraph routes, and by placing future cables further out of the reach of naval Powers. Rapid communication with fleets on foreign stations is an essential, indeed, for a Power which would retain command of the sea at, and previous to, the outbreak of war. If it happened that France and Russia were combined against us, Russia would at present be in a position to cut off our communication with India and Australia in the Mediterranean,* besides interrupting the system of the Great Northern Telegraph Company on the one hand, and the Indo-European Telegraph Company on the other; and France would, at the same time, pay attention to the systems which lie along the east and west coasts of Africa, as well as the European land-lines and the cables in the English Channel.

The companies, however, contend that strategic cables could be laid to order as required. This might perhaps be practicable; but, if we recognise the likelihood of our communications being interrupted before war has been declared, such advice bears an unfortunate resemblance to locking the stable door after the horse has been stolen. To start laying down such lines after the outbreak of war would be too late; while, in the case of an interruption of existing lines, it might be several weeks, if not months, before the missing link could be restored, during which time the effect might be disastrous. Some students of the subject have suggested that the cutting of neutral cables is contrary to international law; but

* During the bombardment of Alexandria in 1882 communication was actually cut off.

article xv* (touching the freedom of belligerents) of the Convention that resulted from the International Telegraph Conference of 1884, seems to dispose of that argument. In any case, we know from experience that cables are cut in time of war, in spite of all conventions or international laws.

Again, it has been assumed that a line which touches on foreign soil can readily be converted at short notice into an all-British line by a change of route, in the event of war. Such a thing might, no doubt, be done in some cases successfully; but the risk is great, and an all-British line previously made would certainly produce more satisfactory results. It would not be safe to rely on all countries showing such consideration for neutral cables as the United States appear to have shown during the Spanish-American war. It must be remembered that control and censorship fairly covered American requirements, and that the water through which the cables passed was deep.

There may yet come a moment when the mother-country and her children will have things to say to each other which strangers should not overhear. Our cables are indispensable to a properly organised intelligence department; and one of the most important advantages of an all-British system is its privacy, whether in time of peace or of war. This advantage, which exists in no other class of cable, is sufficiently great to counterbalance any other considerations. Moreover, it should be remembered that censorship is not possible with a cable landing on neutral territory. Though the precise scene of any future war in which this country may be engaged cannot be foretold, surely it is well to be forearmed all round. That is evidently the conclusion that our continental neighbours and the United States have already arrived at as regards cable communication. France in particular has a complete scheme in view; and her prospective cable from Brest to Dakar (Senegal) and thence to Cayenne forms the most important portion of it.

Strategic lines are comparatively invulnerable if laid in deep water, with few landing-places, on out-of-the-way

* 'Il est bien entendu que les stipulations de la présente Convention ne portent aucune atteinte à la liberté d'action des belligérants.' (Martens, 2^{me} sér., tome xi, 285.)

(non-trade) routes, their exact course being kept secret.* The best route for such lines is in the open ocean, where they are admittedly difficult even for a cable-ship to find, and even when their course is actually known. The general superiority, on the whole, in regard to life, maintenance, and comparative invulnerability, of a deep over a shallow water cable was so clearly recognised by the merchants of Alexandria, even in the year 1866, that they appealed for a line from that point direct to Malta, to replace that laid in 1861 along the north coast of Africa with several intermediate stations. This step was the more remarkable when it is remembered that, from the shareholder's point of view, a shallow-water cable possesses the advantage that a break-down in such a line is repaired at less cost than one in a deep-water cable.

In this connexion it may be well to quote some extracts from a paper on 'The Influence of Submarine Cables upon Military and Naval Supremacy,' by Lieutenant G. O. Squier, U.S.N.†

'The story of the Spanish-American war is largely a story of "coal and cables." . . . The nation with exclusively controlled submarine communications, not possessed by an adversary, has an organised service of surveillance which is not only important during actual war, but which may and will prove a powerful weapon in the diplomatic and preparatory conflict which always precedes a declaration of war; and these communications are a means of securing a first real victory, even before war has been formally declared. . . . It may be said, therefore, that the very foundation of successful naval strategy is efficient and exclusively controlled communications, and the lack of them more serious than inferiority in ships. . . .

'It appears that the searching for deep-sea cables in the high seas in time of war, without an accurate chart of the location of the cables, is a difficult and very doubtful operation. . . . A ship engaged in such a search must carry a moderate supply of spare cable and machinery for laying and picking up cables, as well as instruments for testing

* To meet this end it would be advisable for the Intelligence Departments concerned to abandon the drafting of large-scale charts with the cable course marked thereon. The French have laid cables so that the route is unknown except to their Ministry of Marine.

† Proceedings of the U.S. Naval Institute, vol. xxvi.

and operating a cable, and the buoys suitable, if necessary, for buoying the cable and operating the ship as a floating cable-station. It is unnecessary to state that her *personnel* must be specially trained in the highly technical duties required, and, from actual practice in all the operations necessary, be made ready for the performance of their duties efficiently under the conditions of war. . . . It may be said at present that no modern fleet is complete without a cable-ship especially adapted for cable operations in time of war.'

All-British cables have been seriously opposed on the ground that they may give offence to Europe and the United States. Complaints on this score were loudly made during the South African war; but if we were to listen to such objections we might as well abdicate our imperial position at once. Other states have the remedy in their own hands; and, as already shown, France and Germany, in addition to our American cousins, are now taking similar precautions themselves. Attempts have also been made to show that all-British cables are not necessary from the point of view of secrecy, because the purport of messages may be concealed by the cipher-code. It would be a great mistake, however, to rely on the security of the cipher or of any code, when we know by experience that the most difficult cipher can be translated if a sufficient number of messages is available to the decipherer, together with a knowledge of the correspondent's identity, and the probable nature of his communications. There are reasons for supposing that the ciphers of most of the European Foreign Offices have been frequently translated by other interested Powers; and, if a system of half code half plain-language is employed, the decipherment becomes a comparatively simple matter.

Apart from this, the mere fact that messages passing through foreign, even if neutral, territory are subject to serious, and often intentional, inaccuracies and delays is a strong argument in favour of all-British lines. Cables landing on foreign shores are, it should be remembered, largely worked by foreign clerks; and if trouble is in the wind, messages are either stopped altogether or muddled at an important point to 'make time.' Again, the seizure of the cable-station previous to the declaration of war is a conceivable course of action; but that would not be

likely to occur in the case of a cable landed on British territory, and certainly not if it were adequately guarded.

The telegraph companies have naturally paid their first attention to the trade-routes as giving the best prospect of revenue; but these are not good routes strategically, if, as is often the case, the cable passes through shallow water in the vicinity of foreign territory. Cables have seldom been laid with a mainly strategic object, for the reason that, if so laid, they are liable to be financially unprofitable. But we should recognise them as a necessary adjunct of imperial policy and of colonial connexions, both political and commercial; and, as private companies cannot be expected to establish them, it is for the state to do so wherever necessary. Imperial unity would disappear at once, and imperial mobility in a strategic sense would be out of the question if the telegraphic connexion were severed; and this connexion can only be effected by all-British cable communication under definite government surveillance. Considering what we pay for our postal sea-service, this view should be readily accepted; for, obviously, no country requires strategic cables so much as the British Empire with its far-reaching possessions.

But the case for all-British cables, in addition to international lines, does not rest merely on strategic grounds; we need them for consolidating the Empire, politically and socially, and for the assistance of imperial trade. The companies have already provided a fairly adequate network of cables on trade-routes; but direct all-British lines are now required, if only to ensure speedy cabling facilities within the Empire in times of peace as well as of war. If we could render the entire British Empire practically one country by means of telegraphy, a great result would indeed be achieved.

In considering future needs, the opinions of those concerned in the existing systems should not be too highly estimated. Healthy competition need not necessarily mean detriment to vested interests, for the more lines there are, the more familiar becomes the idea of a cablegram; and increased facilities always increase the demand. The general principle must be accepted that the greater the number of independent cables the more likely is

continuous communication between any two points of the Empire to be secured. The interruptions which now not unfrequently occur are a very serious detriment to commerce.

There are several features that tend to explain the present relations between the cable companies and the imperial and colonial governments (including the government of India), and the small amount of control hitherto exercised by the governments over the cable companies. The governments concerned have scarcely ever taken the initiative in establishing telegraphic communication either by sea or land. The Atlantic cable, for instance, would probably not have been laid to this day but for the individual exertions of British and American capitalists. On the other hand, governments have granted considerable subsidies and guarantees in response to those who have undertaken to establish communication to their countries; and, in return, the conditions insisted on by our government have hitherto, as a rule, been almost entirely to the advantage of the government itself, and have neglected the interests of the telegraphing public.*

Until quite recently the only three English government-owned cables were the Red Sea cable, laid in 1859; the Malta and Alexandria cable of the same year; and the Persian Gulf cable of 1863-64. The first of these failed, both physically and financially;† the second had only a short useful existence; and the third (laid at the instigation of the Indian government), though a complete and lasting success from an engineering point of view, gradually proved to be altogether insufficient for the purpose of maintaining efficient telegraphic communication between India and Great Britain, even after the establishment of the Indo-European Telegraph Company's land-line system, with which the Indian government had entered into a working agreement. Thus, after various companies (afterwards merged into the present Eastern Telegraph Company's system) had been formed for

* Previously to the laying of the Mauritius and Bermuda cables, the only instances in which the government definitely exercised the right of controlling the public tariff was that of the first Atlantic cable. The particulars of this are given in a letter from the Treasury, published in the 'Life-story of Sir Charles Tilston Bright' (London, 1898).

† The interest on the outlay of this line became a charge to the country of 36,000*l.* per annum, only recently cleared off.

establishing telegraphic communication with India by means of submarine cables, and after these cables had been in operation a few years, it was to the interest of the Indo-European Telegraph Department and the Indo-European Telegraph Company to enter into a joint-purse agreement with what afterwards became the Eastern Telegraph Company. These cables to India, which all pass through the Mediterranean, had been strongly recommended in the report of a select committee of the House of Commons in 1886, in view of the serious delays, amounting sometimes to a week,* occurring on the Turkish land-lines; and they were carried out entirely by private enterprise, without the aid of public funds.

The same committee also recommended further extensions; to Australia on the one hand, to China and Japan on the other. These were subsequently effected on an independent basis by what ultimately became the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company, but eventually received a substantial subsidy from the Australian government. About the same time the West Indian Islands were linked together telegraphically, as the result of British enterprise and British capital, though subsidised to some extent by the British and French governments. On the other hand, in 1878 and subsequent years, the cables to the Cape of Good Hope by the east and west coasts of Africa were laid mainly out of capital raised by the Eastern Associated Companies on the strength of subsidies granted by the interested governments. In these circumstances it is perhaps no great matter of surprise that the governments concerned have not in the past found themselves in a position to dictate terms to the companies for the working of their lines. At any rate they have not, as a rule, done so, except in regard to the conditions previously indicated.

We have still to consider the question whether the telegraph companies have, in the past, failed to comply with reasonable requirements. It need hardly be said that the primary object of such companies, as of other business undertakings, is to earn dividends for share-

* 'Report on East India Communications,' Parliamentary Blue-book, 428 of 1866, p. viii; also 'Life-story of Sir C. T. Bright.'

holders; and in this instance large dividends have been the invariable result. With regard to this point, views have sometimes been expressed which indicate insufficient acquaintance with the subject. It has, for instance, been argued that, because the consumption of electric energy is practically the same for sending a long-distance message as for a short-distance message, therefore, 'the initial outlay being practically the same, the rates should be the same.' Such an argument, however, ignores the most important item in initial outlay—i.e. the cable itself, the cost of which varies, for a given speed, not only in direct proportion to the length, but as the square of the length. Stipulations as to the general tariff having scarcely ever been made by the governments concerned, the owners of submarine cables have charged the tariff that appeared likely to be most remunerative. Whether the Eastern and Allied Companies have been prudent, or the reverse, in charging high rates* in various instances, building up considerable reserve-funds, and declining to lay certain cables for which there was obviously a public demand, is another question. It may be taken as an axiom that no reduction of rates will pay at first, matters improving only gradually as the public becomes aware of the advantage afforded them. The view that they will improve is evidently not shared by the Associated Companies; for instance, the late Sir James Anderson, managing director of the Eastern Company, in the course of a paper read before the London Chamber of Commerce in 1886, remarked that, 'If they were to lower their tariff to 2s. to India, and to 4s. to all other places beyond India, the companies would lose more than half their present revenue.' This uncompromising attitude, however, has not been maintained; and the companies in question have recently shown definite signs of pursuing a more enlightened policy. Besides waiving the question of subsidies, which had previously been declared to be essential,† they have lowered some of their rates con-

* The effect of high tariffs on the Gold Coast is strikingly exemplified by a fact stated by Mr Henniker Heaton, that a friend of his at Lagos, in order to avoid the high rates charged on the direct route to London, has been in the habit of sending his cablegrams via Senegal and Paris.

† A somewhat large subsidy (£4,000 a year) was asked by the Eastern Extension Company for the new lines originating in Sir Sandford Fleming's

siderably, without (it may be remarked) incurring the disastrous consequences foretold. On the contrary, the results appear to have been beneficial for the companies concerned, as well as for the public. In 1890, the year before the tariff to Australia was lowered to 4s. 9d., the gross cable business amounted to 827,278 words. In 1897 it had increased to 2,349,901 words. In 1890, with high charges, the revenue of the company was 331,468*l.* In 1897, with reduced charges, the revenue was 567,852*l.*—i.e. 236,384*l.* in excess of 1890, when the highest rates were exacted.

It would require very weighty considerations to justify any government in entering on competition with private enterprise;* but, on the other hand, it may fairly be claimed that the government should exercise, on behalf of the taxpayer, an effective control over enterprises of this nature, when subsidised by the state, by putting a limit on the rates charged. In the case of non-subsidised companies, landing-rights become the only lever which the government can employ; but even this might be turned to better account than has been usual hitherto. A sliding-scale tariff depending on, say, a standard revenue, might be found possible. Another useful reform would be that of the general adoption of a special and reduced rate for 'deferred messages,' as already in use in India and other countries. At present only 5 per cent. of the messages sent are of a private or domestic character; but if 'deferred rates' came into vogue for employing the cables through the night, the number of such messages might be very largely increased. We need, in fact, an intermediate service between that afforded by the mails and that afforded by costly cablegrams. In many cases the telegraph would be freely used instead of the mail if there were such a thing as 'easy' rates for non-urgent messages, to be transmitted, say, within twenty-four hours. It is not unlikely that the 'deferred-rate' system

proposed state-owned system from the Cape to Australia; but the laying of this was ultimately agreed upon without any subsidy whatever, before the government had actually sanctioned the Pacific cable.

* Government intervention in regard to the Pacific cable became necessary because the companies responsible for our cables to Australasia were not prepared to meet requirements. In such a case no company can expect to be protected against government or other competition.

will be accepted as practicable if sufficient pressure be brought to bear, though possibly the International Convention may again be made a stumbling-block. Latterly, the companies have proposed to codify domestic or social messages for the public; and it is possible that this may meet the same ends practically, though perhaps not so pleasantly. Legislation should be introduced, if necessary, to put a stop to what are known as 'blocking' rates; that is to say, to prohibit a company from charging excessive rates for forwarding messages on behalf of another system, with a view to destroying competition. In the public interest the government ought also to guard against subsequent financial amalgamations, absorptions, or joint purses, and to provide for taking over any given cable (at an expert's valuation) at any time, if found desirable.* Further, it is a question whether exclusive landing-rights should be granted, unless on very definite and favourable conditions.†

We are persuaded that, as in the case of the penny-post, a reduction of tariffs would eventually lead to an increase rather than a diminution of revenue. Had the companies adopted the principle of opening up a country and its trade, and lowered rates in order to increase the demand, they would probably have been even more successful than has actually been the case. At present cablegrams are never sent by private individuals, except under great stress, and are rarely employed by small business houses. Both class of customers would have much more frequent recourse to the cables if the rates were materially lowered. The same consideration applies still more forcibly to the press—a most important client. We shall perhaps, some day, get a universal shilling rate on all cables throughout the Empire; meanwhile the adoption

* At the conference of the Colonial Secretary with the colonial Premiers, 1902, the following resolution was passed in favour of an expropriation clause in cable agreements: 'That it is desirable that in future agreements as to cable communications a clause should, wherever practicable, be inserted reserving to the government, or governments, concerned the right of purchasing on equitable terms, and after due notice, all or any of the cables to which the agreements relate.'

† A striking instance of the impropriety of monopolies, from the public stand-point, exists in the case of Hong-Kong, to which port the Eastern Extension Company possesses sole rights of cable communication for twenty years from the date of its agreement with the government, i.e. from October 23, 1893.

THE PRINCIPAL

TELEGRAPHS," by CHARLES BRIGHT F.R.S.E.

of identical rates for all stations on a given system would have many advantages. The Associated Telegraph Companies aver that the volume of telegraphic communications between given points on their lines is practically determined by the volume of trade. This may be so; but it may be suggested that the lowering of rates might before long tend considerably to swell the volume of trade. A company prepared to establish and maintain a submarine cable system connecting the mother-country with her colonies on popular lines may fairly claim public support, and should achieve financial success. In this connexion we may point to the satisfactory results obtained by the adoption of this policy in the case of the Commercial Cable Company's (Mackay-Bennett) lines, which brought down the rates between Great Britain and America to a shilling per word. The efforts of the promoters of that scheme were warmly encouraged and supported by the public, with the result that to-day the earnings and dividends of the Commercial Company stand higher than those of their rivals, the monopolists.

Whilst it is devoutly to be hoped that the existing cables will never come under the control of a French, German, or American combination, we are deterred by a variety of reasons from suggesting the taking over of existing cables—at any rate those of an international character—by the state; for, as a rule, a business is best looked after where the administrators are directly interested in its financial success. On the other hand, it is desirable, on both commercial and strategic grounds, that the government should, so far as lies within its power, encourage and facilitate the establishment of auxiliary lines of communication in various directions, such as would link together all important points of the British Empire, and adequately guard against the rupture of communications in any direction. If, however, state purchase becomes eventually desirable, it is to be hoped that the government will neither be hoodwinked, as they were when taking over the inland telegraphs in 1869, nor will act unfairly, as when they paid little more than the price of old iron for the Submarine Telegraph Company's Channel cable system in 1889.

Art. III.—LEPROSY.

1. *Mitteilungen und Verhandlungen der internationalen wissenschaftlichen Lepra-Conferenz zu Berlin im Oktober 1897.* Berlin: Hirschwald, 1897.
2. *Lepra. Bibliotheca Internationalis.* Edited by E. Ehlers (Copenhagen), assisted by George Pernet (London), Marcel Sée (Paris), and W. L. O. Cahnheim (Dresden). Vols I and II. Leipzig: Barth. London: Churchill, 1900–1902.
3. *Die Lepra.* Von Victor Babes. (In Dr Nothnagel's *Specielle Pathologie und Therapie.*) Vienna: Hölder, 1901.
4. *Die Lepra in Ost-Indien während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts.* Von J. M. H. Van Dorssen. Berlin: Hirschwald, 1901.
5. *La Lèpre.* Par Dom Sauton. Paris: C. Naud, 1901.
6. *Die Lepra im Dongebiete.* Ein Atlas herausgegeben von A. Grünfeld. Berlin: Hirschwald, 1901.
7. *Lèpre.* Par E. Jeanselme et Marcel Sée. (La Pratique Dermatologique. Tome III.) Paris: Masson, 1902.
8. *Behandlung der Lepra.* Von H. P. Lie. (Handbuch der Therapie innerer Krankheiten, herausgegeben von Dr F. Penzoldt und Dr R. Stintzing. Dritte Auflage. Band I.) Jena: Fischer, 1902.
9. *In Leper-land.* By John Jackson. London: Marshall Brothers; and the Mission to Lepers in India and the East. [1901.]
10. *L'Art et la Médecine.* Par Paul Richer. (Chap. VI: Les Léproux.) Paris: Gaultier, 1902.
11. *Report of the Leprosy Commission in India (1890–91).* London: Clowes and Sons, 1893.

THE publication of the discovery of the bacillus of Leprosy by Dr Armauer Hansen in 1873 infused fresh life into the study of a disease, the origin of which had led to endless controversy and speculation. In this connexion it is interesting to note that the Norwegian investigator found the bacillus some ten years before Professor Koch described the specific parasite of Tuberculosis; Koch, however, by introducing special methods of staining the microbe, led many workers in different parts of the world to take up the subject of Leprosy with renewed energy and interest. It must not be supposed from what has been said that

controversy and speculation about this baffling complaint have altogether ceased ; far from it. But the fact that a bacillus could be demonstrated in leprous tissues, together with the advances in bacteriological knowledge in all directions, made the discussion more and more one-sided, and strengthened the hands of those who had contended, from clinical observation, that the disease was contagious.

A few years back the number of scientific publications and papers on Leprosy had increased to such an extent that it was deemed advisable to take stock, as it were, of the progress made. At the invitation of the Prussian government, greatly concerned at the reappearance and spread of the malady in the district of Memel, an International Conference on Leprosy was held in Berlin in 1897, and its Transactions were published. The result of the deliberations was to confirm the view that the disease is contagious, and to emphasise the importance of suitable measures being taken to prevent its further spread. Another result of the conference was the founding of an international journal, exclusively devoted to the study of Leprosy, and published in English, French, and German, in which the labours of investigators in all departments could be brought to a focus. Two volumes of 'Lepra' have been issued, which contain many contributions of interest, and a great deal of condensed information. The journal is now fairly launched, and bids fair to prove of value, not only to medical men engaged in the study of the disease, but also to the government officials of the various countries where Leprosy is endemic or likely to spread.

So far as our huge British Empire is concerned, the study of the malady is of the greatest importance, for it exists in an endemic form in practically all our possessions beyond the seas, such as India, Burma, and other Asiatic dependencies ; the West Indies, British Guiana, South Africa, the Fiji Islands, and, to come nearer home, Cyprus. In India alone the lepers under our rule must be reckoned by thousands ; and, were an accurate census possible, the figures would no doubt exceed the approximate estimates which have been arrived at. Leprosy also exists in Canada and Australasia ; but the number of sufferers in these colonies is small. In Egypt, for whose good

government we are responsible, there are many lepers. The matter has not escaped the attention of his Majesty the King, who, when Prince of Wales, justly appreciated its importance, as he also grasped the fact that Tuberculosis should be dealt with in the interests of national economy and health. Indeed, at the opening of the International Congress of Hygiene, held in London in 1891, his Majesty used a happy phrase, which must have fixed itself on the minds of many of his hearers, viz. 'If preventable, why not prevented?'—a phrase which might well be inscribed in large letters in our schools and town-halls.

The disease is not limited to tropical and sub-tropical regions, as many suppose. It exists in Greenland, Iceland, Norway, the Aleutian Peninsula, and Kamchatka. Nor is Norway the only part of Europe affected. In Russia the disease is endemic in various districts, such as those of Courland and Kovno, whence it has spread in recent years to East Prussia; and it is very rife among the Don Cossacks. Leprosy also occurs in Sweden and Finland; and there are many infected areas in other countries such as Spain, Portugal, Italy, Sicily, Roumania, the Balkan Peninsula, Greece and the islands of the Adriatic and of the Grecian Archipelago. It has been for many years prevalent in Crete; and a recent exploration of the island from this point of view has shown that many parts of it are still infected. There are also isolated cases in Provence, both on the Riviera and inland, and about San Remo. From figures supplied to the Berlin Conference it was roughly estimated that there were nearly five thousand lepers in Europe.

In Asia, lepers swarm among the huge populations of India and China, especially in the Chinese provinces of Fokien and Kwangtung; and there are many in Japan. There are infected areas in Siberia; and in the south the Dutch East Indies may be mentioned. Many lepers are also found in Asia Minor, Palestine, and Persia.

Recent colonial acquisitions of the United States—Cuba, the Philippines, and the Hawaiian Islands—are infected with Leprosy; and its existence in Hawaii has been rendered notorious by the labours of Father Damien and the writings of Robert Louis Stevenson. If the United States buy the Danish West Indian Islands they

will have still more lepers to deal with. In addition to the Sandwich Islands, many other places in the Pacific are infected. The Fiji group, where the disease has long been known, has been already mentioned. In New Caledonia it is of comparatively recent importation, but it has flourished there to such an extent as to cause grave anxiety to the French authorities, who have already a large number of lepers on their hands in their Indo-Chinese possessions, and have recently acquired another gravely infected island, Madagascar.

It is quite impossible to say to what extent Leprosy prevails in Africa as a whole ; but apparently the disease is pretty generally distributed throughout that continent. It is rife in Abyssinia, and is well known in Morocco and on the West Coast.

Passing now from the Old World to the New, Madeira, the Azores, and Canaries must be alluded to as tainted islands. In the West Indies the disease is very prevalent, and it is endemic both in those islands and in Central America. It is also found on the high plateau lands of Mexico. As to the United States themselves, Louisiana is the chief focus of activity ; but the disease occurs in a sporadic manner in other parts, such as California. Canada has already been referred to. In the region of the Equator, Columbia, Ecuador, Venezuela, and the three Guianas are all leprous countries. Farther south, lepers are very numerous in Brazil, and they are also found in Paraguay, the Argentine, and other republics ; but in Chile the disease appears to occur seldom, if ever.

From the foregoing rapid survey it will be seen that Leprosy is practically present everywhere, either sporadically or as an endemic disease ; in some localities, where the conditions are apparently peculiarly favourable to its spread, such as New Caledonia and the Memel district, it has indeed been in a manner epidemic. It is scarcely necessary therefore to emphasise the fact that the problem of Leprosy is not one of the least of the many burdens which the white man has to bear.

Not only is Leprosy world-wide in its distribution, extending as it does from the Arctic regions to the Equator, and from the East to the West, but it is of great antiquity, reaching far back in the history of

mankind. With regard to the oldest records, it is of course difficult to feel sure that the disease referred to was certainly Leprosy. It may be that some of the earliest names which have been conjectured to apply to Leprosy included other complaints as well. In a retrospective enquiry of this nature the difficulties are obvious, and especially so in the case of the disease under review. The *Kushta* of the 'Rigveda Sanhita' is supposed by some to refer to Leprosy; but according to a late authority on Leprosy in India, *Kushta* was a name covering various skin-diseases. It is probable that the disease has existed from ancient times in China, where it is especially rife in the province of Kwangtung, which has been called the cradle of Leprosy. Egypt has had a similar reputation, and Leprosy is supposed to have existed there some thousand years before Christ. The Romans believed the disease to have been brought thence by Pompey. Pliny, in his 'Natural History' (Bk XXVI), refers to it as peculiar to Egypt. Greece appears to have been the first European country to suffer, perhaps deriving the disease by way of Asia Minor or from Egypt or both. In this connexion, the campaigns of Alexander in many countries, such as Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Egypt, Persia, and India, where Leprosy is supposed to have existed from the earliest times, must be alluded to. It is also stated that Alexander's contemporary, Aristotle, was the first among the Greek writers to refer to the disease. As to the Leprosy of the Bible, it has been doubted whether the word *Çaraath* means true Leprosy. 'The leper white as snow' was suffering more probably from *leucoderma*, which has nothing to do with Leprosy. *Leucoderma* is not a contagious disorder at all; but it is difficult to understand why such minute directions for disinfection and segregation should have been given in the Old Testament in the case of a non-contagious disease. In Western India two kinds of Leprosy are popularly recognised. One is called Black Leprosy or, in Marathi, *raktapiti*; the other, White Leprosy, goes by the name of *kod*. The former is true Leprosy, but the latter is not, and corresponds, no doubt, to *leucoderma* or *vitaligo*, which has nothing whatever to do with Leprosy. The word *Çaraath* perhaps included *leucoderma* and other non-leprous diseases, such as the itch, but possibly true

Leprosy also. According to the late Sir Richard Burton, Leprosy was regarded by Moslems as a scriptural malady on account of its prevalence among the Israelites, 'who, as Manetho tells us, were expelled from Egypt because they infected and polluted the population.'* The Arabs also distinguish two kinds of Leprosy—*bahak* or *baras*, the common or white, and *juzam*, the black or true Leprosy, which latter, in Morocco, goes by the name of *djdem*. But, according to a recent writer, *baras*, in Morocco, includes *vitaligo*, cicatrical conditions, *morphœa*, and so forth; in Algeria it applies to Leprosy. In Morocco there is also a word used for pigmented or black spots, viz. *behegh*. Again, in Turkestan two diseases are distinguished—*machan*, or true Leprosy, and *pjes'j*, or *vitaligo* (*leucoderma*).

It is frequently stated that Leprosy was imported into Western Europe by the Crusaders. This is not correct, for the disease prevailed in Provence, Italy, and other parts long before. Lepers are mentioned in public Acts in the sixth century. They are referred to by Gregory of Tours. In the seventh century Rhotaris, king of the Lombards, issued an edict, under which lepers were considered as dead in the law; they were ordered not to come near the healthy, but to warn them of their approach by means of a wooden clapper. It is further averred that in the same century leper-houses were founded in France and Germany, such as were already numerous established in Italy; and that King Pepin, in 757, and Charlemagne, in 789, issued ordinances by which the marriages of lepers were dissolved and their association with the healthy prohibited. The 'Acta Sanctorum,' frequently refer to examples of the malady throughout Europe; even in the life of St Antoninus, so early as the fourth century, a case of Leprosy, 'horrendissima elephantis lepra,' is mentioned.

In England it has been asserted that the leper-hospital at Nottingham was established in 625; but this is not generally admitted, many writers being of opinion that the first foundation of the kind did not take place until the eleventh century. On the other hand, leper-houses are said to have existed in Ireland in the ninth

* 'One Thousand Nights and a Night,' transl. by Sir R. B., vol. iv, p. 242.

century; and there appears to be good reason for thinking that Leprosy was a legitimate ground for divorce in the time of the Welsh king, Howel Dda, about the middle of the tenth century.*

The Saracenic invasion of Spain and Sicily probably led to the spread of Leprosy in Western Europe. The Moors occupied the former country from the eighth to the fifteenth century; and at the present day it is estimated there are some twelve hundred lepers in Spain. The Arabs also obtained a footing in the south of France, and Leprosy persisted in some of the southern provinces after the other parts had practically ceased to be affected. Gui Patin, writing about the middle of the seventeenth century, says that, though there were no lepers in Paris in his day, they were to be found in Provence, Languedoc, and Poitou.† It has already been stated that sporadic cases of Leprosy occur even in the present day in Provence; and the 'cagots' of some parts of France are considered by some observers to be suffering from a modified form of the malady. Similarly the so-called Morvan's disease in Brittany is looked upon as a survival of Leprosy, though it is only right to mention that this view is disputed.

Although it is certain that Leprosy existed in Western Europe before the Crusades, yet it cannot be doubted that there was a recrudescence of the disease and an increase in the number of lepers at about that period. Of course, the multiplication of leper-houses‡ cannot be taken as evidence of this; nor, on the other hand, as a proof that Leprosy was a new disease in the country, as some have thought. Many leper-houses were built at various times in the Middle Ages in England, the most extensive foundation of the kind being at Burton in Leicestershire, called on this account 'Burton Lazars.' This house was

* Newman, 'New Sydenham Soc.,' vol. clvi (1895), p. 6.

† Armand Brette, 'La France au milieu du XVII^eme Siècle (1648-1661) d'après la correspondance de Gui Patin.' (Paris, 1901, p. 162.)

‡ In this connexion it may be noted that a writer long ago pointed out in Rees's 'Cyclopædia' (1819) that the assertion that there were nineteen thousand leper-houses in Christendom was an error due to a mistranslation from the thirteenth century chronicler, Matthew Paris. The passage runs as follows: 'Habent insuper Templarii in Christianitate novem millia maneriarum, Hospitalarii vero novendecim, præter emolumenta. . . .' (Mathæi Parisiensis Opera, Parisiis, MDCXLIV, p. 417.)

founded in the reign of King Stephen, and became possessed of great riches. It was in the hands of the Knights of St Lazarus, and all the inferior lazar-houses of the country were subject to the master of it. These Knights were in the first place entrusted by St Louis with the superintendence of the leper-institutions of France. The master of the order was a leprous Knight. The designation 'St Lazarus' arose from the fact that Lazarus was supposed to have been a leper, hence one of the common names of the disease was 'le mal St Lazare.' It was considered good for the soul to wash and tend lepers. High dignitaries of the Church and royal personages were among those who humiliated themselves in this way; for an idea prevailed in mediæval times that the Saviour himself was a leper; hence, perhaps, the term *morbus sacer*.

At the coming of the Friars to England, the Franciscans took lepers under their special care, and it was among the lepers that they usually chose the site of their houses. The honour paid to sufferers is well brought out in the following quotation from a recent writer* :—

'Of course all devout people in the Middle Ages had an especial care for lepers because of that most fortunate mistranslation in Isaiah liii, 4, which we render, "we did esteem him stricken," but which the Vulgate renders, "putavimus eum quasi leprosum" (we did esteem him as it were a leper). Hence service to lepers was especially part of service to Christ. At Maiden Bradley, in Somerset, was a colony of leprous sisters; and at Witham Church a leper window looked towards their house. At Lincoln was the Hospital of the Holy Innocents called La Malandrie.† It was founded by St Remigius, the Norman cathedral-builder, with thirteen marks revenue, and further endowed by Henry I and Henry II.

'The condition of all these leper outcasts was more than miserable. The disease was divided into the breeding, full, and shipwreck periods. When the first was detected, the patient was led to church, clothed in black; Mass and Matins for the dead were said over him; earth was thrown upon his foot; and then he was taken to the hovel on waste land where he was to be buried at the last. Here he found a

* 'Hugh of Lincoln,' by Rev. C. Marson (1901), p. 62.

† Said to be derived from the French 'Maladrerie'; but the word 'malandré,' meaning leper, occurs in Rabelais.

parti-coloured robe, a coat, two shirts, a rattle, knife, staff, copper girdle, bed, table, and lamp, a chair, chest, pail, cask, and funnel; and this was his portion for ever. He was not, before 1179, allowed even a leprous priest to say Mass for him. The disease rotted away his flesh till he died, limbless or faceless, in fearful shipwreck, and unhouselled.

'These wretches the bishop [i.e. St Hugh of Lincoln] took under his peculiar care. He would wash them with his own hands, as his mother did before him, kiss them and serve them with meat, drink, and money. He would have thirteen together in his room if he could find that number. He maintained many, both men and women. He would go to the Malandry, stop in a cell there, accompanied by a few of his devoutest and closest friends, and cosset the lepers motheringly, telling them they were desolate and afflicted only to be rewarded for ever, persuading them to a holy life with pitying words, reproving them for their evil deeds (and many lepers were horribly immoral); but before ever he talked to them he kissed the men, embracing longer and more lovingly those who were worst smitten. The swelled, black, gathered, deformed faces, eyeless or lipless, were a horror to behold, but to Hugh they seemed lovely in the body of their humiliation.'

The division of the disease, by the early authority relied upon by Mr Marson, into the breeding, full, and shipwreck periods, well represents the stages of the malady; and its usual course could not be more forcibly expressed. That lepers were very immoral was an accepted notion in earlier times; and it has been maintained that the designation *Satyriasis* originated in that view; but there is no reason to believe that lepers are more immoral than other persons. That Leprosy spread in those days is not to be wondered at, when such religious exercises as have been referred to were fashionable.

Many other leper-houses in England could be mentioned; and many interesting references to them are to be found in county and city histories. The recent excavations at St James's Palace have called attention to the fact that the palace was built on the site of a leper-hospital for fourteen leprous maids, 'but the time when, and benefactors' names, both unknown,' as Widmore puts it.* There is also a tradition at Chetham's Hospital, Manchester, that there was a cell for lepers overlooking

* In his 'History of the Church of St Peter, Westminster' (1751), p. 89.

a small scurvy garden at the time when the building was occupied by monks. This was apparently an attempt at the isolation of sufferers; but whether there is any good authority for the statement is doubtful.

Another aspect of the matter is that other diseases were confused with Leprosy. Some older writers state that many non-lepers found their way into leper-houses; and although the symptoms of true Leprosy had been more or less fully and accurately described, errors of diagnosis must have occurred, just as they do at the present day. Andrew Boorde* refers to a kind of Leprosy 'named Allopecia,' or 'a soden fallynge of the mannes here of his heed and beard,' no doubt quite a different disease, for the hair of the head is generally spared in true Leprosy, the scalp being but very rarely affected by infiltration or nodules. Much more recently Gilbert White, in his 'Natural History of Selborne,'† mentions a case of Leprosy.

'There was,' he says, 'in this village several years ago a miserable pauper who, from his birth, was afflicted with a leprosy, as far as we are aware, of a singular kind, since it affected only the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet. This scaly eruption usually broke out twice in the year, at the spring and fall; and by peeling away left the skin so thin and tender that neither his hands nor feet were able to perform their functions. . . . We knew his parents, neither of which were lepers.'

That White meant the true Leprosy is verified by the remarks he goes on to make on that complaint. The case of the pauper, however, was really an instance of the disease known as *keratoma palmare et plantare* (among other names), and was certainly not Leprosy at all;‡ though strangely enough, a few years ago, the former, which occurs in the island of Meleda in the Adriatic, was mistaken for Leprosy, and that by a medical man, not a layman in matters medical as was Gilbert White.

Some writers of the seventeenth century have distinctly expressed the opinion that many of the inmates

* Andrew Boorde, 'The Breviary of Healthe, for all maner of Sickneses, &c., &c., &c.' (1557), cap. xii.

† 'Barrington Letters,' xxxvii (1778).

‡ Pernet, 'Lepra,' vol. iii, Fasc. 1 (1902), p. 27; also 'Brit. Med. Journ.' vol. 1, 1902.

of leper-houses, in Bavaria and Holland for instance, were not lepers, but suffering from *Psora perversa* and *Lepra Græcorum*. Great confusion has prevailed in the nomenclature down to very recent times; this has to some extent already been touched upon. Curiously enough, individuals sometimes tried to become inmates of leper-houses by simulating the disease, so much so that penalties had to be decreed to keep out malingerers. In Ambroise Paré's works there is an interesting account of 'l'imposture d'un certain maraut qui contrefait le ladre.'* To such shifts have the lazy and idle had recourse in all ages to obtain board and lodging on easy terms.

It is probable that various offensive and disfiguring maladies of the skin accompanied by tumours, and also bad cases of untreated itch, were frequently included among leprous disorders. Even at the present time the chief supporter of the theory that the disease is hereditary includes under Leprosy several morbid conditions of the integuments, which, in the opinion of everybody else, have nothing to do with the disease.† Recently Leprosy, in its early stages, has on one or two occasions been mistaken for *beriberi*. A great advance in the direction of diagnosis has resulted from the discovery of the bacillus, which can be readily found in many cases, and thus substitutes certainty for doubt.

About the end of the fifteenth century, Leprosy was subsiding in Europe, and by the sixteenth it had lost its endemic character. It disappeared from England at that time, but not entirely from France, in the south-west provinces of which country, chiefly in Guyenne, lepers continued to be observed in fairly considerable numbers. The disease was not rooted out of other southern parts of Europe, and it has continued to the present day in Norway and Iceland.

As to the causes which led to its disappearance from our midst, it is only reasonable to suppose that more than one factor played a part in the eradication of the disease. That segregation, such as it was, was helpful in this direction cannot be doubted. In some countries it was carried

* Jeanselme et Sée, *loc. cit. supra*, p. 3.

† Zambaco Pasha, 'Trans. Berlin Conference,' i, pp. 21 *et seq.*

out strictly; in others, entrance into a leper-house was practically voluntary. That segregation in Norway, albeit not absolute, has gradually and steadily led to the diminution in the number of lepers in that country is the opinion of the Norwegian doctors themselves, and therefore of those best able to judge. It has been objected that segregation as carried out in Norway is not strict. In answer to that it may be said that Leprosy is not a readily communicable disease; and, having recognised this, the Norwegians do not strictly and absolutely confine their lepers to the hospital grounds. Moreover, lepers are sometimes, every second or third year, allowed to visit their relatives for a short time, under certain rules. They are also allowed to receive visits from their friends in the hospitals. Nevertheless the improvement in Norway has been so great that it has led to the closing of the leper-hospital, as such, at Molde; and the place is now used as a sanatorium for the open-air treatment of Tuberculosis. That other factors, such as improved diet, housing, and clothing, have contributed to the rooting out of Leprosy in England cannot be doubted; but, were overcrowding, dirt, and bad food capable of producing the disease *de novo*, it would still be in our midst.

Where the malady has long ceased to be endemic, as in England, there are always some imported cases, either natives of countries where the disease is prevalent, as for instance the woman from Mitau in Courland, whose case got into the London daily papers a few years ago, or Englishmen who have contracted the disease abroad. The Mitau case is of some importance at a time when the question of alien immigration is being dealt with by a commission. The overcrowding of tenement houses by the Yiddish in this country and the habits of these immigrants, which need not be insisted upon in this place, are well calculated to favour the establishment of the disease, should cases of Leprosy find their way to this country from infected regions of Russia and Roumania. Nor must the fact be lost sight of that an apparently healthy individual may ultimately develop the disease after his arrival in a new country. The woman from Russia just referred to is a case in point: she developed the disease two years after landing in England. This

has also been the experience with the Norwegian immigrants in Minnesota, for instance, so much so that it has been pointed out that the mere examination of immigrants at the moment of entry is useless. It has been urged that the family history of all new-comers from a country where Leprosy prevails should be enquired into before allowing them to embark for America; and further, that no member from a leprous family should be allowed to land at all upon the shores of the United States.

It is of no use to blink the fact that Leprosy is spread by contagion from man to man—whether directly or indirectly does not matter. The disease follows the lines of human intercourse. The Chinese are justly suspected of being the purveyors of Leprosy; and there is a good deal to be said in favour of the attitude of our Australian colonies with respect to the unrestricted immigration of Chinese coolies, admirable as some of their qualities may be. The same may be said with regard to the importation, in any considerable number, of natives of other leprous countries, such as Japan and India. The extension of the disease in the Prussian district of Memel proves its powers of spreading at this day among Europeans; and, however remote the chances of its diffusion are here in England, the possibility of such an occurrence, in the circumstances which have been described, cannot be overlooked. At the same time the point must be emphasised that Leprosy is but slightly contagious, and is closely connected with family life. It may be compared in a general way with Tuberculosis in its insidious onset and slow development, whereas the popular imagination sometimes attributes to Leprosy a virulence akin to that of Plague, which strikes down its victims with suddenness and usually with fatal result. It is difficult to ascertain the origin of Leprosy in certain regions, the earlier accounts being often confused and vague and even contradictory, owing sometimes to want of medical training in the observer, sometimes to the difficulty of interpreting native names. Nevertheless, it can be taken as certain that the arrival of a leper in a non-leprous district will sooner or later give rise to other cases where the conditions are favourable. Instances of the disease occurring in those in contact with lepers are

well known; and it must not be forgotten that one positive fact is worth any number of negative objections.

In former days the contagiousness of Leprosy was admitted without question; indeed it was overrated, as it still is by the general public; but in past times the conditions were such as to favour its spread. So far as England is concerned, one has only to read the descriptions given by Erasmus of the conditions of life which prevailed in his day to appreciate this. Some years ago the College of Physicians of London, in a report on the mode of origin and spread of Leprosy, unfortunately expressed the opinion that it was not contagious. More recently the Leprosy commissioners in India came to the conclusion that the infectious nature of the disease had been finally established by the discovery of the bacillus, and stated

‘that the disease was to be classed among the contagious diseases, the influence of contagion being as small as, or even rather less than, in the case of tuberculosis.’

They also concluded there was no evidence that Leprosy in India was hereditarily transmitted from parent to child; and further, that neither the form of diet nor the sanitary environment of the individual had any specific action in the causation of Leprosy. At the same time the commissioners added that

‘it is probable that bad hygienic surroundings, deficient or improper food, poverty, exposure, and such diseases as syphilis, are all factors of great importance in reducing the vital powers of the organism and rendering it more susceptible to attack.’

The evidence pointed inevitably to the conclusion that Leprosy is an infective contagious disease. But, strangely enough, the commissioners, in their final summing up, expressed the opinion that Leprosy, in the great majority of cases, originated *de novo*. A critic has well said that this conclusion was extraordinary and contrary to the experience of those who have given special attention to the subject in leprous countries. It was all the more extraordinary, seeing that the commissioners advocated voluntary isolation. Further on in their report the commissioners remark that both Leprosy and Tubercu-

losis are contagious in an equal and minimal degree. But did any one of the commissioners, or does any one with knowledge of the subject, contend that Tuberculosis arises *de novo*? What induced the commissioners to come to their conclusion as to the *de novo* origin of Leprosy is a psychological puzzle; and it is difficult to see how the supporters of such an hypothesis account for the presence of bacilli in the leprous patient. Are we to suppose that these micro-organisms arise spontaneously?

More recently still, however, at the Berlin Conference in 1897, the upshot of the deliberations was to determine that Leprosy is a specific bacillary, contagious disease; and, with the exception of a few dissentients, the meeting was unanimous on this point, thus reversing the verdict of the College of Physicians of London. The opinions that have prevailed at various times as to Tuberculosis have gone through somewhat similar phases. An early writer, Fracastor (1483-1553),* expressed the opinion that Pulmonary Phthisis was contagious; he also believed it to be hereditary. In quite recent years the greatest authorities denied its contagiousness. Then came Villemin's inoculation experiments, which were subsequently confirmed by Koch's discovery and cultivation of the bacillus, proving to conviction the infectious nature of the malady. But in Tuberculosis too there is the question of soil as well as of the seed; and it is not every individual exposed to the germs who develops the disease. Persons have lived in close contact with tuberculous patients—husband and wife for instance—without the disease being contracted by the healthy partner. But nothing is proved by a negative occurrence of this kind, or by a hundred such; the fact remains that it is well established that Tuberculosis is an infective contagious disease. It is pretty certain that the same may be said of Leprosy, which resembles it in many ways.†

With regard to this point, the history of some of the externally contagious parasitic diseases to which man is liable is interesting and important. For centuries it was

* In his 'De Contagionibus et contagiosis morbis, et eorum curatione,' Lib. III, cap. 8.

† See also Professor Koch's comparison of Leprosy with Tuberculosis in his address before the British Congress on Tuberculosis (Trans. vol. I (1902), pp. 25, 32).

believed that the body-louse arose by spontaneous generation, and that certain individuals bred the insect—a belief not extinct among the ignorant even at the present day. Readers of Plutarch need scarcely be reminded of the account of the death of Sylla, the Dictator. These erroneous notions were based on a statement of Aristotle, viz. that nits were sterile. Writer after writer went on bowing down to the great Greek naturalist's authority, until Swammerdam and Leeuwenhoek showed by experiment that the nits were really the *ova* of the *pediculi*, thus supplying a demonstration of the futility of the general belief in the insect's spontaneous generation. Again, in the matter of Ringworm, a common disease, which is undoubtedly contagious, as schoolmasters know but too well, the late Sir Erasmus Wilson wrote not so many years ago that the parasitic theory did not commend itself to his belief, and that the facts admitted of another and more scientific explanation. He seriously doubted contagion, without wholly denying it, further insisting that all the phenomena which were usually taken as evidence of contagion admitted of an explanation equally favourable to the opposite theory. It was impossible for him to comprehend a vegetable growth inside the hair. As a matter of fact, fungi can be plainly observed attacking the hair; and Wilson's more scientific explanation, details of which he did not apparently give, would not be accepted at the present day by an examiner from any medical student. Yet, in the case of such an everyday affair as Ringworm, how few mothers could give any positive account of how, when, and where the disease was contracted! Negative evidence is of no value whatever in such cases; yet it was on negative evidence that a late Viennese authority summed up against the contagiousness of Leprosy.

Another theory, that of heredity, held the field for a time, but has been gradually abandoned. The fact that the children of leprous parents become lepers when they remain in their leprous surroundings may naturally be attributed to contagion, for when such children are removed from their homes they grow up healthy. Moreover, the theory of heredity completely breaks down when children become lepers before their parents, and also when it is shown that the disease may be contracted abroad by

adult Englishmen whose parents, living in England, were certainly not lepers. That a predisposition to the disease may be inherited need hardly be said; in this respect Leprosy is similar to Tuberculosis, which is now known to be practically never hereditary in the true sense of the word, although such a view was at one time widely held. It was on account of the belief in heredity that the segregation of lepers was originally advocated in Norway, with a view to prevent the procreation of fresh victims. The chief exponent of the theory at the present day goes so far as to trace back to biblical times the Leprosy of the Spanish Jews in Constantinople, descendants of the Spaniotes who sought a refuge in that city some four centuries ago.

The theory, also one of long standing, that Leprosy arises from eating bad fish, has practically only one supporter left. That bad food, whether fish, flesh, or fowl, may play a part in the production of the disease by diminishing the resisting powers of the individual and inducing toxic conditions of the system, everybody will allow. Moreover, fish or any other article of diet may produce Leprosy, provided the bacillus exists in such food; but, so far, it has not been shown to do so. Much has been made of the fact that Leprosy frequently occurs along sea-coasts and near rivers; but this is equally favourable to the theory of contagion, for it must not be forgotten that rivers and oceans are natural channels of communication; and in new countries the sea-coast and the banks of rivers are among the first places to be settled. As well might Plague be attributed to a similar cause, because its first appearance in a country is generally made in a sea-port. Leprosy, moreover, flourishes in mountainous districts and on arid plateaux, as well as on the sea-shore and the borders of rivers. It may also be pointed out that, on the one hand, Leprosy has been observed among those who do not eat fish; and, on the other, that fish-eaters are not specially affected. The people of Chile, for instance, who are stated to consume a great deal of fish, appear to be free from the disease.

The fish theory is not supported by a single positive fact, nor has it found favour with those who have given special attention to the disease in its native haunts. It is, moreover, somewhat difficult to say at any given

moment what the theory really implies. For instance, it has been seriously stated that the bacillus of Leprosy in the leper is the bacillus of Tuberculosis modified by a fish diet. Whether this view is still held, or has made way for another, it shows at any rate to what shifts the supporters of the theory have been put. But recent admissions are even more damaging. Mr Hutchinson the chief exponent of the hypothesis,* after a short visit to Cape Colony and Natal, now admits that

‘in the Kafir kraals of Natal there is good reason to believe that the disease is communicated from person to person, especially to young children.’ He adds that ‘the rarity and extreme irregularity with which such communication appears to occur suggest that it is neither by inhalation, nor by any sort of skin inoculation’; and he suggests ‘that the mode of communication is by eating food direct from a leper’s hand and contaminated by secretions containing the living bacillus. This it is proposed to call “commensal communication.”’

This is surely trifling with words, for it practically admits what contagionists have always maintained, viz. that Leprosy is an infective contagious disease. The admission, however, as in the case of the Leprosy commissioners mentioned above, is qualified by the statement

‘that in Cape Colony a very large majority of cases are, so far as evidence can be obtained, *de novo* ones; that is, there is no history of either hereditary transmission or of exposure to risk of contagion.’

The fact that there is no history of exposure to risk of contagion goes for nothing; and the exponent of the fish theory would be the first to disregard such negative evidence in another kind of disease, if the objective symptoms were undoubted. Mr Hutchinson tells us that ‘before the record of the first cases the Dutch brought over Malays from Java, to establish a fish factory in Cape Town’; but he does not mention that Java has long been and still is a leprous country. He adds that

‘since 1750, when the first cases were observed, the disease has gradually spread. It advanced around Cape Town in the

* Mr Jonathan Hutchinson in ‘The Polyclinic,’ vol. vi, No. 7 (July 1902), pp. 317, 318.

first instance, but ultimately over almost the whole of what is now British territory, including the Free State and the Transvaal. Quite recently (sixty years ago) it has crossed the Drakensberg and advanced into Natal.'

Even if all this be admitted, there is nothing in it against contagion; on the contrary, it is all in favour of contagion; and there is no reason for bringing fish or any other diet into bad odour. On the whole, therefore, it may be taken that the fish hypothesis is losing ground when its most able supporter has to make such an admission as has been quoted.

The discovery of the bacillus of Leprosy is another link in the evidence in favour of the infectious nature of the malady. At this epoch it cannot well be denied, except perhaps by those unacquainted with modern medical work and methods, that Koch's bacillus is the essential factor in the production of Tuberculosis, whether of the lungs or other tissues of the body. With regard to the bacillus of Tuberculosis, the postulates laid down by Professor Koch have been fulfilled. Although the bacillus is not easy to cultivate, it has been cultivated artificially outside the human body; the disease has been reproduced in animals, and the bacillus has been demonstrated in their tissues. In the case of the bacillus of Leprosy, on the other hand, attempts to cultivate it artificially have hitherto failed, although all kinds of media have been employed. From time to time positive results in this direction have been announced; but in some instances the authors have themselves admitted they were mistaken, while in others the experiments have not been confirmed by independent investigators. Nor has the bacillus of Leprosy ever been found in earth, air, or water, or in fish, flesh, or other food. All attempts to reproduce the disease in man and animals have failed. The notable instance of Keanu, the Hawaiian criminal, who escaped the death-penalty by submitting to experimental inoculation with leprous tissue, was not decisive, although he subsequently developed Leprosy, for it was found that some of his relatives were sufferers, and, moreover, he lived in a notoriously leprous area. In his case, therefore, the possibility of other sources of infection was not absolutely excluded. The same may be

said of cases in which arm to arm vaccination has been accused of spreading the disease, although, *a priori*, such an occurrence is doubtless possible, the more so as the bacillus has been found in the vaccine vesicles of a leprous subject. The use of calf-lymph would quite exclude the chance of such infection. In Norway, vaccination has been compulsory for many years; nevertheless, during the same period Leprosy has been steadily diminishing.* Further, medical men have experimentally inoculated themselves with leprous material, but unsuccessfully. The question therefore requires further investigation.

From what has been said with regard to the failure to cultivate the bacillus and to inoculate animals, there is good reason for assuming that the bacillus of Leprosy and that of Tuberculosis are two different micro-organisms, just as the two diseases differ clinically from each other in various ways, whatever the resemblance between them may be. The fact too that animals, in ordinary circumstances at any rate, are immune to Leprosy, is fortunate; for, were it otherwise, the chances of infection would be multiplied. It may be remarked in this place that the body becomes more prone to some infections when it is in some way debilitated, such as by chronic alcoholism, over-fatigue, and in various toxic conditions. This has been shown experimentally with regard to animals, immune at ordinary times to certain microbial infections. The part played by chronic alcoholism in the development of Tuberculosis may also be referred to—a point to which attention was specially directed at the British Congress on Tuberculosis held in London in 1901. Sheep, owing to their open-air life, escape Tuberculosis, but when folded in cow-sheds may contract the disease. Again, horses fed on milk, as in Denmark, are liable to develop Tuberculosis of the alimentary tract when the milk employed is that of tuberculous cows; and wild animals in captivity readily become the victims of the bacillus of Tuberculosis.

It has recently been stated that the infection of Leprosy starts from the lining membrane of the nose,

* Hansen and Looft, 'Leprosy,' 1895 (Bristol and London), p. 103. ;

a view which was apparently prevalent at the time of Pliny. In his 'Natural History' * he says :

'Diximus elephantiasim ante Pompei Magni ætatem non accidissee in Italia, et ipsam a facie sæpius incipientem, in nare prima. veluti lenticula, mox increscente per totum corpus, maculosa variis coloribus et inæquali cute, alibi crassa, alibi tenui, dura, alibi ceu scabie aspera, ad postremum vero nigrescente et ad ossa carnes adprimente, intumescantibus digitis in pedibus manibusque.'

This opinion of Pliny is also referred to by Fracastor in his chapter 'De Elephantia.' That such a mode of infection is possible cannot be denied ; but that it is so in every case, as a recent investigator would have us believe, is too sweeping a statement. *Lupus vulgaris*, a disease due to the bacillus of Tuberculosis, certainly sometimes commences in the nostril, ultimately spreading to adjacent parts.

As to the bacillus itself, it resembles that of Tuberculosis both in appearance and in its staining properties. It is, however, somewhat smaller. Both kinds of bacilli are 'acid-fast,' that is, resist the decolorising effects of mineral acids when previously stained by certain dyes. The bacillus of Leprosy differs from that of Tuberculosis in being extremely abundant in the skin and internal organs, especially in the advanced stages of the nodular ulcerating form of the disease. The bacilli are then present in enormous numbers both inside and between the cells which build up the various tissues. They are found in groups and colonies, or, as the latter have been called, gloæal masses ; and it has been suggested † that the bacilli of these groups, far from being dead or involution forms, as has been supposed by some, belong to a phase in the life-history of the parasite, a resting stage during which it prepares by multiplication for a further invasion of its host. This agrees with clinical observation ; for a leper may be seemingly doing well, when suddenly a febrile exacerbation occurs, with fresh eruptive elements about the body. In the afore-mentioned form of the

* Book xxvi, l, 5, (ed. Teubner, 1897), p. 176.

† Pernet, 'Trans. Pathological Soc. of London,' vol. 52 (1901), p. 78 ; also 'Lepra,' vol. ii, p. 208.

disease the linings of the mouth and nose become affected so that bacilli are being constantly shed in the discharges, and also, it is said, in the expired air, when violently expelled, as in sneezing. It has been shown, however, that there are 'acid-fast' bacilli normally inhabiting the nose. The parasite has been found in practically all the structures of the body, but the skin and nervous system are the chief tissues to suffer. This has led to a rough classification of the disease into three categories, according as the skin or the nervous system, or both, are affected.

In the first kind, *Lepra tuberosa*, nodules and infiltration of the skin occur chiefly about the face and the backs of the hands; they may be present also elsewhere, but the trunk may escape when the afore-mentioned parts are markedly affected. When the face is much involved, the natural furrows of the skin are much deepened, giving rise to the *facies leonina* or *leontiasis*. The aspect is then characteristic, and, taken with the peculiar discoloration of the skin, loss of eyebrows, and injection of the eyes, has perhaps given rise to the designation of *Satyriasis* in past times, although some writers take the word in another sense. The hands and feet become swollen, the skin-tumours break down here and there, and the linings of the nose, mouth, and larynx become affected, giving rise to a change in the voice.* Altogether the sufferer's condition becomes a most wretched one, especially should the eyes be much involved; and he ultimately falls a prey to Tuberculosis or some other intercurrent malady.

In the nervous form, *Lepra anæsthetica*, or *maculo-anæsthetica*, as it has been called—for an eruption may accompany it—much deformity, of the hands especially, is produced; but the outlook is less gloomy, and the disease, in such cases, is slower in its evolution than in the tumour forms. Indeed, in Leprosy, as in other diseases, there are various degrees of severity, depending on circumstances of climate, the general condition of the body, manner of life, diet, and so forth, so much so that in some individuals it may remain comparatively

* This change is alluded to in the 'Thousand Nights and one Night': 'Allah disappoint the old hag, who told me that he was affected with leprosy! Surely this is not the voice of one who hath such a disease.' (Burton's translation, iii, 177.)

benign and gradually die out. In one instance on record the specific bacilli, which had been found in the earlier stages of the complaint, were sought for in vain at a later date. There may be a mixture of these two forms in the same individual, both the nervous and integumentary systems being affected; but whichever form it may assume, the disease is one and the same, a disease *sui generis*.

Lepers often become apathetic, owing, no doubt, to the poisons brewed within them by the bacilli, which, as already stated, may be present in myriads in the nodular form of the disease, the quantity of microbes making up for the apparently feeble toxic properties of the products of their life-activities. This apathy varies to some extent with race.

The long incubation or, rather, latency of the complaint is another remarkable feature. It may be reckoned by years in some instances; and the disease may develop a considerable time after the patient has left a leprous area. This fact is of some importance in the matter of immigrants from such countries, for they may appear to be quite healthy, and show no symptoms of the disease on arrival in their new home, but yet may ultimately become undoubted lepers. The long latency also adds to the difficulty of tracing the disease to its source. The fact, however, that an individual has at some time or other sojourned in places where the disease is endemic is a valuable one in forming an opinion in cases where the disease is suspected. And although the chances of infection are remote, especially as regards the white man, the ever-increasing facilities for intercommunication between the various parts of the world, and military expeditions in leprous countries, such as China, Madagascar, South Africa, and the Philippines, may in the future lead to more and more cases being observed in those parts of Europe and of the United States where the disease only occurs as a result of importation. In this connexion it must be repeated that Leprosy, although an infective contagious disease, is only slightly so, and requires special conditions for its conveyance from one individual to another. This should be borne in mind, for there is unfortunately a tendency on the part of certain newspapers to make sensational mountains out of very small mole-hills, and

to give publicity to alarmist rumours in a way which is much to be deprecated.

In dealing with Leprosy, prevention is the thing to aim at, for, down to the present time, treatment has not been of much avail. The outlook is therefore not a bright one; but, as has already been stated, cases vary widely in the degree of virulence. Among Europeans very satisfactory results may be obtained by the removal to a temperate climate, combined with good feeding and hygiene, and the exhibition of certain drugs. The *serum* treatment, which in Diphtheria has been so satisfactory, has not been found to have much influence in the case of Leprosy. Further research and investigation in the way of therapeutics will no doubt in the future lead to the complaint being treated more satisfactorily. That Leprosy may be cured, or at least may become spontaneously arrested in its development and flicker out, cannot be denied.

With regard to prophylaxis, where the disease is endemic, the isolation of lepers in special hospitals or settlements is the best way of dealing with it. But is the segregation to be compulsory or voluntary? The former, of course, calls for legislation, backed by the machinery of the state. In Norway it has answered; but in such a country as India, where there are thousands of lepers, this method obviously becomes a very serious and difficult one. In Bombay, the efforts of Mr H. H. Acworth resulted in 1890 in the building of the Matoonga Asylum on the outskirts of the city for the reception of wandering and pauper sufferers. A few years later Leper Acts were passed in Bengal (Act No. V of 1895), and for India in general (Act No. III of 1898), for the segregation and medical treatment of pauper lepers, and the control of lepers following certain callings. The results of these attempts to deal with the evil will be watched with interest. Legal enactments also obtain in various colonies, English, Dutch, and others. In New South Wales, where the disease is only sporadic or imported, a lazaretto has been established near Sydney; and a special Leprosy Act was passed in 1890, which made notification of the disease compulsory, and authorised the removal and detention of lepers, or their supervision in domestic isolation. This legal enactment was made, notwithstanding the fact

that the communicability of the disease was not considered proven by the medical officer attached to the Board of Health of that colony. Recently, however (Report on Leprosy in N.S.W. for 1899), some cases have come to light which are certainly in favour of the infective contagious view. In Madagascar, the French have found it necessary to establish leper hospitals owing to the increase of the disease, due, apparently, to the segregation laws of Ranavalona II having become dead letters under Ranavalona III.*

There can be no doubt that those countries which are open to the immigration in large numbers of natives of leprous regions and areas are in danger either of becoming infected or of the disease obtaining a more permanent footing and becoming more prevalent. At the present moment it is being debated whether Chinese and Japanese coolies should be allowed to land in large numbers in South Africa. So far as Leprosy is concerned, the disease would undoubtedly increase in that country were such a thing allowed, for it finds in Africa a congenial soil. The importation of East Indian coolies into British Guiana is stated to have led to an increase in that colony.†

In England the complaint does not flourish, and in recent years individuals suffering from it have, so far as is known, never communicated it; though the fact that such a thing is possible in certain circumstances was shown by an instance which occurred some time ago in Ireland. Special legislation would therefore be out of place here; for, to be logical and just, those suffering from Tuberculosis would also, *a fortiori*, have to be dealt with.

GEORGE PERNET.

* Kermogant (Assistance médicale au Madagascar), 'Bull. de l'Acad. des Sci.' Paris, No. 25, 1902.

† Veendam (Brit. Med. Assoc. Branch, Brit. Guiana), 'Daily Chron.' Brit. Guiana, Jan. 21, 1902.

Art. IV.—BYZANTIUM OR RAVENNA?

1. *Le origini della Architettura Lombarda.* By G. T. Rivoira. Vol. I. Rome: Loescher, 1901.
2. *The Monastery of St Luke of Stiris in Phocis.* By R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley. London: Macmillan, 1901.
3. *The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople.* By W. R. Lethaby and Harold Swainson. London: Macmillan, 1894.
4. *Architecture in Italy from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century.* By R. Cattaneo. Translated by Countess Isabel Curtis-Cholmeley in Bermani. London: Fisher Unwin, 1896.
5. *The Cathedral Builders.* By Leader Scott. Second edition. London: Sampson Low, 1899.

MODERN architecture seems incapable of progress except in a circle. A hundred years ago we exhausted our classical tradition; and the study of Gothic architecture was taken up with a fervour that developed into a sort of religious mania. Enthusiasts were to be found in the last generation who hoped at length to realise their dream of a universal Gothic architecture, and of a return to those halcyon days when builder and architect were rolled into one, when everybody was honest, and all the moral virtues were to be found in the exercise of the building trades. But, just when the prize seemed within their reach, their dream was rudely shattered; golden calves were set up from Dan even to Beersheba; and every architect became a law to himself. A few men who were brought up on Gothic, but saw the absurdity of its modern practice, have gone back a stage farther, and have transferred their studies to that obscure period which preceded the art of medieval Europe. But one stage more, and we shall be back in Roman architecture; and so the circle will complete itself, and we shall be able to begin again, enriched by the experience of a hundred years of failure.

The history of post-Roman architecture is still exceedingly obscure, so much so that the amateur has felt himself free to offer the most fantastic theories on the subject. Mr Ruskin, for instance, found the origin of

Lombardic art in the carnivorous appetite of the Lombard. It is a great advance on these literary exercises that the historical method should at length be applied to the study of architecture, and that theories evolved from the inner consciousness of emotional writers are being replaced by the patient study of buildings, facts, and documents.

It is from this point of view that we welcome Signor Rivoira's book. Italian antiquaries have for a considerable time been at work on the early architecture of Italy after the break-up of the Roman Empire. So long ago as 1829 Cordero published his work, '*Dell' Italiana Architettura durante la dominazione longobarda.*' Selvatico, Garrucci and others followed, and more recently Raffaele Cattaneo. The bibliography of the subject is already attaining large proportions, without, however, any great progress being made, since the best efforts of each Italian scholar are directed to demolishing the work of his predecessor. Signor Rivoira himself sets about the business with characteristic energy, and points out that previous writers have been too apt to follow each other, and too fond of theorising without consideration of the buildings. Indeed, he says, somewhat bluntly, that they are often tripped up by '*un entusiasmo, che talvolta fa ostacolo alla scrupolosa veridicità.*' Signor Rivoira himself is not entirely beyond a suspicion of straining his evidence; but he has approached his subject with a genuine passion for research, and, though it may be impossible to accept all his conclusions, he has spared no labour in collecting and presenting the materials of his great undertaking. Only the first volume of his work, which is splendidly illustrated, is at present issued. It deals with architecture down to the eleventh century. This period, however, includes some of the most thorny points of the controversy; and the real problem at issue is the historical explanation of post-Roman architecture both in the West and the East during this period. It is with the architecture of the West that Signor Rivoira concerns himself, and as to this he has a very definite theory. His thesis is to show that western architecture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (generally known as Romanesque) is derived, through Lombardic architecture, and what he differentiates as pre-Lombardic architecture, from the

The diagram is a detailed architectural floor plan of the Palace of Versailles, oriented with North (N) at the top and South (S) at the bottom. The plan is symmetrical about a central vertical axis. At the top (North) is the Chapel (labeled 'd'), a large circular room with a dome. Below the chapel is the central Hall of Mirrors (labeled 'a'), a long rectangular room with a series of windows on the north side. To the left of the Hall of Mirrors are the King's Apartments (labeled 'b'), and to the right are the Queen's Apartments (labeled 'c'). Below the Hall of Mirrors is the central staircase (labeled 'h'). To the left of the staircase are the King's Chambers (labeled 'i'), and to the right are the Queen's Chambers (labeled 'i'). Below the chambers are the King's Library (labeled 'e') and the Queen's Library (labeled 'f'). At the bottom (South) is the Garden (labeled 'g'), a large rectangular area with a central axis and symmetrical wings. The plan also shows the symmetrical arrangement of the wings and the central axis. Key areas are labeled with letters: 'a' for the central hall, 'b' for the king's apartments, 'c' for the queen's apartments, 'd' for the chapel, 'e' for the library, 'f' for the gallery, and 'g' for the garden. The plan also shows the symmetrical arrangement of the wings and the central axis.

(From LETHABY & SWAINSON.)

a, a = Exhedræ. *b, b* = Prothesis and Diakonikon. *c* = Bema.
d, d = Metatorion. *e* = Narthex. *f* = Exo-Narthex. *g* = Atrium.
h . . . h = E. Arch of Dome. *i . . . i* = W. Arch of Dome.

work of Italians at Ravenna in the fifth century A.D. These Italians he assumes to have been Lombards who accompanied Honorius from Milan; and, though he does not state it explicitly, he implies the direct artistic descent of these Italian designers from the architects and builders of Imperial Rome. In this way he proposes to show that the continuity of descent was not broken, and that the architecture of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the potential source of such tremendous developments, was in fact the creation of Italy, not of Byzantium.

In 404, after Alaric's invasion, Honorius retired from Milan to Ravenna, and from this date till the middle of the eighth century Ravenna was regarded as the seat of government and the capital of Italy. It is at this point, that is to say, at the date of Honorius' flight to Ravenna, that Signor Rivoira begins his study. It is, he says, at least probable that the artists and artificers of Milan accompanied the Court to Ravenna; and great activity in building prevailed there between 404 and 476. Amongst other buildings, S. Agata was built between 425 and 432, S. Giovanni Evangelista in 425, S. Pier Crisologo between 435 and 449, the tomb of Galla Placidia in 440, and the baptistery of Neone between 449 and 458. All these buildings illustrate what Signor Rivoira calls 'the Romano-Ravennese style'; and he sums up its characteristics as consisting, first, in the decorative use of blind arcading; that is to say, of a series of merely decorative arches on corbels carried round the exteriors of buildings, and further developed by the use of flat pilasters dividing the arcade into bays; secondly, in the use of the *pulvinar*. This was a block of stone, square in plan and sloping outwards from its base, which was placed on the top of the *abacus* of the capital and received directly the springer of the arch. It may or may not have been an abstract expression of the fragment of entablature which the Roman builders used above their capitals. More probably it was an original idea worked out in construction in order to get a bed for the arcade of equal thickness with the wall, without regard to the dimensions of the shaft underneath. The first example of its use, according to Signor Rivoira, is in S. Giovanni Evangelista; and he therefore concludes that the Byzantine borrowed it from the Ravennese, and not *vice versa*; and that, when

it occurs in buildings dated earlier than the Ravennese buildings, these buildings are wrongly dated.

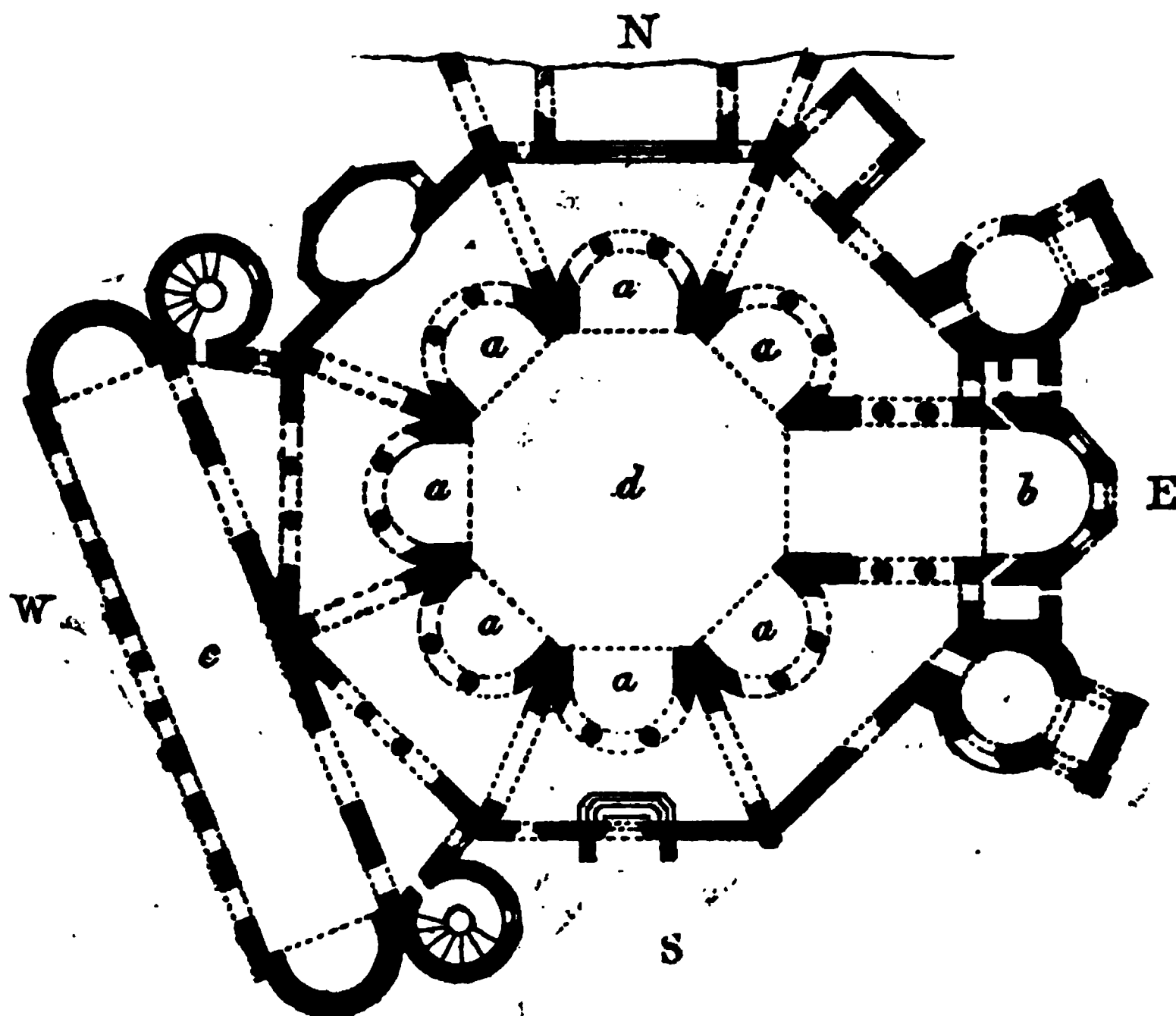
From the beautiful little sepulchral chapel of Galla Placidia (440) and the baptistery of Neone further evidence is drawn as to the originality of the Ravennese. The tomb of Galla Placidia is planned as a Latin cross with barrel arches over the four arms and a hemispherical dome over the crossing. The problem, as usual, was to get from the square to the circle of the dome. The Ravennese did this in a very artless way, by letting the dome intersect the four sides and run out its full extent downwards in the angles, finally retiring to the square by oversailing courses; that is to say, the pendentives employed by the Roman builders were not used at all. In the baptistery of Neone the difficulty was less, inasmuch as the dome in this building surmounts an octagon; but the problem was slurred over, rather than met, by 'cooking' the planes of the arches. The dome of this building was constructed of rows of terra-cotta pipes shaped to fit into each other. Signor Rivoira says this is the first example of its use; we shall find it in another shape in the church of San Vitale.

A fresh impetus was given to building at Ravenna by Theodoric (495-526). In his reign the great basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo was built—according to Signor Rivoira by Ravennese builders, helped by Byzantine sculptors for the carving—and Theodoric was buried in a most amazing mausoleum, built, according to our author, about 520, and consisting of a sort of tower raised on a lower story, decagonal in plan, the whole covered in by a flat cupola worked out of a single piece of Istrian stone nine metres in diameter and one metre thick. Gibbon, by the way, states that four columns rose from the centre of the dome supporting a vase of porphyry, in which were placed the remains of the king, and that these were surrounded by the brazen statues of the twelve apostles. There appear to be no remains of this, unless the existing *acroteria* on the cupola were bases for these figures. Signor Rivoira suggests that these were handles for lifting the cupola into place, but this is most unlikely.

We now come to the most remarkable building in Ravenna, the famous church of San Vitale (526-547). The plan of this church (fig 1) consists of two concentric

octagons. The inner octagon is carried above the outer and covered with a conical dome constructed of *amphoræ* fixed in each other in rows. The thrust is thus reduced to a minimum, and what there is is met by the walls only, without any buttresses to the angles of the upper

FIG. 1.



S · VITALE · RAVENNA · PLAN ·

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 FEET

α, a = Exhedræ.

b = Apse.

c = Narthex.

d = Dome.

octagon. The peculiarity of the plan is that on each side of the inner octagon, with the exception of the side leading to the apse, are practised *exhedræ*, recesses semicircular in plan, with two detached columns separating them from the outer aisle. The idea of this plan Signor Rivoira considers to have been taken from two sources, (1) from such buildings as the Battistero di

Neone, (2) from the ruins of the Nymphæum in the Licinian Gardens at Rome; and he considers this as an example of 'Byzantine-Ravennese' architecture, that is, of the work of Italians educated at Byzantium, and not of Byzantine artists. The distinction is a somewhat subtle one. Italians educated at Byzantium learnt their business from Byzantine designers and reproduced their architectural methods; and even if the builders of San Vitale were Italians, this would not alter the fact that the design to which they were working was Byzantine. Elsewhere he admits the possibility of an eastern origin, but finally adheres to his opinion that the church was designed and built by artists of the Ravennese school, and that the decoration only was executed by Greeks—a theory which appears to us to miss the very real and far-reaching difference that exists between Byzantine architecture and Romanesque.

In the year 553 the Gothic kingdom of Italy was overthrown and succeeded by the exarchate of Ravenna; and Italy was in a terrible state. According to Procopius, quoted by Gibbon, the twenty years of the Gothic war cost Italy something like fifteen or sixteen million lives. In 568 Alboin with his Lombards conquered the greater part of Italy. Alboin made Pavia his capital; and the glory of Ravenna was departing. Her workmen lost themselves among the new barbarians who dominated the north of Italy; and from this time forward there is little to show at Ravenna itself. We have to look for the influence of its school outside the territory of the exarchate, and more particularly in the kingdom of the Lombards.

Before, however, entering on this investigation, Signor Rivoira makes a digression on 'the Comacine masters.' This very obscure body of workmen—and even this phrase involves an assumption as yet unproved by evidence—has lately received a quite disproportionate amount of attention. In a book entitled 'The Cathedral Builders,' English readers were introduced to the theory of an Italian archæologist, that the Comacine masters were a guild, and that we have in this guild the explanation of all the medieval cathedrals of Europe. The evidence for this astounding theory was originally collected by the late Professor Giuseppe Merzario of Milan; but the writer

of 'The Cathedral Builders' has gone far beyond the evidence. In this author's opinion 'all that was architecturally good in Italy during the dark centuries between 500 and 1200 A.D. was due to the Comacine masters or to their influence.' St Mark's at Venice was architecturally good, and so was San Vitale at Ravenna. Both were built between 500 and 1200 A.D., and they must therefore be swept into the same net as S. Michele at Pavia and S. Agnese at Rome. The writer, indeed, starts with the assumption that Cologne and Strassburg, Westminster and York, the Duomo of Florence, the churches of Tours and Rouen, 'all came almost simultaneously, like sister buildings, with one *impronto* on them all.' A writer who can find one *impronto* on all these medieval churches will find anything; and we are not surprised that 'Leader Scott' has found a short and easy explanation of medieval architecture worthy of the inventor of the Shakespeare cryptogram. The occurrence of the term 'magister' in any description of a building is regarded as sufficient to warrant the assumption that the 'magister' must be a Comacine master, and therefore that the 'magistri Comacini' designed the building in question.

It is refreshing to turn to the sober historical summary of Signor Rivoira, who states in half a dozen pages all that is known of the Comacine masters. The name 'magistri Comacini' first appears in certain laws of the Lombard king Rotari (636-652) as having full power to make contracts and sub-contracts for building works; and the name appears again in a schedule of pay of the Comacini under King Liutprand (712-743). The name 'Comacine' is probably derived from the fact that these men came from the shores of Lake Como, where they worked and provided building materials for the cities of the plain; and it is probable that they were one of the guilds or 'scuole' which had survived from the days of Imperial Rome. It is well known that there existed in Rome guilds or associations of tradesmen and professional men and others; but to build on this slender foundation an elaborate theory of a guild of Freemasons, who carried on the Roman tradition of building and gradually developed out of it the various phases of medieval architecture, is simply to play with history.

We may pass on with Signor Rivoira to the scanty

remains of pre-Lombardic architecture in the latter part of the sixth century, and the seventh and eighth centuries, down to the time of Charlemagne. Scarcely any well authenticated specimens of this period remain. The earlier Lombards were in the habit of sacking the cities and burning the churches wherever they went; and it was not till the time of Autari, and more particularly of Theodolinda (590-625), that the Lombard rulers found that they conciliated their subjects more effectually by rebuilding their churches than by pulling them down. Part of S. Salvatore at Brescia (753), S. Maria della Caccie at Pavia (744-749), S. Maria in Valle at Cividale, the parish church of Arliano near Lucca, and the church of San Pietro in Toscanella, seem to be the only examples left of what Signor Rivoira, at the risk of some confusion, calls pre-Lombardic architecture; that is, of the architecture practised under the Lombard kings, which developed into what is generally known as Lombard architecture, and as such spread over Western Europe till it, in its turn, grew into and was superseded by the architecture of the pointed arch.

Of the churches named the most important is that of San Pietro in Toscanella. This great church stands in splendid solitude on a hill outside the city, and occupies the site of an ancient citadel. It is built on the basilica plan with a very deep presbytery. Its detail is quite rudimentary, but there is a certain fortress-like quality about the building, and a feeling for broad masses of masonry, which give one a favourable impression of the instincts of these early builders. Signor Rivoira sums up the characteristic features of pre-Lombardic work, that is, of work prior to the ninth century, as consisting in (1) the use of half-columns and engaged pilasters, singly and in couples; (2) the use of rough colonnettes of marble with caps and bases made out of a single block, and capitals of the roughest and most ignorant description, merely hollowed off at the angles and scratched on the face; (3) the use of blind arcading as a decorative feature on the interiors as well as the exteriors of buildings; (4) what he calls a 'veramente geniale' method of ornament, consisting in a free use of rudimentary sculpture, with such motives as interlacing patterns of what are apparently intended for palms, vine-leaves, lilies, roses,

grapes, birds pecking at fruit, fish, serpents, lions, bulls, griffins, and the like, all executed in low relief, and, to any but a prejudiced admirer of archaic work, childish both in design and execution.

We now reach the architecture of the ninth century, beginning with Charlemagne's famous church at Aix-la-Chapelle. Signor Rivoira contends that this church was merely a copy of San Vitale at Ravenna, and that it was carried out by Ravennese and Comacine builders, helped by Franks. In other words, he maintains that this church was an exotic, much too full of difficulties to be understood by the local builders, with the result that its influence on western architecture was *poca cosa*, and that it did not interrupt the development of the western tradition based on the basilica plan. Meanwhile the Ravennese had found a fresh field for their activity on the eastern side of the Adriatic. The exarchate of Ravenna came to an end in 752, and the prefects of the Adriatic transferred their seat of power to Zara in Dalmatia. One result of this was the remarkable series of Dalmatian churches erected in the ninth and tenth centuries. In 804 Donato, Bishop of Zara, journeyed with Beato, Doge of Venice, to Constantinople to meet Nicephorus, and in the same year they proceeded to Thionville to meet Charlemagne. It is probable that they saw St Sophia and San Vitale and the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle; and Signor Rivoira assumes that as the result of their mission the church of San Donato at Zara was built to commemorate the peace between Charlemagne and Nicephorus. He argues further that it was built by Ravennese builders, on account (1) of its construction, (2) the conical form of the original cupola, (3) the position of the *narthex*, (4) the use of blind arcading as a decorative feature instead of the usual Greek method of various patterns in brick and stone. As to Dalmatian buildings of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, he contends that these were only copies of Ravennese work. Here we leave the Ravennese, and are taken back in the concluding chapter to pre-Lombardic architecture, ranging from the time of Charlemagne till the appearance of the Lombard style in the eleventh century; and the story is taken up with the great church of St Ambrose at Milan.

Sant' Ambrogio is one of the most important examples of matured Lombard architecture; and the question of its date is discussed with characteristic energy by Italian archæologists. Signor Rivoira's opinion is that the building is of various dates ranging from 789 to 1071. The spur or claw at the angle of the bases of the columns is found in this church for the first time, and on the exterior of the central apse is a deep recessed arcade high up under the cornice, in which Signor Rivoira finds the origin of the external gallery, with piers, as at S. Aquilino at Milan, or with columns, as at S. Giacomo at Como (1095-1117). The development of early Lombard work is traced in minute detail through a number of not very important Italian churches; and Signor Rivoira concludes his survey with a statement of the principal features of Lombard architecture about the middle of the eleventh century. These are (1) the cap or funnel-shaped vault over square spaces; (2) the articulation of the longitudinal transverse and diagonal arches in the interior of the vaulting; (3) piers with heavy Lombard capitals and spurs at the angles of the bases; (4) exterior buttresses corresponding with transverse arches; (5) vaulted galleries over aisles to counteract the thrusts of the central vaults. The author admits that these features had been used individually elsewhere, but he claims for the Lombards that they gave to these elements new forms and functions, and united them in a new system both of statics and decoration, which obtained its effect by means of the frank and scientific statement of the construction itself. Such a system, he says, existed neither in the East nor in the West before the year 1000.

We owe the reader some apology for this lengthy account of Signor Rivoira's position. His method, however, has rendered such a statement inevitable; and, though we would do full justice to his zeal and industry, and to the valuable material of his work, that method seems to us to suffer from a fault not uncommon in modern Italian archæological research. Italian antiquaries seem unduly fond of the microscope. They pore over details of sculpture and mouldings with too little attention to larger principles of classification. For instance, Signor Rivoira gives us long disquisitions on the carving of capitals and other fragments, with the object of showing

that they were or were not by Ravennese or Byzantines ; but such disquisitions are hardly convincing in view of the fact that nearly all builders, at any rate in Italy during this period, used any capital they could lay hands on for any column ; and it is highly probable that many of the capitals were imported ready-made from Byzantium. Signor Rivoira very properly criticises Cattaneo for founding his argument almost exclusively on details of sculpture, but he hardly escapes the same condemnation himself. With the exception of some remarks on the use of pendentives by the Ravennese, and some hazy references to the presence or absence of the counterfort system, we find in his work too little attention given to plan and construction. It is here that the hand of the amateur is apparent ; for architecture is undoubtedly a difficult subject, and, from this point of view, one that can only be handled by architects.

Mere assertion, of which Signor Rivoira is too fond, is not argument. In the case both of the *pulvinar* and of the churches of Dalmatia certain awkward dates appear to conflict with the Italian theory, but our author cuts the knot by stating that the dates are wrong. So, again, he says that the use of terra-cotta tubes, as found in San Vitale, first occurs in the baptistery of Neone (449-458) ; but in fact the use of amphoræ to lighten the thrust was a Roman device, and there is an instance in the palace of Caligula at Rome. We do not know on what authority the tomb of Theodoric is dated 520 A.D. Theodoric died in 526, and his monument is said to have been put up by his daughter, Amalasuntha, after his death. The masonry, which is built dry and is very well executed, probably indicates the handiwork of a Syrian builder, and bears the very slightest resemblance to the *hypogeum* which Signor Rivoira suggests as its origin. Again, even if the plan of San Vitale was based on the baptistery of Neone, and on the Nymphæum in the Licinian Gardens, it would not follow that the building was designed by Ravennese, as Signor Rivoira asserts.

The Byzantines were quite as familiar with plans like that of the Nymphæum as any Italians of the time, and the author seems to forget that the remains of the classical architecture of Rome were the common property of the heirs of the Roman Empire. What was not common

property was the tradition of constructive skill which the Byzantines alone seem to have preserved; and it is on the ground of this known constructive skill, as proved by their building, that we attribute to the Byzantines vaulted buildings, of which, in its way, San Vitale is a typical instance. But the Byzantine architects were gradually drawing away from Roman architecture; and it is hard to say what splendid developments might not have been reached had not this slender thread of art been snapt in the stress of jarring nations.

Signor Rivoira seems to be misled into classifying San Vitale as Italian by the fact that it stands on Italian ground. His argument indeed seems to us to suffer from a somewhat excessive patriotism. To his mind Italy still appears as the home of civilisation and the arts from the fifth to the tenth century; but, in fact, their home may be said to have been almost anywhere but in Italy during those troublous times. The centre of Roman civilisation had shifted to Byzantium. In the eastern provinces of the Empire there seems to have survived, from the early days of Imperial Rome till the time of Chosroës' invasion of Syria, a stable civilisation, the existence of which is attested by the remains of the remarkable architecture of Syria. In the West the civilisation of southern France dated from the early days of the Empire, and during at any rate the former part of this period the Greeks of Asia Minor and the Ægean maintained an easy and undisputed pre-eminence in all the arts. Even so late as 796, when Charlemagne wished to erect his monumental church, he probably sent to Byzantium for his architects, much as, some seven hundred years later, Francis I sent to Italy for Il Rosso and Primaticcio. Meanwhile, what was the state of the arts in Italy? After the transfer of the Empire to Byzantium it was a record of steady lapse into primeval barbarism.

Signor Rivoira lays some stress on what he considers the development of vaulting, as shown in the tomb of Galla Placidia and the baptistery of Neone; but, after all, his contention only amounts to this, that the Roman method of getting from the square to the round of the cupola by means of pendentives had been lost, and that the builders had to bungle through the difficulty as best they could. Consider again the mausoleum of Theodoric,

with its monolith cupola. No theory is offered of this astounding construction; but it seems to us that it is to be explained by the strong-willed ignorance of the builders. They had lost all knowledge of Roman concrete vaulting; yet the building had to be covered with a cupola of some sort, a cupola too, if Gibbon's story is right, that would have to carry considerable weight without thrust. So the cupola was hewn out of a single stone, as in primitive oratories of the far west, built by men who had lost the secret of the arch, we see round-headed windows preserving the form, without the construction, of the arch. There is something magnificent in the brute force that overcame the difficulty, but it is the barbarism of the Pyramids over again. One has only to glance through Signor Rivoira's illustrations to trace the ignorance of the Italians ever becoming darker and darker as they lost touch of the art of Imperial Rome. Caps and columns taken from old buildings and pitchforked into new just as they came to hand; classical details used upside down; carving such as a child might scratch on a piece of chalk—such were the contributions of Italians to architecture from the fifth to the tenth century. Underneath, indeed, a new and turbulent spirit was struggling for utterance in a helpless inarticulate way—the spirit of the northern Barbarians, who did in fact introduce a new and vital feeling which later on was to shape their architecture anew and differentiate it from the architecture of the older world. On the west door of Sant' Ambrogio at Milan there are certain shafts carrying the arch-moulds which are decorated with a reticulated pattern based on the *guilloche*; but the upper part of one of the shafts on the right begins with a device of sculptured beasts clinging to the shaft and eating each other, which stops abruptly, and the decoration continues with a flat cross-and-cable moulding down the centre of the shaft. One would like to know the meaning of this. Was 'Master Adam' the sculptor stopped in mid-career by a scandalised clergy? or was it that, as he neared the end of his task, the primitive savage broke loose, and for the first time the personal note of the northern races was sounded? On this aspect, however, of the contribution of the northern races to modern architecture Signor Rivoira says little or nothing.

To our mind the vital distinction between styles and periods of architecture is to be found not so much in details as in planning and construction, in the underlying thought. We do not find any such principle of classification laid down in Signor Rivoira's work. In his anxiety to find the origin of medieval architecture in Italy he sweeps into his net such different buildings as S. Apollinare and San Vitale at Ravenna; in other words, he claims a single origin for the basilica plan of the western church and the totally different plan of the domed church of the East. The materials which Signor Rivoira has collected illustrate in a remarkable manner the emergence of the Lombardic church of the tenth century based on the basilica plan. His contention that this was Italian in origin, and further, that it was to a large extent the precursor of western Romanesque, is on the whole convincing; but unfortunately he has darkened his argument by the introduction of buildings of a different origin and nature. He has yielded to the temptation to magnify the modest achievements of the Italian and of the Lombard by claiming for them some share in the discovery of that great constructional system of which St Sophia is the most magnificent expression. Such a claim is not borne out by the facts; and it is one of the tragedies of the history of architecture that the great achievement of mature Byzantine architecture was never followed up, and that the architecture of Western Europe, with the exception of a few isolated efforts, proceeded along the lower lines laid down by the Lombard builders. Other influences must of course be included as the architecture of the pointed arch developed; but among these influences the domed construction of the Byzantine architects, as we find it at St Sophia, can hardly be reckoned; and their perfect art died away in the farther East without returning to illuminate the laborious path of western architecture.

Purely Italian architecture, in fact, never recovered from the transfer of the capital to Byzantium. The best artistic ability of the Empire followed the court; and the Italians were left with their basilica plan, and what they could make of the monuments of Imperial Rome. It is evident that they soon lost all comprehension of the latter, so much so indeed that not only were they unable to copy

these monuments, but they even lost the faculty of putting their fragments together. Meanwhile, in the Eastern Empire, an extraordinary development of architecture was taking place. The Romans had mastered the science of covering great spaces with concrete vaults of immense strength and tenacity. Their system was independent of buttresses; when the concrete had once set it exercised no more lateral thrust than an inverted saucer. The idea therefore of a great domed covering was familiar to the builders of the Eastern Empire. Roman concrete, however, was not to be made out of Italy, or else the builders had lost the secret of using it; they therefore made their vaults of brick, and this set up a thrust which had to be met by an elaborate system of arch and counter-arch. The ability of the Greeks was equal to the task, and they devised the splendid system of construction carried out in such churches as St Sophia, and in the church of the Holy Apostles, now destroyed. The important point is that the East, and not the West, was the real home of this dome construction. Churches with central domes are of course to be found in the West; San Vitale at Ravenna, for instance, and Charlemagne's church at Aix-la-Chapelle. Even so late as 1043 we find the Byzantine influence in St Mark's at Venice, and in St Front at Périgueux. But all these instances are sporadic in the West, and their Byzantine origin can be clearly traced. These buildings lay outside the normal line of slow development, and in the earlier examples were the monuments of some exultant conqueror rather than the spontaneous outcome of indigenous architecture. The lead given in St Sophia was not taken up, for the plain reason that it required a mastery of construction beyond the reach of any builder or artificer in Western Europe.

It was to trace this wonderful chapter of architectural history, and to rescue some fragments from the wreck of a great idea, that the able studies of Mr Lethaby and Mr Swainson were undertaken; and although their work on the great church of St Sophia was published six years ago, we cannot help calling particular attention to it in this connexion. The method adopted by the writers is unusual, and they hardly do justice to themselves, for they have concealed their researches behind a long array of other writers, with the result that their personal

criticisms and appreciations have to be unearthed out of extracts from Paul the Silentiary, a certain anonymous writer of the twelfth (?) century, Salzenberg (who wrote about fifty years ago), and others. The authors seem to have feared the pitfall of the guide-book, but they have avoided it at the cost of clear and lucid arrangement. The mass of material collected makes their account by no means easy to follow; and the difficulty is increased by the absence of adequate illustrations. The few drawings that are given are very good so far as they go, but they are hardly sufficient to give an idea of the building; and the transcripts from Salzenberg are of little use without the accompanying diagrams. Mr Lethaby is himself a fine draughtsman, and it is to be regretted that he should have imposed on himself this self-denying ordinance. He was probably induced to do so by a certain fastidious dislike of the ordinary methods, and a desire to present a printed page which should not violate certain theories of book-illustration. The result of this preciosity is to diminish the utility of the book to the student; but, apart from this deficiency, the work of Messrs Lethaby and Swainson is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of Byzantine art. The authors were evidently in love with their subject, and they have succeeded in conveying a certain cumulative impression of the surpassing fascination of St Sophia. They evidently consider that St Sophia is not to be studied lightly, for they have deliberately and exhaustively quartered the ground, giving, in the result, a vivid impression of the extraordinary art of the time of Justinian, an art which displayed a vigour of intellect and freedom from pedantry all the more remarkable as occurring at a period when the Empire was far down the road of its long decline.

The church of St Sophia, as it now exists (fig. 2), was the second building on the site; and, with the doubtful exception of the circular brick building to the N.E. of the church, there are practically no remains of Constantine's church, which appears to have been of moderate size with a wooden roof. The old materials were no doubt used again by Justinian's builders, and fragments may be traced here and there. Constantine appears to have begun his church about 328 A.D.; and the building

FIG. 2.

**LONGITUDINAL SECTION (LOOKING SOUTH) OF S. SOPHIA.
(Reduced from the plate in SALZENBERG'S "Baudenkmale von Constantinopel.")**

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was dedicated by the Emperor Constantius in 360. It was burnt in 404, and restored by Theodosius II in 415. In 532 the church was burnt to the ground in the Nika outbreak; and Justinian at once set to work to rebuild it on the original site. The account of the anonymous writer, which Messrs Lethaby and Swainson assign to the twelfth century, gives the various legends which gradually grew up round the building of the church—how Justinian spent seven years and a half in collecting his marble columns; how he pulled down the remains of Constantine's church, and obtained possession of the adjoining properties by methods the unscrupulous cunning of which appeared to the anonymous writer not less admirable than the undoubted piety of their intention; how, too, when the architects and builders were at a standstill, miraculous personages appeared to settle the difficulty; how ten thousand men were employed on the building in two hundred bands of fifty men each, divided equally between the two sides; and finally, how, when the church was completed, the builders filled it up with water five cubits deep, and threw down the centering and scaffolding on to the water in order not to injure the walls and floors. All these stories are mythical; and the actual facts known about the building are very scanty.

The old church was destroyed in 532; the new church was begun at once, and probably completed about 537. The architects were Anthemius of Tralles, and Isidorus of Miletus, 'μηχανοποιός,' the *ingénieur* of the sixteenth century—both, it will be noted, Greeks of Asia Minor. The plan they devised was one of the most original ever adopted in any church in Christendom; and its exact genesis is still obscure. No doubt, each of its component parts can be traced back to details to be found in the Roman baths; and the general block-plan was certainly governed by the necessity of adhering to the site of the original church, a matter of absolute importance in early Christian times. Yet these alone will not account for the architectural conception of the building; and the unexplained residuum must be set down to the genius of these late Greek architects, who, instead of copying and falling below the level of the Roman builders, wrought upon what they had left, and developed a form of construction till then unparalleled in the history of

the world. Messrs Lethaby and Swainson describe the process as

‘the re-orientalization of classic art, the linking of simple massive Roman building to a new decoration, vividly alive and inventive, frank, bright and full of colour, and yet as rational in its choice and application as the construction. In the modern sense the Romans may be said to have invented building, and the Byzantine Greeks architecture.’

The description would be a good one, except for the fallacy of the last sentence, which reverts to the deeply rooted heresy of English writers on architecture, unfortunately supported by Mr Ruskin, that building does not become architecture till it is ornamented. The real achievement of these Byzantine Greeks was not in their decorative detail, beautiful though this was, but in their mastery of constructional form, their power of handling great masses of building—a power inherited from the Roman builders, yet transported by the finesse and subtlety of Greek genius into the fairyland of poetry. The strength of Rome is there tempered by the intellectual distinction of the Greek. To our mind, St Sophia is the culminating point of ancient art, the point at which for once in the history of art the East and West joined hands.

The general plan (fig. 3) of the building is an oblong, divided into a central nave, with side aisles in three divisions and two stories high, and a *narthex* at the west end opening on to an *atrium* or cloister court; but an amazing wealth of fancy is displayed in the treatment in detail. The central mass is formed of a square with piers at the four angles, supporting the four great arches which carry the central dome on pendentives. The north and south arches are filled in with arcades on the ground and gallery floor, and with windows in the arch above the gallery. The east and west arches are open. The east arch opens into a great semi-dome; and on the axis line of the church, east and west, is a smaller semicircular arch opening to a semicircular apse which forms the central apse at the east end. This central apse is flanked on either side by two semicircular recesses or *exhedræ* taken out of the north-eastern and south-eastern sides of the semicircle under the great semi-

dome, and formed with two detached columns on the line of the *exhedra*, instead of a continuous wall. The west end is similar to the east, except that, instead of the central apse, there is a rectangular space for the entrance leading into the *narthex*, and again through the *narthex* to the *atrium*. On either side of the central nave are aisles divided into three compartments by the main buttress walls of the east and west arches, and further subdivided by columns to support a most ingenious system of vaulting to the *gynæceum* galleries above, so arranged as not to interfere with the main order of columns on the north and south sides of the nave. Underneath the building are water-cisterns said to be 23 ft 6 in. from floor to ceiling, the floor over being carried on brick vaulting on piers 4 ft 6 in. square set 12 feet apart. The building was constructed mainly of brick, and a sort of peperino stone, used chiefly for those portions of it which have to stand great pressure, such as the four nave piers; and Mr Lethaby says that a horizontal course 2 feet deep runs round the whole building 4 feet above the floor. The outside walls and vaulting are entirely of bricks, of an average size of about 14 inches long by 2 inches thick, while the bricks at the base of the dome are 27 inches long by 2 inches thick.

A few dimensions will give some idea of the size of the building. The central dome covers a space 106 feet square, the east and west arches measuring 100 feet clear span. The height from the floor to the springing of the great arches is 73 feet, and the arches are about 5 feet deep. The main columns of the nave on the ground-floor are of verde-antique marble 25 ft 6 in. high, with a diameter of 3 ft 7 in.; and the total height, including base and capital, is 33 ft 6 in. The external walls are about 70 feet high, and the external measurements of the oblong plan give a length of about 295 feet and a width of 235 feet.

The whole of the interior was profusely decorated with marble and mosaic. Green marble was brought from Carystus, rose and white from Phrygia, porphyry from the Nile, emerald-green from Sparta, blood-red and white from the Iassian hills and the 'Lydian creek,' 'stone of crocus colour' (says the Silentiary), 'glittering like gold,' from the hills of the Moors, crystals from the

Celtic crags, and onyx stones and marbles from the land of Atrax, 'in parts fresh green as the sea or emerald stone, or again like blue cornflowers in grass, with here and there a drift of fallen snow.' The entire building was brilliantly lit by innumerable hanging lamps. Messrs Lethaby and Swainson have a chapter (xi) on the marble masonry of St Sophia, dealing with the species of marble employed and with the methods of application. This chapter, with its classification of the various types of the Byzantine capital, which are well illustrated, is one of the most valuable portions of the book. The writers suggest that Constantinople, at the time of the building of St Sophia, was in fact a 'marble-working centre from which sculptured marbles were dispersed to all parts of the Roman world.' The town was particularly well suited for the purpose, not only because the best workmen of the world were assembled there at the time, but also on account of its proximity to easily accessible marble quarries. The exact resemblance of capitals found in widely separated parts of the Empire, as for instance at Ravenna, at Rome, at Salonica, and elsewhere, makes this conclusion almost inevitable, and provides a reasonable explanation for what has been a dangerous stumbling-block to archaeologists. Moreover, this theory justifies an observation made by the authors, namely, that, whereas in Italy and the West old shafts and capitals were casually used up as they came to hand, at Constantinople the Byzantines made their own shafts and capitals for their own purposes.

Of the extraordinary wealth of St Sophia there are many traditions. The *iconostasis* or screen, about 20 feet high, was all of silver, and the altar-table was of gold; indeed, the anonymous author states that its top was formed of gold and eighty different sorts of metals and precious stones melted down together into a single slab. Anthony, archbishop of Novgorod, who saw St Sophia about the year 1200, says that the church possessed many sacred vessels from Jerusalem, the tables of the law, the ark, and the manna, the bronze trumpet of Joshua, and part of the marble curb of the well of Samaria. When the Crusaders captured and looted Constantinople in 1203 one of them left it on record that

‘It is the belief of me, Geoffrey Villehardouin, Maréchal of Champagne, that the plunder of this city exceeded all that has been witnessed since the creation of the world.’

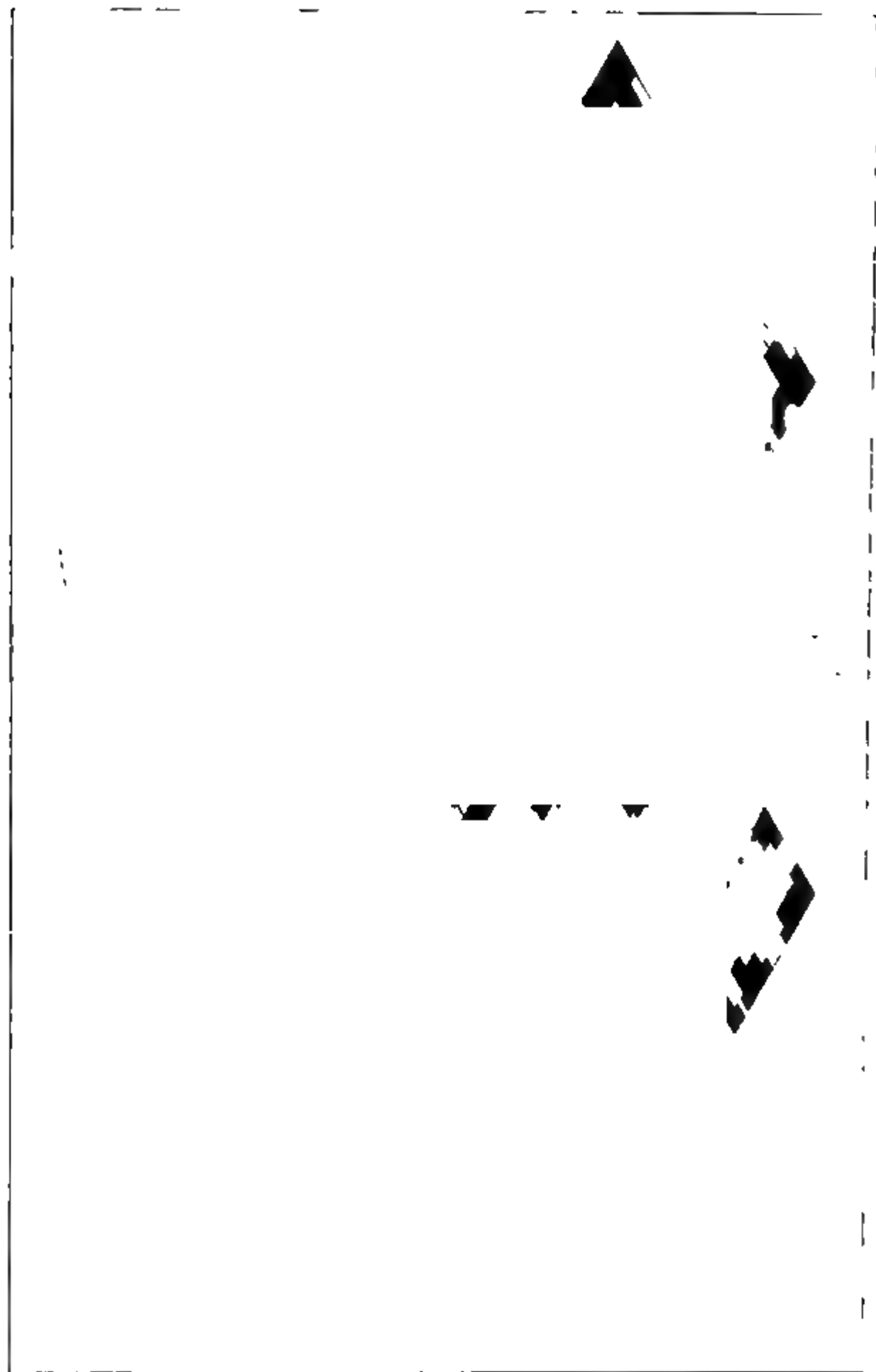
On the whole, however, the building has had an extraordinary life; and the fabric has suffered little material change. Most of its injuries have been due to earthquakes. Procopius says the eastern arch gave way during the process of building; and it is known that in 558 the eastern part of the dome and apse collapsed, destroying in its fall the altar and the *ciborium*. The work was rebuilt, with slight alterations, and consecrated in 563. The original architects were dead, and Isidorus the younger altered the construction. He appears to have increased the thickness of the north and south arches, and to have altered the section of the dome to a semicircle instead of a segment. As thus altered the building appears to have stood. In 865 a belfry-tower was added, in the centre of the west side of the *narthex*, and about this period various repairs to the building were carried out; but in 975 the west arch and semi-dome fell in and were rebuilt. In 1203 the Crusaders occupied Constantinople, and the services of the Western Church were used in St Sophia till 1261. On the recapture of the town various restorations were carried out by Michael Paleologus; and early in the fourteenth century Andronicus Paleologus built the great eastern buttresses; but apparently the eastern arch and the vaults immediately over it fell in, and were restored by Cantacuzenus after 1347. Accounts of the early part of the fifteenth century describe the church as partially ruinous; and at the end of May 1453 the city fell into the hands of the Turks, who stripped off what was left of the gold and silver, but appear to have respected the fabric. The four minarets were added by the Turks. The fabric was in a dangerous condition in 1847, and considerable repairs were carried out by Fossati in that year. It was during these works that Salzenberg wrote his account for the Prussian Government, published in 1854. What with earthquakes, Turks, and Crusaders, the preservation of St Sophia to the present day is little short of miraculous.

St Sophia is the best known type of mature Byzantine work, but it is by no means the only one.

Justinian also built the great church of the Holy Apostles, on the plan of a central square space covered by a dome, with four similar domes over the four arms. This church was destroyed, and the only account left of it is that of Procopius; but the design was imitated in the churches of St Mark at Venice and St Front at Périgueux. We have here an architectural conception scarcely inferior in interest to that of St Sophia; and it is evident that, while western art was relapsing into a state little removed from barbarism, as shown by the blundering efforts of purely Italian work of the time, the art of Byzantium maintained its vigorous vitality. It is a vain yet interesting speculation how, under other conditions, that art might have handed on a transmuted classical tradition to the modern world.

We have pointed out above that the scope of such a building as St Sophia was beyond the range of the western builders. In isolated cases churches were built in the West by Byzantines; but the vernacular church-building of the West pursued its development on humbler lines, content with or rather unconscious of any but the most rudimentary methods, and incapable of any but the most timid and ignorant construction. In the East the artistic impulse of the age of Justinian gradually lost ground in the chaotic conflicts of the dark ages, but it appears to have survived as late at least as the tenth or eleventh century. Curiously enough the finest examples are to be found no longer in Constantinople but in Greece. The church of the Hagia Theotokos, built at Constantinople at the end of the ninth century, is a feeble reflection of the soaring genius of the builders of St Sophia. For the last traces of their influence we have to turn to the church of St Nicodemus at Athens (tenth century) and the church of the monastery of Daphni, and more particularly the church of the monastery of St Luke the Stiriote in Phocis, described and illustrated in the fine monograph of Messrs Schultz and Barnsley. The authors made a complete study of this building in 1890, and their results were published in 1901 by the committee of the British school of Athens. They appear to have followed M. Diehl's history of the church, published in 1889, and they have presented a dry matter-of-fact description of the building, destitute of literary charm.

FIG. 4.



AN AERIAL SECTION THROUGH THE TWO CHURCHES, LOOKING SOUTH-EAST,
(Reduced from the plate in "The Monastery of St. Luke of Side in Phocis.")

The drawings, however, prepared by the authors and Mr A. H. Christie, are quite admirable, and a model of what illustrations of a building should be. We particularly commend the cleverly managed isometrical sections (fig. 4). The colour-drawings were, we believe, excellent, but they have been reproduced on linen fibre-paper, with results which fail to do justice to the originals. Apart from this fault, for which the authors are in no way responsible, the book seems to us to be one of the best illustrated architectural treatises that has yet appeared in England. The illustrations are strongly drawn and perfectly clear, yet simple and economical in method, and free from that terrible waste of labour inherent in French methods of draughtsmanship.

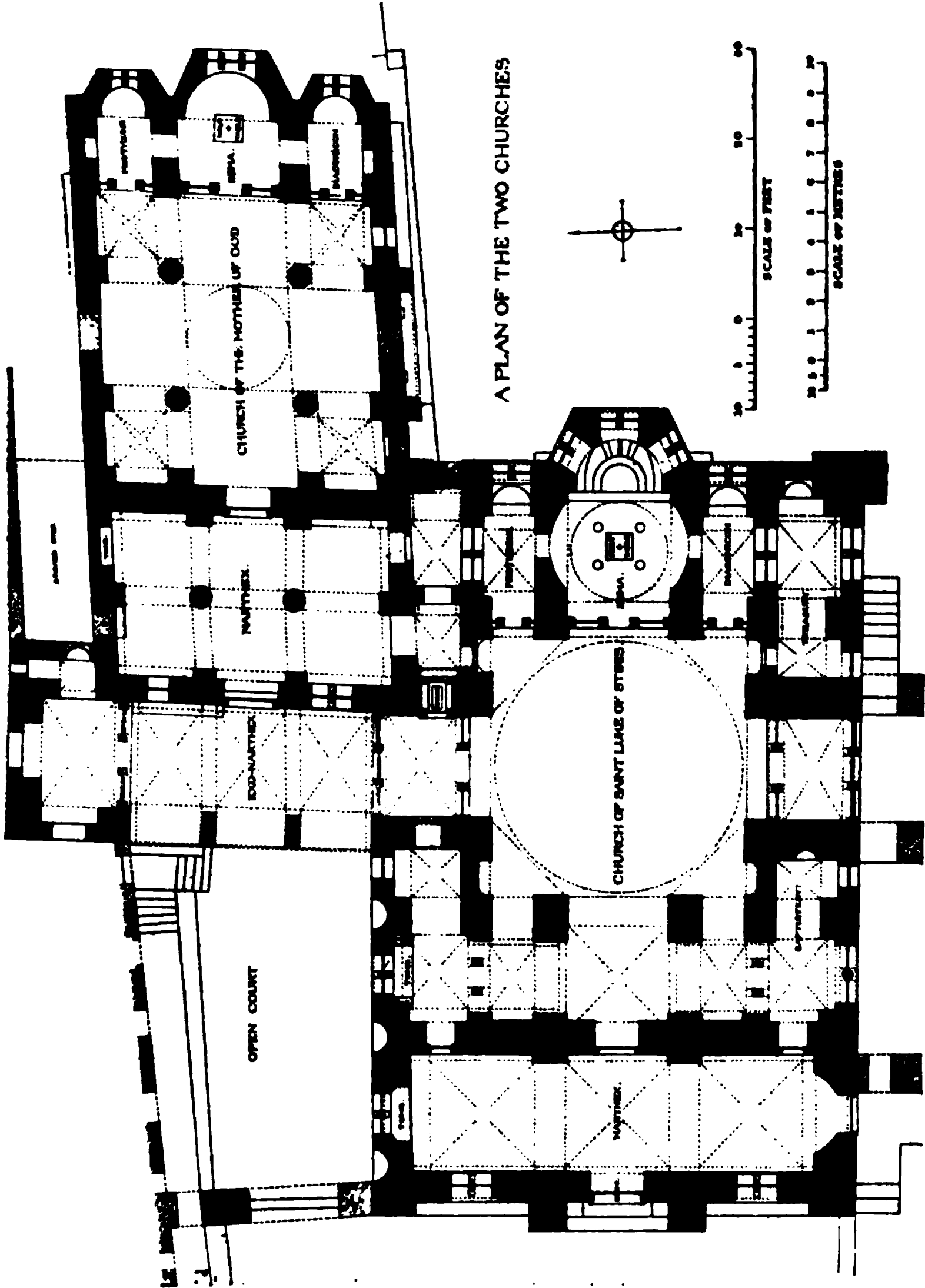
The monastery of St Luke of Stiris stands on a spur of Mount Helicon, overlooking the Gulf of Corinth. It was founded in the tenth or eleventh century in honour of St Luke the Stiriote, an ascetic of great reputation who was born in Macedonia in the latter part of the ninth century, and who, after various wanderings, settled at Phocis, and died there about A.D. 946. The peculiarity of the monastery is that it possesses two churches, a larger and a smaller, partially attached to each other, and both built probably in the eleventh century. Tradition assigns them to the Emperor Romanus II and his wife Theophano, in the years 959-963; and there is a legend, reminding one of the ten thousand workmen employed on St Sophia, that 'the commander of the Palatine guard' superintended the work, with eighty foremen, each foreman having under him eighty men. It is stated that on the great dam at Assouan the largest number of workmen employed at one time did not exceed six thousand men; and it is difficult to suggest any origin for these legends of colossal labour, except the desire to magnify the importance of the church. Messrs Schultz and Barnsley follow M. Diehl in dating the buildings from the early part of the eleventh century, and think that the great church was built first, and the smaller church, on the site of an older building, immediately afterwards. The churches (or at all events the larger church) contain some very beautiful architecture; but it is to be noted, after all, that they are very small in scale. To compare them in any way with the heroic work of Justinian's

architects seems to us to be rather absurd. The larger church, exclusive of the *narthex* and the projection of the apse, measures externally only about 66 feet in length by 54 feet in width. The height to the springing of the dome is 41 feet 6 inches. The diameter of the central dome is 29 feet. The smaller church is little more than a chapel. The constructional difficulties to be encountered were thus much slighter than those successfully dealt with by Justinian's architects; and, in spite of their intrinsic beauty, these buildings mark the slow decline of Byzantine art in the East.

The two churches (fig. 5) are good examples of two divergent methods of church-building which appeared in later Byzantine architecture. The larger church, dedicated to St Luke, follows the type of building in which the large central square is covered by a wide dome, with slight projection above the roof, resting on eight arches on an octagon plan. The smaller church of the Theotokos follows the type of a central space, covered by a much smaller dome, raised on a circular drum rising high above the roof and carried on four detached columns. This little building is said to be in a more or less ruinous state, and, except for some fine marble pavements and some interesting detail on the outside, is of much less importance than the larger church. The authors are exercised over the problem why two different types of church should have been adopted on the same site and at the same time. We suggest a possible explanation; that as the smaller church of Phocis was dedicated to the Theotokos or Mother of God, it followed in plan and construction the church of the Theotokos at Constantinople, built towards the end of the ninth century. There are slight variations in detail, but the plan and construction are practically the same.

From the architectural point of view the smaller church is very inferior to the larger. The church of St Luke of Stiris has a large central square space which is surrounded by twelve piers. The transition from the square to the circle covered in by the dome is effected by means of eight arches, one on each side, north, south, east, and west, and one across each angle on the diagonal lines. All the arches appear to be curved to the circle in plan, the spandrels forming pendentives, and

FIG. 5.



PLAN OF THE TWO CHURCHES.
(Reduced from the plan in "The Monastery of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocia.")

the four angles are covered in with peculiarly shaped vaults working out from the square of the re-entering angles to the four arches taken across the angles on the diagonal lines. In the hemispherical dome are pierced sixteen windows. The outside face of the dome wall is in sixteen vertical piers, taken up about half the height of the dome. This extra weight helps to neutralise the thrust of the dome, which is met by the four arms of the church. The system of construction is at once exceedingly strong and very simple. Indeed it was the great achievement of this higher type of Byzantine architecture that it dispensed with all frippery of construction and ornament. The architectural forms used are actually the constructive forms. There is no concealment behind orders and entablatures and the other devices of revived classicism, none of that torturing of stone into crockets and buttresses and tracery which make a great deal of later Gothic ridiculous. The builder arrived at his forms by a free play of the intellect, guided by a fine artistic sense and an inestimable tradition, and then, without concealing or in any way altering his forms, he got his decorative effect by covering the flat surfaces with thin sheets of various marbles, and all the curved surfaces with mosaics. The effect is inconceivably beautiful to an eye accustomed only to the interiors of Northern Gothic, and probably no church architecture has ever been devised in which means and ends have been adapted to each other with more admirable economy and more consummate intelligence.

The range of Byzantine genius was indeed almost bewildering; and the study of early Christian architecture, by which we mean, practically, church architecture from the time of Constantine onwards to the twelfth century, is rendered the more difficult by the absence of clear lines of classification. Even as regards Roman architecture itself there still appear to be lingering misconceptions. It has been too much the habit to assume that Roman architecture was merely a tame reproduction of Greek. This was by no means the case. So far as mere details of ornament went, so far as concerned the orders, and what we may call the dressing of architecture, we may concede at once that the Romans copied the Greeks, and copied them badly. This, however, does not go to the root of

the matter. The Roman was a born architect, in the sense of what is most vital in architecture, for he was a born constructor; and it was out of this strong practical constructive sense that a really new architecture was developed. The arches of his aqueducts, the tremendous feats of his concrete vaulting, the constructional daring of his baths and amphitheatres, far outweighed his carelessness or insensibility to the refinements of ornament. Moreover, he was, in fact, as in Diocletian's palace, learning to dispense with the pedantries of his masters; and in Syria he had worked out a method of architecture of which the chief characteristic was its practical sense and unfaltering logic—an architecture that eliminated merely ornamental forms, and worked out an abstract system of design from the materials to hand. When the Empire split up, the continuity of architectural development was broken. Roman architecture in the West died with the Roman Empire; but in the East, or rather at Byzantium, the legacy of Rome passed into the hands of men capable of developing it to the utmost—men who did, in fact, evolve from it a new type of architecture, probably the most truly original that the world has ever seen.

It is interesting to trace the progress of the Greek mind at work on the Roman tradition. In the earlier churches that tradition was still strong. At San Vitale, for instance, the dome was constructed of vessels of terracotta to neutralise the thrust—a substitute for the inverted saucer construction of the concrete dome. But San Vitale was probably a Byzantine copy of a certain church at Antioch built by Constantine's architects; it is in St Sophia that we have the first and most signal illustration of the transformation of Roman construction by the genius of the later Greeks. There, for the first time, at any rate on a large scale, we have the thrust of the dome recognised and strongly dealt with by an elaborate system of counter-thrust worked out within the building itself, and not, as in Gothic architecture, somewhat artlessly met by the props and stays of external buttresses. This seems to us to be the highest point of attainment ever reached by the Byzantine architects. Other types of dome construction were employed by them, and in all their buildings they devised a very beautiful method of ornament; but St Sophia remains their last word.

The question presents itself, how far it is possible or even desirable to take up this thread again in modern architecture. The attempts hitherto made to modernise Romanesque architecture have been dismal failures in this country and in others. The basilica at Wilton is a lamentable building. Thirty years ago Mr Burges was regarded by enthusiastic students as the apostle of a new and lively architecture; but his influence died with him, and indeed with reason, for, with all his ability, Mr Burges was a craftsman rather than an architect; and so little did he appreciate the meaning of early Christian architecture that, when he submitted a design for the memorial church at Constantinople, he selected Italian Gothic as his manner.

The Romanesque of more recent buildings is hardly more convincing than the different versions of Gothic practised with much assiduity in England during the second half of the nineteenth century; and, indeed, one would not do the authors of these versions the injustice of supposing that they were believers in their own methods, for, with all their fondness for masquerading, they were astute and capable men. With one or two brilliant exceptions, the day of this generation has past; and we fear that its members will not occupy a very conspicuous place in the ultimate list of English worthies. They have proved once more the vanity of an art dictated by sentiment and fashion, and their positive contribution to architectural thought is practically nil. Indeed, it is a sobering reflection, to those who believe in continuous progress, that the Gothic revival, which insisted on the sincerity and honesty of its building, rapidly became one of the most insincere movements that have ever happened in the history of architecture. No man in his senses could say that the architecture of the Law Courts, with all its merits, expressed in the slightest degree the purpose of the building, or in any sense proceeded out of that purpose. In that building, and in most of the churches of the time, vast quantities of detail were introduced for little reason except that they were in the style and of the period; and if, as Mr Lethaby justly says, art is the sincere expression of one's self, one can only conclude that these architects had no self to express, or chose to conceal it in obedience to a prevailing fashion in sentiment.

The latest lead has undoubtedly been given by Mr Bentley's splendid cathedral at Westminster. That able architect sought his inspiration in Byzantine art; and the result is probably the finest church built in England since the days of Wren. But then how did Mr Bentley go to work? In the first place he was an artist absolutely steeped in the knowledge of his art; and in the second place, instead of starting from the outside, that is with superficial features collected from other buildings, he started from within, with a great scheme of construction, which he proceeded to realise in his own way and with all the resources of his immense knowledge. It is yet too soon to say whether this is the first word of a new order or the last word of the old. Yet, on the whole, it is a work done in the spirit of the Byzantines, the work of a man who, while availing himself to the full of his knowledge, kept it in subordination to the play of his intelligence. And this seems to us what is most wanted in modern architecture. William Morris used to say that architecture must start again at the beginning, a remark of far-reaching sagacity, in singular contrast with his own practice in ornament; but by 'beginning again' we do not mean intentional eccentricity and the repudiation of knowledge, or such cheap experiments in originality as disfigured the lectures of Viollet le Duc. Good architecture is not arrived at by violent efforts to be original. If architecture is again to become an art with assured vitality, it must dispense with the unessential, and address itself to the root of the matter, namely, to the task of finding the absolutely best expression for the constructive necessities of a building. This is the lesson to be learnt from Justinian's architects. They taught the world that when all the conventions are exhausted, architecture of the greatest beauty may yet be possible, given great knowledge of the art, hard and concentrated thought, and the free play of the imagination on the actual conditions of the problem.

REGINALD BLOMFIELD.

Art. V.—JOHN GOWER, POET.

1. *The Complete Works of John Gower*. Edited from the Manuscripts, with Introductions, Notes, and Glossaries. By G. C. Macaulay. Four vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899–1902.
2. *The Fourteenth Century*. By F. J. Snell. ('Periods of European Literature'; edited by Professor Saintsbury.) Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1899.

GOWER has not lacked praise in his day; few authors have a better record. To be ranked along with Chaucer, 'superlative as poets laureate,' to receive, along with Chaucer, the homage of all the notable English and Scottish poets for more than a century, and still to be remembered with esteem in the days of Shakespeare—this is the reward of Gower's learning and diligence. Naturally there is much to set off on the other side. If he was equalled with Chaucer, so was Lydgate, as in Dunbar's 'Lament for the Makers,' speaking of the triumph of Death,

'He has done peteouslie devour
The noble Chaucer of makaris flour,
The Monk of Bery and Gower all thre.'

And the fame of Gower, which from the first had something conventional and fashionable about it, became more and more shadowy, till at last his reputation settled down into a place merely respectable in the history of English literature, as a sort of foil to Chaucer. He is taken to represent the ideals and the learning of Chaucer without his genius; he is the average educated man of the fourteenth century at his best, brought by training and industry to the accomplishment of a large amount of literary work, but essentially commonplace and dull for all his polite literature. Such, it may be said, is the established opinion about Gower, where he is remembered at all.

Before Mr Macaulay's, there was no complete edition of Gower. His English book, the 'Confessio Amantis,' had never been well edited; his French book, the 'Speculum Meditantis' was lost. Mr Macaulay has

discovered the '*Speculum Meditantis*'; he has made a good text of the English poem. These are the chief things. It is something to have found a lost work of an old English poet, in a language so interesting historically as Gower's French; and the text of the '*Confessio Amantis*' needed revision as much as anything in the documents of that time. Besides, Mr Macaulay has given the Latin poems and the French *balades* of Gower, and provided for all his matter a thoroughly sound apparatus of history, philology, and criticism. Few books are easier to review; everything that can be wanted has been foreseen. It is a pleasure to look at Mr Macaulay's workmanship. He has mastered his subject; he has not grudged the most laborious scrutiny of details;* and his good sense and discretion are shown equally in explaining his author's grammar, in deciding on the text, and in estimating the value of the poetry.

That Mr Macaulay's judgment is to be trusted on points of taste has been shown in his little book on Francis Beaumont (1883). In dealing with Gower he has been compelled to turn to many things less attractive than the purely literary criticism of his author; he has proved that good sense in one department of literature is no disqualification for other kinds of study; and though he has probably less liking for philological investigation than for the historical point of view, he gives the same steady attention to both. The old allegory of the wedding of Mercury and Philology has been too often belied by numerous relations of the lady; it is satisfactory to find the parties, Wit and Learning, so well reconciled as here.

The new edition will make no revolutionary change in the general estimate of Gower. He remains what he was before, in the common opinion of most critics, an industrious and fluent writer, a steady moralist, fully possessed of all the available doctrine, and all the usual illustrations and examples, that were at the service of any preacher. Mr Macaulay, by his discovery of a large new

* One curious point is decided by Mr Macaulay. Why does Gower refer to '*Civile*' (the civil law) as authority for the fable of the '*Dog in the Manger*'? Because the '*Lex Furia Caninia*' had been repealed as *invida*, and was generally misconstrued as '*Lex Canina*.' (See the note on '*Conf. Amant.*' ii, 88.)

portion of the works of Gower, has even done something to deepen the impression that Gower's talent is commonplace; for the 'Speculum Meditantis,' the 'Mirour de l'Omme,' contains thirty thousand lines of flat moralising, every page of it full of the things that every one knew, a mirror of the medieval doctrine which belonged to no one in particular.

At the same time, without any paradox or any attempt to find unappreciated genius in Gower, Mr Macaulay's remarks on his literary character have brought out more clearly the very considerable merit of his style; and the result is that Gower, though somewhat heavily weighted with the addition of his long French poem, comes out with increased distinction as a 'correct' poet. 'Correctness' is his poetical virtue, his title of honour. It has been recognised before; but in the newly established text of the 'Confessio Amantis' the art of Gower is shown to have been greater than was supposed when his text was still troubled with small inaccuracies. Now it has been restored and burnished; and Gower, in spite of all his heavy matter, appears as a poet with a distinct and individual grace, still to be read with pleasure. The spirit of poetry has seldom had to contend with so large a mass of prose as the contents of Gower's moral encyclopædias, but it has not been defeated. It is hardly discernible in Gower except in the ease of his style; but this is in its way as truly poetical as the stronger powers of imagination or lyric passion, which Gower did not possess. It may seem a slender gift when compared with the wealth of Chaucer, but it is no less sincere and true. He takes the ear with his unaffected flowing verse; it steals into the mind before the art of it is consciously noted, 'the sense variously drawn out from one line to another,' the accents varied in a way that has become traditional in English short verse of this kind. Apart from the ancient language, Gower's melody is that of modern English poetry, or rather of no particular age at all.

' Bot for men sein, and soth it is,
That who that al of wisdom writ
It dulleth ofte a mannes wit
To him that schal it aldai rede,
For thilke cause, if that ye rede,

I wolde go the middel weie,
 And wryte a bok betwen the tweie,
 Somwhat of lust, somewhat of lore,
 That of the lasse or of the more
 Som man mai lyke of that I wryte :
 And for that fewe men endite
 In oure englissch, I thenke make
 A bok for king Richardes sake,
 To whom belongeth my ligeance
 With al myn hertes obeissance
 In al that evere a liege man
 Unto his king may doon or can.'

The 'progress of poesy' since these lines were written has been in anything but a straight course, and many great and many prosperous poets have come short of the point reached by Gower's style. Who has a right to say that Gower is quaint, or even 'medieval'? Spenser is less secure than Gower; most of the Elizabethans are loud and affected compared with him. As to the good taste of the eighteenth century, it is perhaps enough to say that it is something different from the courtesy of Chaucer's time; in poetry it allowed some things which to Gower would have seemed violent. Is Gower more antiquated in style than Dr Young? Which is nearer the centre—the passage just quoted, or the following from the moralist of Queen Anne's reign, versifying the Day of Judgment?

'Now charnels rattle; scatter'd limbs, and all
 The various bones, obsequious to the call,
 Self mov'd, advance; the neck, perhaps, to meet
 The distant head; the distant legs the feet.
 Dreadful to view, see through the dusky sky
 Fragments of bodies in confusion fly,
 To distant regions journeying, there to claim
 Deserted members and compleat the frame.'

There is nothing unreasonable in the opinion, which seems naturally suggested by these invidious comparisons, that Gower had a quality of style for which there is no better term than 'natural.' It is an old fallacious term in criticism, but it expresses what people mean. Gower 'followed Nature,' inasmuch as he did not overload, or bluster, or, at any rate in his English work, go raking

for ornamental phrases out of books. Like Chaucer's Franklin, he cared nothing for 'Marcus, Tullius ne Cithero.'*

'Colours of rethoryk ben me to queynte.'

But his natural utterance is the result of a long process, in which the study of rhetoric had its place, during the generations that formed the courteous art of poetry in France. The beauty of it was that the rhetoric had been thoroughly assimilated and the school processes forgotten before Gower took in hand to write. Young's contemporaries were most of them still conscious of their lessons and anxious to do what the grammar-schools had taught them. Gower's language is never strained, and it is never anything but gentle. Wordsworth's ideal of poetical expression might be exemplified from Gower, and justified; for though Gower's vocabulary is not taken from the 'humble and rustic life' which Wordsworth recommended, it is natural and unaffected; there is no artificial rhetoric in his phrasing, there are no ornamental words daubed over his page, there is, in short, nothing remarkable about his diction. It is attractive purely through its simplicity and ease, 'as clean as hill-well water.'

Gower invented nothing, either in style or matter. The merit of his style is that it accomplishes in English what had been attained long before and practised for many generations in France. He belongs to the French courtly school. Everything that is said in praise of Gower's style might be repeated with little variation about many French poets from the twelfth century downward—Benoit de Sainte-More, Chrestien de Troyes and his followers; the authors of the 'Romaunt of the Rose' in the thirteenth century; Eustache Deschamps and Froissart, Gower's contemporaries. It was in France, and especially in French short verse, that the style was first employed which Chaucer and Gower made their own in English. It is all French: the simple eloquence, utterly incapable of forced language, utterly different from the old English standard of poetical expression, which still

* Gower really thought there were two of them:

'And thilke time at Rome also

Was Tullius with Cithero.'—C.A. iv, 2647.

survived in Gower's day in the emphatic splendours of the alliterative poems. It is this quality of style, this perfect ease and freshness, that makes old French literature what it is—a land of rest and solace, where nothing glares, nothing dazzles or stuns the sense; where the weary reading man may escape from the thunderings and trumpeting of more vehement literary schools.

It was to this that English literature was drawn, from a time long before Gower and Chaucer; not, indeed, in any unanimous way (otherwise nothing would have remained for Gower to do), but occasionally, tentatively, in the works of writers who kept themselves from the ordinary English faults of misrule and awkwardness, and followed the French example of a proper literary demeanour. Particularly in one poem of the thirteenth century, 'The Owl and the Nightingale' (noted by Mr Macaulay in one place on account of its versification), the new model seems to have been studied, with full appreciation of its meaning and value, in the same original and free way that Chaucer followed in his transactions with foreign literature. 'The Owl and the Nightingale' is a humorous poem, written in octosyllabic verse as correct as Chaucer's, with the same ironical self-possession, the same urbanity. Here evidently the phrasing and versification, the correct, unimpeded, fluent style, the poetical good manners, are due to a close knowledge of French literature, and to something more than a mere copying of the external features.

Nicholas of Guildford, the author of 'The Owl and the Nightingale,' understood the intentions of the French authors as Chaucer or, we might say, changing the reference, as Dryden understood them. He was in sympathy with them before he copied their style; which means that, so early as the thirteenth century, it was possible for an Englishman to compete in English with the elegances of French courtly verse; to escape, on the one hand, from the hindrances of the common boorish doggerel, to refuse, on the other, the temptations of the nobler alliterative poetry, and to begin a tradition of polite literature, after the mode of France, without any slavish subjection to the foreigner.

Again, the style of Barbour, though less correct than his contemporary, Gower, proves how well the spirit and manner of France had been appropriated. 'The Bruce' is

a poem of the same kind as the French life of William Marshall; in verse, in grammar and diction, it follows the French school; it has the same simplicity of diction, the same ease of narrative as the 'Roman de Thèbes' or any other of the romances that Barbour loved.

Chaucer, being a man of genius, made much more than Gower out of his study of his masters; but Gower, by the side of Chaucer, shows that there was something in the time which encouraged the art of poetry. The end of the fourteenth century saw the culmination of a long process. The correct verse of Chaucer and Gower was required by the conditions of the age in which they lived; or, to put it more positively, they followed a number of early writers who had tried for correctness, and they were obliged to try harder and gain more.

The decline of English poetry in the fifteenth century, with the shambling verse of Lydgate and the other degenerate Chaucerians, is difficult to understand and explain. Whatever the cause may have been, Lydgate, at any rate, serves to bring out the value of Gower and to mark the period of 1400, the age of Chaucer, as a time of cultivated literary taste in which Chaucer was not alone. The latter half of the fourteenth century is more consciously artistic, more secure in command of its resources, than any other period till the time of Pope; and it may be doubted whether even Pope is more of an artist than Gower.

'The spirit of the age' is rightly regarded with some diffidence by most sober readers when brought forward to explain any particular facts in literary or any other history; but that is no reason why one should refuse to acknowledge the 'general tendencies' of an historical period. The fourteenth century has a distinct character, peculiarly interesting as coming between the medieval and the modern world, not merely in the hackneyed part of 'an age of transition,' but as achieving certain things which no later progress has surpassed, such as the Chronicles of Froissart, the prose of Boccaccio, the poems of Dante, Petrarch, and Chaucer. The Italian authors do not concern Gower; but he is pretty fully in sympathy with Froissart, and shares with him the characteristic fourteenth-century habit of mind.

The fourteenth century was too late for that medieval

ferment of invention and exploration, that great romantic movement which, in the twelfth century, had discovered and put into shape an infinity of stories for the whole of Christendom to enjoy and to repeat; all the old 'matters of Rome and of Britain,' the tale of Troy and of Thebes, of Arthur and Alexander. In the fourteenth there was not much to be done in the way of new subject-matter, except in contemporary history, like Froissart's. The artists, like Boccaccio and Chaucer, were chiefly engaged in recasting old material, with a definite resolve to make the form expressive and valuable for its own sake. Literary reflection and criticism (though these had not been wanting in the earlier days among the French and Provençal poets) were now more self-conscious and ambitious. The artists came to their themes in a modern critical spirit, weighing and choosing, deliberating over alternative modes of treatment, bent on finding the right arrangement and proportion. Chaucer's procedure in his adaptations from Boccaccio shows this clearly. 'Troilus and Criseide,' with all its copious detail and all its freedom, is, from one point of view, to put it at its lowest terms, an exercise in composition, a lesson of the workshop. Every page of it, if compared with the Italian original, proves the fine critical sense of Chaucer; there is no better example in English, if there is any in the world, of studious literary art, which at the same time is perfectly fresh and spirited. Chaucer had the entry of Italian schools of poetry which were not open to Gower. Gower's masters were French; and French literature had not the same faculties as Italian.

But the French poets also were growing out of the Middle Ages. Compared with the Italians, they are no doubt old-fashioned. They never learned the skill of arrangement, of *ordonnance*, of poetical logic, which came naturally to Boccaccio, and was learned from him, and improved, by Chaucer. They are desultory and diffuse; and they also keep, unlike the Italians, the simple medieval phrasing, the innocent, garrulous language, which makes Old French sound like the conversation of the Golden Age. At the same time, fourteenth-century French, while in many respects retaining its primitive and unsophisticated grace, was becoming modern in its ideas. Froissart, in his verse even more than his prose, represents the new

'urbanity' of the later Middle Ages, the Horatian interest in contemporary manners, which naturally requires a different kind of literature from the old forms of romance or courtly lyric. Froissart's 'Buisson de Jeunesse' and 'Espinette Amoureuse' are disguised by their old language and their medieval illustrations; in reality, great part of them belongs to the same class as the Epistles of Horace.

Chaucer had his favourite French poets before him when he wrote polite verse on modern subjects, and his humorous tone is not a new thing; he shares it with Froissart and Deschamps, just as there is a common manner of speaking and thinking among French and English poets in the time of Dryden or of Pope. Too much has been made of the conventionality of the French school to which Chaucer and Gower belonged. Chaucer is often represented as escaping from the French conventional tradition—found, for instance, in the 'Book of the Duchess'—to an independent, humorous view of life in the 'Canterbury Tales.' There is less of a contrast between the 'Book of the Duchess' and the 'Canterbury Tales' than is sometimes supposed. The 'Book of the Duchess' has plenty of life in it; and much of its freedom, its versatility, its gentle changes of tone between the satirical and the elegiac, might be matched in the French poetry of the day. Chaucer got more from the French than their stock devices, such as the allegorical dream and the May morning pageant. And here Gower is Chaucer's ally, his equal, wherever it is possible to compare them, in the polite simplicity, the perfect ease of conversation, which was the peculiar gift of the French poets. It is not purely literary, but depends on an understanding between the poet and his readers, a social sympathy, as M. Gaston Paris has explained so admirably in his essay on the general character of French literature.* Gower and Chaucer, unlike as they are in genius, have more of this than most English writers; Gower has little else to distinguish him besides this indefinable grace of manner and the elegance of verse which goes along with it.

* In the Preface (1896) to the 'Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française,' edited by Petit de Julleville. The death of Gaston Paris (March 6) is an incalculable loss in the fields of medieval scholarship and history, affecting England scarcely less than France.

Gower's versification has been studied by his editor, and deserves the care he has bestowed on it. *In tenui labor*; it is thin enough, in one sense, but thin like the music of the clavichord. Gower's art of poetry is as thorough as if he were using the louder instruments. Fluent as his verse is, there is no 'fatal facility'; the cadences are tested, the syllables chosen. An example to which Mr Macaulay calls attention is in the vision of ladies in the story of Rosiphelee ('Conf. Amant.' iv, 1315 sq.):

'In kertles and in copes riche
Thei weren clothed, alle liche,
Departed evene of whyt and blew;
With alle lustes that sche knew
Thei were enbrouded overal.
Here bodies weren long and smal,
The beaute faye upon her face
Non erthly thing it may desface;
Corones on here hed thei beere,
As ech of hem a qweene weere,
That al the gold of Cresus halle
The leste coronal of alle
Ne mihte have boght after the worth:
Thus come thei ridende forth.'

Here it is noted that an earlier version read:

'The beaute of hire face schon
Wel bryhtere than the cristall ston.'

And it may be added that the change to the new reading—'The beaute faye upon her face' (i.e. 'The fairy beauty on their faces')—is characteristic of Gower's style, both in the choice of the term, the alliteration, and the harmony of the vowels—for of course the vowels of his 'faye' and 'face' are different, and not as they would be in modern English. It is not easy without long quotations to show how good Gower can be; one cannot tell the beauty of a stream from looking at a selected inch or two. But the following short passage from a lover's soliloquy will prove that Gower, as a 'courtly maker,' had little to learn (iv, 605 sq.):

'Whi hast thou drede of so good on,
Whom alle vertu hath begon,

That in hire is no violence
Bot goodlihiede and innocence
Withouten spot of eny blame?
Ha, nyce herte, fy for schame!
Ha, couard herte of love unlered,
Wherof art thou so sore afered,
That thou thi tunge soffrest frese,
And wolt thi goode wordes lese,
Whan thou hast founde time and space?’

Much of Chaucer's lighter verse, especially in the 'House of Fame,' is, as Mr Macaulay points out, less regular than Gower's. There is some fallacy, perhaps, in the comparison. The 'House of Fame' was not written with the same motives as the 'Confessio Amantis,' though it belongs to the same medieval world and takes pleasure in the same sort of learning. The 'House of Fame' is not honest. The medieval pedantry in it is meant ironically; it is not like Gower's good faith. Chaucer was amusing himself, in the 'House of Fame,' after the exacting work of his 'Troilus.' In that poem, Pandarus—who no doubt represents the Italian ideal of culture—had expressly forbidden the comfortable, easy-going, medieval fashion of bundling all sorts of discordant things together. Chaucer knew what he was about when he proceeded to disregard the prescriptions of Pandarus; and so, when he acknowledges in the 'House of Fame' that the rhyme is 'light and lewd,' the plain certainty is that he meant it to be so. The 'House of Fame' is not a specimen of Chaucer's art, hardly more so, indeed, than the 'Rime of Sir Thopas.' And still, even when the deliberate artlessness of the 'House of Fame' is left out of account, when Gower and Chaucer are matched on equal terms, it may appear that Gower is the more correct poet within his own compass. That there is a larger harmony of composition rather than of phrasing, where Gower does not come into the field against Chaucer, is sufficiently obvious. But in the 'Book of the Duchess' Chaucer may be compared with Gower; the two poets are here in the same school, and Chaucer has not yet the ideas and the ambitions which he got from Italy. Both writers have rendered from Ovid the tale of Ceyx and Alcyone; and Mr Macaulay thinks that Chaucer has been less successful in repro-

ducing the story than Gower. It may be doubted whether this is so. Chaucer's phrasing, even in this early conventional work, is more 'quick and forgetive' than Gower's; for instance, in the description of the valley of sleep:

'That stant betwixe roches tweye
 Ther never yet grew corn ne gras,
 Ne tre, ne no thing that ought was,
 Best ne man, ne no wiht elles,
 Save ther were a fewe welles
 Came renning fro the cliffes adoun,
 That made a deedly sleping soun,
 And ronnen doun riht by a cave
 That was under a rokke y-grave
 Amidde the valey, wonder depe.'

This passage has one line with the English licence in it, dropping a syllable at the beginning—

'Best ne man, ne no wiht elles'—

according to the tradition which is found more fully developed in the short verse of Fletcher's 'Faithful Shepherdess,' and after that in 'L'Allegro.' It is one mark of the difference between Chaucer and Gower; Gower is more precise, and does not like this variation from the French standard. His description is more detailed, and it has no such beauties as the 'deedly sleping soun' of Chaucer's wells; yet it is good writing:

'And forto speke of that withoute,
 Ther stant no gret tree nyh aboute
 Wher on ther myhte crowe or pie
 Alihte, forto clepe or crie:
 Ther is no cok to crowe day,
 Ne beste non which noise may
 The hell, bot al aboute round
 Ther is growende upon the ground
 Popi, which berth the sed of slep,
 With othre herbes suche an hep.
 A stille water for the nones
 Rennende upon the smale stones,
 Which hihte of Lethes the rivere,
 Under that hell in such manere
 Ther is, which yifh gret appetit
 To slepe. And thus full of delit

Slep hath his hous ; and of his couche
Withinne his chambre if I schal touche,
Of hebenus that slepi tree
The bordes al aboute be,
And for he scholde slepe softe,
Upon a fethrebed alofte
He lith with many a pilwe of doun.'

It seems no injustice to Gower to say that this is less good than Chaucer. But in a way it is more correct. Chaucer's irregularity of verse is not allowed by Gower ; and this is only one proof of the literary conscience which kept watch over all Gower's writing, and is justified by the continuous, yet subtly varied eloquence of his narrative.

Gower has no approach to the imaginative world of Chaucer's 'Troilus' ; it is as far beyond him as Shakespeare is. But he has great skill in giving the right shape to a story, on his own scale and with his own light way of treating dramatic problems. His editor has noted many places in which Gower's judgment is found working to better effect than his masters' ; he does not follow tamely. In some stories he has improved on Ovid ; at any rate, a good case can be made out for him. But his stories are always kept to the simplest terms ; there is no drama, except the most elementary. Indeed, it is part of the charm of his stories that they are so simple, so well within the author's powers. Naturally, there is no chance in them for the rich workmanship of Chaucer. They do not touch the mind in the same way. But as pure narrative they are generally admirable. Many examples might be quoted ; the story of Rosiphelee, already referred to, is well suited for an illustration of Gower's talent, because it is more or less the same story as Dryden's 'Theodore and Honoria,' though the cruel beauty in the 'Confessio Amantis' is less severely punished. Gower will bear comparison both with Dryden and Boccaccio. The skill with which the story is worked out could only be proved by full quotation. What the style is like has been shown in the quotation given above ; and it needs no long consideration to find out that there Gower has succeeded.

His version of Medea and Jason is worth some attention for various reasons. The story is one in which medieval writers had great chances and sometimes took

them, because the story is romantic, one might say medieval, from the beginning. Nothing is better fitted for romance than the plot of the king's daughter helping the adventurer with her magic.* Gower has gone for his incidents to the first medieval author who told the story as a romance of chivalry, Benoit de Sainte-More, in the 'Roman de Troie.' It cannot be said that he has surpassed the French poet, for the author of the 'Roman de Troie' was as elegant a poet as Gower, and much stronger in explaining motives; also, he worked on a larger scale. But it is pleasant to see how Gower acknowledges the lasting authority of the early French romantic school by going to the poet of the twelfth century rather than to their common authority, Ovid, for advice; and how well he keeps the clear, simple lines of the story untroubled by details. As Mr Macaulay shows, Gower revised the incidents so as to keep the most effective parts of the story. He leaves out the earlier tale of Jason (the malignant policy of his uncle sending him on a deadly adventure), because he was not writing a long story, and this part of the plot was not necessary. He passes lightly over the voyage of the Argonauts, and selects the two important things—first, the love of Medea and Jason, with her help in the winning of the Fleece, and secondly, the treachery of Jason, and Medea's revenge. He does not rely for his story on the dull and pretentious Latin of Guido delle Colonne, like Chaucer and the author of the alliterative 'Troy Book.' It was a right instinct that led him to the old French.

Gower has, indeed, almost as much in common with twelfth-century French as with Froissart. Although he is in many ways modern in style, in his matter it is otherwise. He is easily contented with what has been long established; neither his stories nor his moralisings are different in kind from what had been current in France two hundred years before; and his persevering zeal for classification, however admirable to a medieval taste, would at no time have been applauded for any novelty of spirit or principle. Not that he is remarkably old-fashioned, for along with new ambitions in France at this time there was a rather dismal reproduction of old

* Cf. A. Lang, 'A Far-travelled Tale,' in 'Custom and Myth.'

wares, an increasing trade in commonplaces, as the works of Alain Chartier and Christine de Pisan show.

The parts of the 'Confessio Amantis' that are not story-telling have generally been thought the most monotonous, on account of the formalism of the Confessor's teaching, and his prosaic division of the subject under heads like a text-book. Mr Macaulay has done justice to this portion of Gower's work. The lover's account of himself is no mere repetition of old literary formulas; and the lady is not the abstract divinity of the old lyric convention :—

‘ And if hir list to riden oute
On pelrinage or other stede,
I come, thogh I be noght bede
And take hire in min arm alofte
And sette hire in hire sadel softe,
And so forth lede hire be the bridel,
For that I wolde noght ben ydel.
And if hire list to ride in char,
And thanne I mai therof be war,
Anon I schape me to ryde
Riht evene be the chares side;
And as I mai, I speke among,
And otherwhile I singe a song,
Which Ovide in his bokes made,
And seide, “ O whiche sorwes glade,
O which wofull prosperite
Belongeth to the proprete
Of love, who so wole him serve!
And yit therfro mai noman swerve,
That he ne mot his lawe obeie.” ’

The 'wofull prosperite' of the last sentence is from the traditional rhetoric; all the poets were fond of this figure, and it is still in use long after Gower. But what goes before (and there is much besides what has been quoted) is freshly studied, and with some humour. The editor has not neglected the satirical strain in Gower, which is better and more Chaucerian in the 'Confessio Amantis' than in the forced invectives of the Latin poem. Mr Macaulay has noted among other passages one which Chaucer might have written; it goes to confirm what has been said already, that the ironical quality which is most associated with Chaucer's name is largely a property of

the age, as it is also in the days of Steele and Addison. Gower as a moralist takes note of a gentleman's amatory digressions, and touches off his genial conversation with his wife when he comes home again. The pastoral motive, naturally, is not introduced by the husband:—

‘ Bot therof wot nothing the wif
At hom, which loveth as hir lif
Hir lord, and sitt alday wisshinge
After hir lordes hom comynge :
Bot whan that he comth hom at eve,
Anon he makth his wif beleve,
For sche noght elles scholde knowe :
He telth hire hou his hunte hath blowe,
And hou his houndes have wel runne,
And hou ther schon a merye sunne,
And hou his haukes flowen wel ;
But he wol telle her nevere a diel
Hou he to love untrewe was,
Of that he robbede in the pas,
And tok his lust under the schawe
Ayein love and ayein his lawe.’

Even in graver passages Gower shows that the moralist need not fall into prose. The dialogue between the Confessor and the Lover about chivalrous adventures beyond sea, and their value, is not one-sided, but a fair debate between two different standards of virtue. Gower was sceptical regarding the expeditions that young gentlemen made (Henry of Lancaster among them) ‘their bodies to advance,’ as Froissart puts it. He does not approve of these ‘hastyf rode’ :—

‘ Somtime in Prus, somtime in Rodes,
And somtime into Tartarie.’

Especially he refuses to believe that they ought to give advantage in love :—

‘ What scholde I winne over the se,
If I mi ladi loste at hom ?’

The same matter had been discussed in the ‘Mirour de l’Omme,’ and there also with some spirit.

Gower makes little use of heroic verse—the ten-syllable line; but his stanzas in Book VIII of the ‘Confessio Amantis,’ and the poem addressed to Henry IV in

‘rhyme-royal,’ show that he followed the same laws as Chaucer, particularly in his neglect of the French and Provençal rule—the obligatory pause after the fourth syllable. This is observed by other writers at different times, e.g. by the Scottish minstrel, Blind Harry, in his ‘Wallace’; in the sixteenth century some theorists upheld it, as Puttenham in the ‘Arte of English Poesie’ (1589):—

‘The meester of ten sillables is very stately and heroicall, and must have his *Cesure* fall upon the fourth sillable, and leave sixe behinde him thus :

“I serve at ease, and governe all with woe.”’

Chaucer does not recognise this as binding, nor do the Italians. This agreement in practice between the English and the Italian poets is not due to borrowing, but to natural affinity. Gower apparently knew no Italian, and his usage is the same as Chaucer’s. Even in his French decasyllabic verse in the ‘Balades’ he admits many lines that are incorrect as French verse and right according to the Chaucerian principle ; for example :

‘La tresplus belle q’unques fuist humeine,’

which has the common English cesura after the fifth syllable, and is consequently irregular. The fact that Gower, with all his strong French sympathies, his careful art, and his fondness for precision, should not have enforced the strict law in English is to the credit of his judgment. Along with Chaucer, he is the founder of heroic verse in English, with the laws and the licences that are equally familiar to Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, and Tennyson :—

‘My lord, in whom hath evere yit be founde
Pite withoute spot of violence,
Kep thilke pes alwei withinne bounde,
Which god hath planted in thi conscience :
So schal the cronique of thi pacience
Among the seintz be take into memoire
To the loenge of perdurable gloire.’

This, like Gower’s octosyllabics, is modern English verse, for the character of the measure is not affected by the antique words and grammar. It is as correct as Pope.

Gower's rhyme-royal is not inferior to Chaucer's in any formal respect. It is not only careful, it has the Chaucerian freedom and variety:—

' Upon miself is thilke tale come,
 Hou whilom Pan, which is the god of kinde,
 With love wrastlede and was overcome:
 For evere I wrastle and evere I am behinde,
 That I no strengthe in al min herte finde,
 Wherof that I mai stonden eny throwe;
 So fer mi wit with love is overthrowe.'

The agreement between Chaucer and Gower as to the rules of heroic verse makes it all the more difficult to understand the failure of this measure after Lydgate's day, the persistent want of sense among the Chaucerians (except in Scotland) for the chief rhythms of their master, and the extraordinary labour Wyatt had to go through before he made out, if he ever thoroughly made out, what the decasyllabic line was meant for. It is not as if Chaucer had been a lonely and unappreciated artist. In some things, indeed, he was far beyond the range of his time; but in this he had a companion; and the heroic verse, so far as the mere mechanism is concerned, was as well understood by Gower as by himself. This, like everything else in the evidence, shows how momentous for literary development the last years of the fourteenth century were, and how utterly their lesson was thrown away in the fifteenth. What the fifteenth century wanted was not only a genius like Chaucer's, but men of taste like Gower, who might have carried on the forms of poetry for the benefit of more productive ages. As it turned out, Wyatt and Surrey, the refiners of English verse, had to begin at the beginning again—not where Chaucer and Gower left off, but far back among the beggarly elements.

It may be observed, by the way, that decasyllabic verse of what one may call the English type seems to come naturally in the Teutonic languages, when they are imitating the Romance measures. The earliest High German line of this sort, two hundred years before Chaucer, is nearer to Chaucer, or Goethe, than to the Provençal models which Hêr Friderich von Hûsen had before him when he wrote:

‘ O wê wie sol ez armen dir ergân !
 Wie torstest eine an solhe nôt ernenden ?
 Wer sol dir dîne sorge helpen enden
 Mit solhen trouwen als ich hân getân ? ’

Curiously enough, Froissart is not accurate throughout as the French reckon accuracy ; he writes :

‘ Comme le papillon à la chandelle,’
 and
 ‘ La premerainne roe qui y loge,’

verses which would have been accepted by Gower, but do not keep the strict rules of the game.

The platitude of Gower's French and Latin works has little to relieve it. The ‘*Mirour de l'Omme*,’ though it has some merits of style, moving freely enough in a difficult stanza, is far below the ‘*Confessio Amantis*.’ The Latin elegiacs of the ‘*Vox Clamantis*’ are generally detestable verse, dressed up in tags from Ovid and other poets, which Mr Macaulay has carefully marked and referred to their proper authors. The substance of the ‘*Vox Clamantis*’ has some value, chiefly in the account of Wat Tyler's rebellion, with which it begins. No Latin verses of Gower are better than those which are oftenest quoted from this part :—

‘ *Grigge rapit dum Dawe strepit comes est quibus Hobbe,
 Lorkyn et in medio non minor esse putat,
 Hudde ferit quos Judde terit dum Tebbe minatur,
 Jakke domos que viros vellit et ense necat,*’ etc.

The rest of the book settles down to a thorough criticism of life, with the common medieval pleasure in discovering corruption. Like other work of the sort, it is a source of historical information about manners. The ‘*Cronica Tripartita*,’ three books of leonine hexameters on the reign of Richard II, or rather on two separate portions of it, is naturally of historical value ; and the editor's commentary here has made it ready for use. But the Latin works altogether add nothing to Gower's literary reputation, except that they show, like the English and French poems, a talent for remembering words. Gower is as copious in Latin as in his other languages, but his finer skill of expression fails him.

The French ‘*Balades*’ stand by themselves as almost

the only work of Gower's not meant to be large and comprehensive, though even here his love of system is active, and he makes them look as dignified as he can. The *balade* in those days was the favourite form for any theme that could be made to fit into it; Eustache Deschamps and Froissart had written a great number, and new authors were to follow with more. Chaucer in English had perhaps done as much as any of them, with a very few experiments; at least two of his *balades*—'Absolon' and 'Rosemounde'—are among the best pieces in his poetry. Gower did not follow Chaucer here; his 'Cinkante Balades,' dedicated to Henry IV, are in French. They were written when he was an old man, and might pass well enough for the poetical works of Tithonus, with their impersonal amatory sentiment, their pallid rhetoric, if only one did not know what a strange demand there still was for the abstract art of love. Gower makes one more concession to 'the tune of the time' in these poems, and they add another block of the polished commonplace to his literary monument. Still, there is a flutter of life in them; and it is pleasant to find the old favourite toys again doing service, the phoenix of Araby, the chameleon living on air, and so on, with the old tricks of phrase ('wofull prosperite again):—

' Pour vous, ma dame, en peine m'esbanoie,
 Jeo ris en plour et en santé languis,
 Jeue en tristour et en seurté m'esfroie,
 Ars en gelée et en chalour fremis.'

Indeed, when one remembers that these same things pleased the Elizabethans, that Euphues made his fortune out of the same old natural history as provided the similes of Gower, it really becomes difficult to affirm that the 'Balades' are so conventional after all. No one has ever yet explained the enduring vogue of all the stock ideas of court poetry; and Gower's commonplaces are found still current after many revolutions of taste. Sometimes he has something better, as when he takes up again the story of Alcyone:—

' Pour remembrer jadis celle aventure
 De Alceone et Ceix ensement,
 Com dieus muoit en oisel lour figure,
 Ma volenté serroit tout tielement,

Qe sanz envie et danger de la gent
 Nous porroions ensemble par loisir
 Voler tout francs en nostre esbatement:
 U li coers est, le corps falt obeïr.'

Which is not unlike the motive of Dante's sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti:—

'Upon a barque with all the winds that blow
 Across all seas at our good will to hie.'

Besides the 'Cinkante Balades' there is another series on loyalty in marriage, which deals more largely in historical examples, as was common with the French school. Many of Gower's are repeated from the 'Confessio Amantis'—Jason and Medea, Mundus and Paulina, Alboin and Rosamund. But in nothing except the use of historical names do they come near to Chaucer's *balade* in the 'Legend of Good Women':

'Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere';

nor to Froissart in the same poetical form.

Mr Macaulay's life of Gower, in his fourth volume, is one of his many pieces of careful investigation and criticism. The results, as he says, are chiefly negative, clearing away some traditional errors and some too hasty inferences. John Gower, Esquire, was a friend of Chaucer, and received a power of attorney from him in 1378, to be used during Chaucer's absence abroad; in 1382 the manors of Feltwell in Norfolk and Multon in Suffolk were granted to him. About the same time, along with 'the philosophical Strode,' he received the dedication of Chaucer's 'Troilus'; in 1393 'Henry of Lancaster presented John Gower, Esquire, with a collar'; in 1398 Gower married Agnes Groundolf; his will was proved in October 1408; and he is buried in St Saviour's Church. These are almost the only facts discovered, apart from what may be got from his writings. The 'Speculum Meditantis' is assigned by Mr Macaulay to the years 1376–79; the 'Confessio Amantis' was certainly complete in 1390, and revised with some alterations by 1393; the 'Vox Clamantis' was begun not long after the rebellion of 1381; the 'Cronica Tripertita' (like the 'Cinkante Balades') is dated by its dedication to Henry IV, as well as by the matter of the history.

Mr Macaulay's work may be praised without reserve, except as to small points which do not matter. He has not spared himself. Much of his time must have been taken up with things of small apparent interest; his author's wisdom must have been sometimes more than sufficient during the process of editing and commenting. That the work was worth doing cannot be questioned. Gower, with all his commonplaces, is not like any other writer; and his English poem is still fresh, its simple colours unfaded. Probably it will not be much read: there are other things to read; and the public which is content not to know Crabbe's stories is hardly likely to take up the '*Confessio Amantis*.' But in leisurely bookish places Gower may recover some of the attention he used to get from the lovers of poetry.

One fact about his reputation is worth particular mention. The '*Confessio Amantis*' was translated into Portuguese by Robert Payn, Canon of Lisbon, apparently in Gower's lifetime; his work survives in a Castilian version, to which Mr Macaulay's attention was called by Mr Fitzmaurice Kelly, and from which he gives two quotations, one from the preface—'for king Richarδες sake'—the other the greeting to Chaucer. The Portuguese was probably, like the Castilian version, in prose. It is a pleasant literary memorial of the old alliance and sympathy between England and Portugal, perhaps one good result of the Duke of Lancaster's expedition to the Peninsula. Gower, we would say, was well selected for translation. Spanish literature in the fifteenth century, for all its Italian studies, was not far advanced beyond the learning of Gower; the Marquis of Santillana, for example, moves in almost the same order of ideas and subjects.

Art. VI.—THE MACEDONIAN MAZE.

1. *Correspondence respecting the Affairs of South-Eastern Europe.* Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of his Majesty. February 1903. (Cd. 1403.)
2. *The Macedonian Question.* With an Introduction by F. S. Stevenson, M.P. London: Harrison, 1902.
3. *Tableau Général des Écoles Helléniques dans la Turquie d'Europe. Avec un Tableau Comparatif des Écoles Helléniques et Bulgares dans les Vilayets de Monastir, de Salonique, et d'Adrianople.* Constantinople, 1902.

IN these days of enterprising journalism it is but rarely that official publications serve to throw much new light on passing events. The Foreign Office is generally forestalled by the ubiquitous foreign correspondent. Yet the exhaustive Blue-book on Turkey recently laid before members of Parliament, though teaching us little that we did not know already, is not devoid of interest. It is interesting as a general treatise on the complicated ailments of the Sick Man of Europe; but it is more especially valuable as a clue to this modern labyrinth of murder and myth, whose name is familiar to all, but whose inner architecture is understood by so few—the Macedonian question.

Among the many contributions to this voluminous record of Macedonian intrigue, not the least notable are those from Mr F. Elliot, his Majesty's representative at Sophia, and from Sir Alfred Biliotti, British Consul-General at Salonica. Mr Elliot's reports contain a most instructive account of the question viewed from the Bulgarian side of the frontier, while Sir Alfred's eloquent despatches, presenting as they do a picture of the agitation in Macedonia itself, add the vividness of local detail to the merit of an authentic chronicle of events. The statements of these two authorities, together with those derived from numerous other sources, establish with conclusive unanimity the fact that the agitation, which year after year threatens the peace of Europe, has its origin less in popular discontent with Ottoman maladmin-

istration than in the adroit and unscrupulous exploitation of that feeling by Bulgarian ambition.

The Christian peasantry of Macedonia, in common with that of the other provinces of the Turkish Empire, has long been suffering from the threefold evils of political subjection, economic exhaustion, and social degradation. This is a truth as impossible to deny as it would be impolitic to overlook. Owing partly to the stupidity and callousness of the central government, which has never been able to appreciate, still less to foster, the resources of the countries under its control; partly to the inherent distinction between Mussulman and non-Mussulman, which forms the necessary basis of a theocratic state like the Turkish Empire; and above all, to the position of inferiority which is the unavoidable lot of a disarmed population subject to an armed alien race—owing to these fundamental causes of poverty and oppression, lasting peace is unattainable in Turkey. But the ill-feeling which these mischiefs engender slumbers under normal conditions. The Christians, rent asunder by intestine divisions and antipathies, are too well aware of their own weakness to think of revolt; the experience of ages has taught them that submissiveness is the best policy, and that the more submissive they are the less reason for complaint they have. 'The bended head shall be spared by the sword' is a maxim of old Turkish law which has passed into a proverb among the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The Turk may oppress, but he never persecutes except when provoked. Turkish fanaticism as the motive of atrocities is a legend born of Occidental ignorance and nourished by Oriental self-interest.

If the history of Turkey teaches us any lesson, it is that massacre is not the spontaneous outcome of Mussulman hatred for the Christian, but a deliberate measure occasionally adopted by a barbarous government as the simplest and cheapest solution of a domestic political problem. This is a fact from which ambitious agitators have learnt to draw their profit; and the possibility of provoking a massacre which will enable them to pose before the eyes of the civilised world as the interesting victims of Moslem ferocity is one of their most valuable

assets. But no eastern revolutionary society has ever made more consistent and shameless use of this feature of Ottoman statesmanship than the association universally notorious as the Macedonian Committee—a company of aspirants to the crown of immortality earned by other people's martyrdom.

This company of tragic-comedians originated in the desire to systematise the efforts for the realisation of the glorious dream of a Greater Bulgaria, conceived by Count Ignatieff and his fellow-Panslavs more than thirty years ago, and sanctioned by the abortive Treaty of San Stefano. This object has ever since 1879 been zealously pursued by Bulgarian politicians—with Russia's assistance till 1885; in defiance of Russian opposition after that date. Some fifteen years before that critical epoch, the Exarchic propaganda, brought to life by Panslavic influence and to maturity by Panslavic money, had founded in different parts of Macedonia numerous schools and churches, the mission of which was to wean as many of the inhabitants as possible from the Greek Patriarchate and to inspire them with the Bulgarian idea. The charm of learning and religious independence was strengthened by the powerful inducements of free board and lodging, instruction and clothing, offered to pupils, and of pecuniary aid rendered to their parents. By these means, and by the corruption of village priests and venal notables, the Bulgarian Church succeeded at first in attracting a large portion of that Christian element of uncertain origin which is claimed by Bulgarians, Greeks, Roumanians, and Servians alike.

Scholars thus collected from the highways and by-ways of the interior were imported into the great towns, where the Greeks constituted the majority, such as Monastir, or even into cities like Salonica, where the Slavs were conspicuous by their absence. There they were housed in luxurious buildings; and this plausible display of a fictitious Bulgarian predominance, calculated to deceive the intelligent foreigner, but no one else, was added to the other items of the Panslavic programme. Where persuasion failed, force was employed; and those Macedonian peasants who were found proof against silver often succumbed to steel. In addition to these

expedients of corruption and intimidation, brigand bands were organised from amidst the destitute and the dissolute. Their ranks, as time went on, were swelled by the promising graduates of the Exarchic high schools;* they were armed in Bulgaria under the very eyes of the authorities, and at the first blush of spring made their pernicious appearance in Macedonia. There they remained until the autumn, despoiling the wealthy without distinction of creed or race, but reserving their murderous attacks for their political rivals, Turks, Servians, and especially Greeks. When the snows of winter, or the spasmodic activity of the Turkish troops, rendered a continuation of the campaign impossible, the patriots used to retire across the frontier and enjoy a hard-earned rest as a preparation for further activity. This is the history of the Bulgarian movement in Macedonia from 1879 to 1883, when the Turkish government, by an unusual exhibition of energy, succeeded in exterminating most of the revolutionary bands, thus closing the first chapter of Bulgarian patriotism—a chapter which, as will appear, was soon to have a successor.

This misfortune obliged Bulgarian patriots to change their tactics. Noisy demonstrations in the Principality succeeded to the armed invasions of the neighbouring province; eloquent speeches were delivered and graphic articles published, wherein the condition of the Bulgarian peasantry under Turkish domination, aggravated by these very invasions, was depicted in the blackest colours; baseless or grossly exaggerated accounts of Moslem outrages were transmitted to the champions of the cause abroad, and by them circulated over Western Europe for the edification of a *blasé* public thirsting for excitement. In a word, the sensational machinery of an atrocity agitation, which had already been tried with such signal success, was again set in motion. As often has happened since, impartial observers on the spot

* 'The ordinary Macedonian Bulgarian who works for the Committee does so, either because, having passed through a Bulgarian gymnasium, he will not return to his village to earn his livelihood by manual labour, and yet cannot find "suitable employment" for his brain, or because he prefers to live by brigandage, political or other.' (Acting Consul-General Shipley to Sir N. O'Connor. Correspondence, etc.; inclosure in No. 18.)

warned the inhabitants of Europe against giving unqualified credence to these rumours, the nature and object of which were exposed by the consuls of the Powers in Macedonia and by a commission specially appointed by the embassies at Constantinople, who also easily demonstrated the fantastic character of Bulgaria's claim to be considered the representative of the majority of the Macedonian population.

The effort to induce Europe to intervene having thus failed, an attempt was made to kindle general insurrection; and in 1884 numerous bands were once more formed in Bulgaria and despatched into Macedonia. But the Turkish authorities were not unprepared for this move. The patriots were routed, and many of the would-be liberators were killed or captured with the assistance of the native population, who not only remained unmoved by the efforts of their self-constituted champions, but took an active part in suppressing them. Similar attempts were made in the ensuing summer, one of the bands being led by an officer of the Russian army; but they met with a similar fate.

The events of the following months entirely altered the aspect of affairs. The annexation of Eastern Roumelia deprived the revolutionaries of Russia's patronage; while the three days' war with Servia, and the deposition of the victorious Prince Alexander Battenberg, absorbed their attention for a time. But the principal check on their activity came with Stambuloff's rise to power; for it was that remarkable man's policy to further Bulgarian interests in Turkey, not by open violation of international law—a method the futility of which had been clearly proved by repeated failure—but by diplomatic means. He cultivated cordial relations with the Porte, and, thanks partly to the Sultan's favour, which he had won by the ruthless persecution of the Macedonian agitators, partly to the support of those Powers whose interest it was to perpetuate Bulgaria's alienation from Russia, he succeeded in obtaining many important concessions from the Porte. Under his auspices several new Exarchic bishoprics and schools were established, and the so-called Bulgarian commercial agents appointed in various parts of Macedonia. These, by the way, are the functionaries whom M. Zinovieff, the Russian

ambassador at Constantinople, speaking to his British colleague not very long ago, described with undiplomatic explicitness as little else than

‘revolutionary agents, whose main occupation seems to consist in joining revolutionary committees, placing them in communication with the Macedonian Committees of Bulgaria, and assisting them to procure arms, and generally to organise an insurrectionary movement.’ *

Stambuloff's reign, however, was as brief as it was brilliant. His subtleties were not appreciated by his compatriots; his policy, enforced as it was by no gentle hand, raised against him a host of enemies at home, besides those whom his Russophobia had already created elsewhere; and he was ‘removed.’

The murder of the dictator, while preparing the way for a reconciliation with Russia, was also the signal for the resuscitation of the Macedonian Committee. Under the Russophil Stoiloff cabinet, which enjoyed the support of the Macedonian party, new revolutionary bands were formed in the Principality and led to failure by officers of the Bulgarian army. It was after that defeat that the agitators, convinced at last of the shortcomings of one-sided action, determined to establish a supplementary organisation in Macedonia itself; and the Local Committee was then founded. However, such is the perversity of fortune, this new departure was not attended by the success which was anticipated; for the financial crisis, which about that time brought Bulgaria to the brink of bankruptcy, forced the government to curtail its lavish expenditure on the Exarchic propaganda. Many scholastic posts were then abolished; the liberal salaries of teachers were reduced; the pensions hitherto paid to pupils and their parents were stopped; the purchase of priests and notables became less easy; and the native population, which had been accustomed to regard the pursuit of patriotism as a rich source of income, was bitterly disillusioned. The ranks of Bulgarian disciples began to melt away; and many of the disappointed converts, seeing that there was no longer any profit or comfort in apostasy, returned to the fold of the Greek

* Sir N. O'Connor to the Marquess of Lansdowne. Correspondence, No. 17.

Church, while others proved their consistency by devoting themselves to the Servian propaganda which, since 1885, was basking in the sunshine of Russian imperial and Panslavic munificence.

Thus the Bulgarian agitators suddenly found the edifice reared by so much perseverance, expenditure, and crime, crumbling away, and the ground which they already considered secure slipping from under their feet. But their ardour was not chilled by adversity. With a tenacity worthy of a nobler purpose, they resolved to retain by pure terror what they had acquired by the mixed methods of persuasion, purchase, and promiscuous assassination. Dilettantism was abandoned; and crime was henceforth organised on a large and comprehensive scale. Turks and Greeks were the first victims of this renewal of Bulgarian energy, soon followed by the notables of those Grecophil, though Slavophone, villages which had remained loyal to the mother church and to Hellenic ideals. This phase of the movement is well summed up by Sir Alfred Biliotti in his masterly despatch of December 9, 1902:—

‘Proselytism and terrorism were the means by which they sought to utterly destroy all tranquillity and to reduce the inhabitants of the district to such complete misery as would force them to fall in with their revolutionary ideas. The priests and the schoolmasters, working with the daily increasing bands at their backs, instilled into the minds of the peasants that they must look for relief to Bulgaria, and prepare for the great struggle which should give liberty to their children. Little by little they removed all those who, faithful to the Patriarchate, refused their allegiance; and in the sandjak of Serres alone over one hundred Greeks, Vlachs, and Orthodox Bulgarians fell victims to their vengeance and cruelty.’ *

Meanwhile the Central Committee at Sophia was not idle. Count Lamsdorff, in a conversation with Sir C. Scott, our ambassador at St Petersburg, on February 20, 1901, declared that that Committee

‘had lost all claim to be regarded as patriotic, and had degenerated into an anarchical propaganda, whose chief aim was to extort money by intimidation,’ †

* Sir N. O’Conor to the Marquess of Lansdowne. Correspondence; inclosure 1, in No. 348.

† Sir C. Scott to the Marquess of Lansdowne. Ib. No. 14.

—an indictment amply corroborated by the independent evidence of our own diplomatic agents in Bulgaria. Mr McGregor refers to the association as ‘a criminal propaganda,’* while Mr Elliot’s despatches are even more outspoken on the subject.† We are told that not only Bulgarians and Slavo-Macedonians, but all residents in the Principality who have the misfortune to be comfortably off are liable to extortion, and, in case of refusal, to death. The Committees at Sophia, like the Fenian societies in the Ireland of thirty years ago, issue bonds redeemable after the declaration of Macedonian autonomy; and these bonds, accompanied by ‘threats of being entered in the black-book,’ are bestowed upon Greeks, Roumanians, Jews, and Armenians with a fatal impartiality as to race or religion.

The Bulgarian government itself, while strenuously denying the truth of most of the charges brought against the Committee, is fain to admit that the agents of the latter ‘have levied blackmail upon natives and foreigners in the Principality.’ That this government, notwithstanding its fluent denials, is not a stranger to the Committee’s proceedings, is placed beyond the shadow of a doubt by numberless facts recorded in the Blue-book before us. Thus an agent of the Committee at Sophia, already convicted of the attempted murder of a Roumanian, on making a similar assault on a Greek, who had refused to subscribe to the Committee’s funds, was sheltered by no less a person than the prefect of police.‡ Another delegate of the same association, accused of extorting money by threats from Roumanian subjects, was defended by an array of counsel including not only members of the party then in power but even an ex-minister of finance;§ and the opening speech by the public prosecutor himself was, according to Mr Elliot’s report, ‘an argument in favour of, rather than against, the prisoner.’|| Conversely, former presidents of the Committee have been ministers of justice.¶ Moreover, the bands which break into Macedonia every spring are recruited in the Principality,** drilled by garrison officers in uniform,†† and armed with rifles ‘stolen’ from the government stores; meetings are

* Sir C. Scott to the Marquess of Lansdowne. Ib. No. 7.

† Mr Elliot to the Marquess of Lansdowne, Nos. 19, 32, etc.

‡ No. 20.

§ No. 32.

|| No. 32.

¶ No. 23.

** No. 32.

†† Nos. 29, 36.

frequently held under the ominous shadow of 'a black flag with skull and cross-bones'; and the 'Reformi' newspaper, the organ of the Macedonian Committee, continues to inflame public opinion.

When these proofs of official complaisance, not to say complicity, are brought to the notice of the Prince's ministers, their answers are such as Molière or Mr Gilbert could hardly improve upon. The revolutionary centres in which the bands are armed and trained are ingenuously described as 'Sporting Clubs'; and the Sublime Porte is generously credited with 'a considerable gift of imagination thus to distort the simplest facts'; for are not 'even Ottoman subjects compelled to take part in rifle practice?'* Again, the violent language of the government's acknowledged organs is explained away as harmless; for, says M. Daneff, 'public opinion in Bulgaria is not easily excited, and no one ought to pay the slightest attention to what any Bulgarian newspaper says.'† But perhaps, to cut a long list short, the most exquisite example of Bulgarian skill in official dialectics is furnished by Mr Elliot's letter dealing with the schism in the ranks of the Committee in the spring of 1901 :—

'I asked his Excellency (M. Daneff) how he reconciled this alleged condemnation of the methods of Sarafoff with the dispatch of a deputation to express to him the sympathy and thanks of the Congress. He replied that it was one of those illogical proceedings which often took place in this country, and that he supposed the idea was to express appreciation of the good intentions of Sarafoff, but not of the manner in which he had attempted to carry them out.'‡

The distinction would have done no discredit to the sophists whom Socrates loved to refute; but it apparently failed to convince Mr Elliot, who adds :

'The Ottoman commissioner does not think that the policy of the Macedonian Committee will be much affected by the change in the composition of it. He does not believe in the efficacy or sincerity of any of the measures taken by the government, except as regards the collection of funds, which he admits has been stopped.'

* 'Note Verbale' inclosed in Mr Elliot's despatch, No. 19.

† No. 49.

‡ No. 45.

Nor have the unbelieving Turk's fears been falsified by subsequent events. While successive cabinets at Sophia were pouring forth their mellifluous protestations of peace and goodwill, the gangs of the Committee pursued their sanguinary work in Macedonia. Although General Petroff had some time before declared that the organisation in that province was 'entirely independent of the Committee in Bulgaria,' * Sir N. O'Connor soon after writes :

'There is little doubt that the activity of the Local Committees depends in great measure upon the vitality and resources of the Central Committee in Bulgaria.' †

Furthermore, on the agitators arrested at Salonica were found documents proving that they were 'corresponding with the Committee at Sophia and transmitting its orders to the active members'; ‡ and Sir Alfred Biliotti was assured 'that the Bulgarian agency is deeply suspected on information gleaned from prisoners and documents,' § while the same consular report contains the following suggestive paragraph :—

'It is a somewhat remarkable fact that an active band of Bulgarians generally, if not always, contains one or more emissaries of the Sophia Committee, without whose presence and encouragement it seems highly doubtful whether the Macedonian Bulgarian peasants would ever move against the local authorities or the other inhabitants.'

Such has been Bulgarian action with regard to Macedonia for years past. The apologists of Bulgaria's policy are fond of emphasising 'the justice of the end'; and this end seems to them so holy as to sanctify any means employed for its attainment. We fail to see any holiness in self-seeking violence and crime masking as patriotism, or any virtue in men who

'Call fire and sword and desolation
A godly thorough reformation.'

Such characters, though amusing enough in 'Hudibras,' in real life cannot but inspire with horror all those who know how to temper enthusiasm for liberty with common-sense. Nor are we disposed to entertain more favourably the objection raised by the apostles of the Committee to

* No. 5.

† No. 12.

‡ No. 18.

§ No. 18.

the description of its agents as 'brigands.' Their aims and their methods, abundantly illustrated by the official records already quoted, seem fully to justify the epithet, unless, indeed, we accept the cynic's doctrine that 'a single robber or a few associates may be branded with their genuine name, while the exploits of a numerous band assume the character of a lawful and honourable war.'

These exploits have at last roused the statesmen of Europe to a proper sense of the dangerous situation which they tend to create, if not of their duty towards the helpless peasantry of Macedonia, who, plundered, decimated, and compromised by their self-styled 'liberators,' subsequently fall into the clutches of the Turkish authorities, and have to pay bitterly for the wrong-doing of the brigand. The sufferings of the non-Bulgarian Macedonians, recently accentuated to an unendurable degree, induced the Greek government to lodge repeated complaints with the European cabinets; * while the Porte, on its part, frequently drew the attention of the Powers to the tenderness of Prince Ferdinand's ministers towards the authors of those outrages. As a result of these representations the Powers reiterated their advices to the Sultan and to Prince Ferdinand respectively, urging upon the one the removal of the administrative abuses which supply the agitators with their chief excuse and best opportunities, and upon the other the necessity of checking the activity of the Committees. When formal advice was found to be unproductive of anything more satisfactory than empty promises of good behaviour from both those rulers, Russia and Austria arrived at a tardy agreement to enforce their counsels; and this has led, on the one hand, to the formulation of a definite scheme of Turkish reforms, and, on the other, to the ostensible suppression of the Bulgarian revolutionary societies.

This scheme of reforms provides for the better administration of the province which we are accustomed to call Macedonia, but which, to the Turkish authorities, is better known as the three vilayets of Salonica, Monastir, and Kossovo.† These vilayets are to be placed under the

* E.g. inclosure in No. 160.

† Properly it is only the sandjak of Uskub that belongs to Macedonia, the rest of the vilayet of Kossovo forming what is commonly known as Old Servia.

supreme control of an inspector-general, invested with large discretionary powers as to the employment of military force, and with a wide jurisdiction over the three valis and their subordinates. His tenure of office is not to depend entirely on the caprice of court favour; but for both his appointment and his recall the previous consent of the two Powers will be required. The reorganisation of the police and *gendarmérie* will be entrusted to foreign specialists; and these forces will be recruited from among the native inhabitants, Christian and Moslem alike, in numbers proportional to the population of each district. Likewise rural guards will be chosen from the villagers, irrespectively of creed or race. A general amnesty will be accorded to all political prisoners; and all persons charged with breaches of common law will be tried without further delay. The revenues of each province will be devoted to the needs of the province itself, and only the surplus will be forwarded to the imperial treasury. Each village will farm its own taxes; and the Albanians 'will be compelled to respect the law' and spare their neighbours.

The last clause is somewhat platonic, as will appear in the sequel. But the scheme, as a whole, is a masterpiece of moderation, of respectful deference to the susceptibilities of the sovereign, and of theoretical efficiency for the healing of the wounds of the subjects. Accordingly, we are not surprised to hear that it has been received in the various capitals of Europe with feelings varying from rosy optimism to black pessimism. Berlin and Vienna are good instances of the former attitude. The Germans have their reasons for rejoicing at any measure likely to perpetuate the domination of Turkey over the Near East; while the Austrians have equally strong reasons for fearing any alteration in the political map of that part of the world. Paris has expressed some well-bred scepticism on the efficacy of the plan; and London, in so far as it has any feelings on the subject, displays those of a dispassionate philanthropist. Belgrade has damned it with faint praise; and Sophia is in an uproar of indignation at its 'inadequacy.'

Far more interesting to us than the utterances of western publicists and eastern politicians are the views held by the inhabitants of Macedonia. Long experience

of Turkish duplicity and dilatoriness forbids the inhabitants of that much-tried province to expect from the programme of reforms all the blessings foretold by its authors. An equally long experience of the worthlessness of Bulgarian promises leads them to entertain serious doubts on the sincerity of the motives which have induced the government of the Principality to adopt the measures elsewhere received with so much commendation.

The scepticism of the Macedonians as to the good faith of the Porte seems to be confirmed by the first step taken to apply the reforms. The 'Journal de Salonique' of February 13/26, in an inspired paragraph, announces the nomination of the four members of the new administrative council for the Kaza of Salonica. Of these members we find that two, besides the president, are Turks, one is a Jew, and only one a Christian; and that, too, in a district in which the Christian element predominates over the Turkish at the rate of three to one. Again, the 'amnesty' granted to convicted criminals of the deepest dye—murderers, incendiaries, and blackmailers—while letting loose a most dangerous gang of professional agitators, tends to inspire the people with the hope of impunity, happen what may; and many peasants, otherwise too timid for revolution, will be induced to go and do likewise. Nor can we blame them when we consider that, while the turbulent Exarchic party is now, thanks to pressure from the Russian embassy, quite exempt from the oppression and extortion of *zaptiehs* and other petty tyrants, the Greek and the Wallachian have to bear the brunt of the immunity enjoyed by the Bulgarians, since the local officials and *gendarmes* must live, and, being forbidden to prey on the guilty, will doubtless plunder the innocent. This is precisely the temper that suits the plans of Bulgarian politicians. The discontent which they have been striving to foster so consistently for a generation is now accentuated by the very Powers that undertook to allay it. Nor can these Powers complain if the agitators make the best use of this new weapon placed in their hands. While imperial chancellors sit plotting and playing the diplomatic chess-game, whereof the pawns are men, the poor Macedonian peasants are driven by sheer instinct of self-preservation to join the only movement which offers any hope of salvation. In

the opinion of competent observers on the spot, the danger of serious trouble has been increased by the disappointment and irritation created by the reform programme.

While piously praying that these gloomy forebodings may be falsified, we cannot but concede that there is much that renders them probable. The Turk feels that he is doomed by his past misdeeds. He therefore accepts the remedies prepared for him by friendly or interested neighbours with suspicion, and applies them with reluctance when he deems it unsafe to neglect them entirely. Besides, even supposing that, despite Bulgarian opposition, covert or declared, and Turkish aversion to reform, the scheme just promulgated is honestly carried out, it is highly doubtful whether it will insure immediate or permanent peace. The Macedonians, like the rest of the Sultan's Christian subjects, have been too well inured to discontent to part with their grievances at a moment's notice. The long memory of their wrongs is a sad guarantee of their perpetuation. Hatred of the Turk and even more cordial hatred of one another are precious heirlooms handed down from father to son; and it is to be feared that generations yet unborn will, from pure force of habit, continue loyally cherishing the fatal inheritance, until the ever-expected and fervently prayed-for day of national rehabilitation shall dawn, and internecine strife cease by separation. This brings us to the consideration of that side of the problem which, in our estimation, is of infinitely deeper significance and difficulty than the discussion of mere material grievances.

Although we have, for the sake of convenience, employed the term Macedonians in speaking of the inhabitants of that province, we must explain that the term is a purely local one, carrying no ethnological connotation with it. The Macedonian people, as a distinct racial unit, does not exist save in the manifestoes of the Bulgarian Committee, which, for obvious reasons, endeavours to persuade the world that it is the mouthpiece of a people united in itself and imbued with common aspirations. Macedonia is inhabited by representatives of most of the races which form the population of the Ottoman Empire. There are in it Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbians, Wallachs, Jews, gipsies; and over all these *rayahs*

reigns supreme the Mussulman element, which, though largely of native origin, calls itself Turkish, and for all practical purposes must be regarded as such. The question of the distribution and comparative strength of these discrepant elements is not so easy a task as that of their mere enumeration. Thanks to the Turk's incurable contempt for statistics, and, in a still greater degree, to the propensity of the rival nationalities to treat arithmetic as a matter of party politics, it is seldom possible to obtain figures even remotely corresponding with facts. However, by an exceptional favour of fortune, we are now in a position to base our investigations on statistical information, for the accuracy of which we can vouch. The Blue-book, to which we are already so largely indebted, contains several tables of figures throwing light on the ethnological conditions prevailing in various districts.* These statistics are to some extent supplemented by an official work recently published at Constantinople, and mentioned at the head of this article. These two sources, without claiming to give a complete list of all the races in all parts of the province usually called Macedonia, enable us to arrive at some definite conclusions as to the relative importance of the principal elements.

Broadly speaking, Macedonia may be divided into three ethnological zones of nearly equal dimensions. The zone which forms the southern portion of the province, including the Chalcidic peninsula, the littoral on the east, and the regions north of the Hellenic frontier on the west, is inhabited entirely by Greeks and Turks. The corresponding zone to the north is occupied by Slavs and Turks, the Mussulman Albanians of the vilayets of Kossovo and Monastir being included among the latter. The middle zone may be described as a *pot-pourri* of races, creeds, and languages, claimed by all disputants with equal zeal though unequal justice. But these natural divisions are crossed and intercrossed by administrative and ecclesiastical boundary-lines, extremely confusing and yet of the utmost importance to the seeker after accurate knowledge. To begin at the north. From the tables compiled by the acting British Vice-consul at Uskub, we gather that the whole population of the

* Inclosures 2-4 in No. 298 ; inclosure 1 in No. 348.

vilayet of Kossovo, of which Uskub is the capital, amounted in 1902 to 897,245, of whom, roughly, 48 per cent. are Moslem and 52 per cent. Christian. The Moslem portion consists chiefly of Turks, Albanians, and Pomaks; while the Christian element is made up of Bulgarians, Servians, Greeks, and Vlachs. The mixed character of the Christian element renders an exact distinction difficult, as adherence to the Greek Church forms a bond of religious and political union between Slav and Greek, while the Vlach identifies himself with the Greek in all matters; and, on the other hand, it splits up the Slavonic element into two hostile camps—Patriarchic and Exarchic. Bearing these reservations in mind, we find that in the Archbishopric of Uskub the Exarchic Slavs amount to about 37 per cent., the Patriarchic to 13 per cent., while the remaining 2 per cent. (out of 52) are made up of Greeks, Vlachs, and others. It is thus seen that in the extreme north the Slavonic population, though forming the bulk of the Christian element, is itself divided into Bulgarian (Exarchic) and Servian (Patriarchic); and that, though the former predominates, the latter is by no means a negligible quantity.

As an example of the racial conditions prevailing in the central districts of the province, we may take the sandjak of Serres, one of the fields most fiercely contested between Slav and Greek. In this district, which covers over 11,000 square miles, and includes a population of 353,000, we find the Turks in a minority of 136,088, and the Christians in a great majority, subdivided into Greeks (106,909) and Bulgarians (110,003).

The vilayets of Monastir and Salonica spread over middle and southern Macedonia; and the vilayet of Salonica includes the sandjak of Serres. In the absence of trustworthy general statistics we must be content to base our estimate of the comparative strength of Greeks and Bulgarians upon educational facts. Now we find the schools of Greek nationality numbering 447, with an annual attendance of 25,157 pupils, in the vilayet of Monastir; and 521, with 32,534 pupils, in the vilayet of Salonica. The Bulgarians in the first vilayet have 273 schools, and in the second 319; the annual attendance respectively being—and this distinction is most significant—15,161 and 14,856 at the beginning of the year,

while it dwindles to 9804 and 9544 at the end. It is thus seen that the Greek interest in the two vilayets under consideration is almost twice as strong as the Bulgarian. We use the word interest advisedly, as the Greek schools are frequented, not only by the children of Greek-speaking inhabitants, but also by those who, though Slavonic in speech, are Greek in sentiment and national aspiration, and therefore, for all political purposes, are to be counted as Greeks. These figures assume new importance when we consider that the scholastic propaganda of the Bulgarians is assisted by the inducements already enumerated—free board and lodging, pensions, intimidation, and open terrorism; while, of the Greeks, not even their most irresponsible detractors can say that they ever use any kind of pressure, moral, pecuniary, or physical, to compel attendance.

It therefore appears that the struggle for ultimate supremacy lies between the Greek and the Bulgarian. Extremists on both sides claim the whole of the country for their inheritance. But there are moderate men, among the Greeks at all events, who would gladly agree to a compromise; and no one familiar with the real facts of the case can fail to commend their moderation. It is admitted on all sides that, besides the numerical preponderance demonstrated by the figures quoted above, the Grecophil Macedonians possess the immense advantage of forming a compact mass in the southern zone, while in the middle they generally constitute the bulk of the town population, and in all parts they are the most enlightened, enterprising, and civilised. It is therefore natural that, in the words of the Constantinople correspondent of the 'Times,'* the Greeks should demand 'that this fact should receive recognition in dealing with that portion of Macedonia in which they largely predominate'—a view shared by all competent and impartial observers of Macedonian affairs. Moderate Greeks limit their claims to a line which divides the middle, or debatable, zone into two equal halves, and would be content with the regions to the south of that line, although by so doing they sacrifice some purely Greek places, like Melenik, and many Grecophil districts which lie on the north side of that con-

* 'The Times,' February 6, 1903.

jectural line. However, all attempts to effect a peaceful and rational delimitation of spheres of influence have hitherto failed owing to the inordinate claims of the Bulgarians; and the number of the Greeks inclined to an accommodation is fast dwindling under the persecution which they are experiencing at the hands of the Committee.

The confusion arising from this mutual hostility between Greek and Bulgarian has, since 1885, been further confounded by the entry of the Servians upon the field of conflict. As has been mentioned already, their propaganda has usurped the place of the Bulgarian in the favour of Russia and the Panslavs. Under the ægis of these two powerful patrons the Servians have already made some progress in the province; and, considering the fluctuations incident to nationality among the Slavs of Macedonia, and the influence which other than theoretical arguments often exercise over national conviction among them, it is not impossible that, given time, the Servians may gradually establish claims to the souls and votes of these children of doubtful parents, as strong as those now boasted by the Bulgarians. For this reason Serbia holds aloof from all the revolutionary movements engineered by her neighbour, and would gladly acquiesce in a temporary adjustment of the question on the lines laid down by Austria and Russia in their joint programme of reforms; while, on the other hand, the same apprehension induces the Bulgarians to endeavour to precipitate a final solution, since delay in their case means the decline of Bulgarian influence and a corresponding increase in that of their rivals.

No survey of the situation in Macedonia would be complete without a glance at Albania, Byron's 'rugged nurse of savage men.' It is the one province of Turkey in Europe which has never bent the knee to the Turk. The Sultan's rule over the Albanian highlands has never been more than nominal, and at the present hour it can be accurately described in the words which Gibbon, more than a century ago, applied to Arabia:—

'The present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to provoke and fruitless to

attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and the country'

of the Albanians; and it is a notorious fact that these proud and fearless Illyrians have always granted their valuable friendship to the Sultan on condition that he should allow them the liberty of robbing and oppressing their less warlike neighbours. Every attempt on the part of the Porte either to enforce law or to exact taxation has hitherto met with determined and successful opposition; and the Blue-book bears fresh testimony to the shadowy nature of Turkish authority in that country.* This circumstance should be duly weighed by those who animadvert on the Sultan's leniency towards the Moslem Albanians. Apart from the disinclination of a Turkish sovereign to alienate a race which has always furnished him with the bravest and most intelligent among his soldiers, the fear of revolt prevents the Sultan from dealing with these turbulent individuals too severely. The nature both of the country and of its inhabitants renders an insurrection easy to kindle and difficult to extinguish; and a serious defeat sustained at the hands of the Albanians would at the present moment prove as fatal to the Sultan's power in Europe as a victory would be fruitless; for, over and above the internal conditions, social and physical, which make Albania a hotbed of sedition, there are enemies from outside keenly watching the situation, and prepared to avail themselves of the first opportunity for reaping in a field which they have been tilling for years past. The northern districts have long been a bone of contention between Russians and Austrians, both of whom strive to exploit the religious feud which separates the Moslem Albanian from his Christian brother, and the equally deep-rooted hatred which embitters the relations of all Albanians towards their Slav neighbours of the vilayets of Kossovo and Monastir, as well as of the free states of Montenegro and Servia; while the southern districts of Albania are the scene of parallel intrigues on the part of Italy. In addition to these great Powers, whose mutual jealousies render the Turk's position in Albania an extremely uncomfortable one, there is the influence of Greece, all the

* Inclosure in Nos. 31, 43, 46, 47, etc.

more formidable as it is an influence arising from racial affinity and the historical traditions of thousands of years. The southern vilayet (Epirus) is almost entirely Hellenic in character, for even those Albanians who retain their national speech are deeply imbued with Hellenic sentiment. This is proved by the astonishing number of Greek schools in that part of the country. Thus, in the four sandjaks which constitute the vilayet of Jannina, we find no fewer than six hundred and fifteen Greek educational establishments, diffusing Hellenic culture and Hellenic ideas among over twenty-five thousand young men and women.*

But even in northern Albania, where the Greek language is all but unknown, the sympathy with Greece is very strong, as is shown by the following important communication received by the Foreign Office from the British ambassador at Constantinople last April:—

‘A proposal for an Albanian *rapprochement* with Greece is reported by Sir Alfred Biliotti as follows:—

“Two Moslem Albanian chiefs, Gheghs, who had been specially sent from Ipek, reported to the Greek consul at Uskub, for the information of his government, that they were thoroughly disgusted with the political intrigues of Austria, Italy, and Servia, which had for their entire object merely the absorption of Albania; and that after mature reflection they had come to the conclusion that the combination which offered them the greatest security for preserving their national entity was a kind of federation with Greece, each of the two countries preserving its autonomy, and being united politically, like Austria and Hungary.

“I understand that the Albanians propose to include, not only Lower and Upper Albania, but also the whole of Epirus, and even Macedonia.

“They suggested also that a Greek consul should be appointed at Mitrovitza, in order that the Greeks and Albanians might exchange through him their ideas on the object in view.

	Schools.	Pupils.
* Sandjak of Jannina	348	15,785
„ „ Argyrocastro	128	4,708
„ „ Berat	51	1,518
„ „ Preveza	88	3,685
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	615	25,696

‘Tableau Général des Écoles Helléniques dans la Turquie d’Europe,’ pp. 178 foll,

“It appears that the two Ghegh envoys bear letters from the principal Albanian chiefs now in Constantinople, agreeing to the proposed combination.” *

Whatever may be thought of the practicability of this proposal, it is a striking instance of unanimity on the part of the otherwise divided Albanian clans. That Ghegh and Tosk, Moslem and Christian, Roman Catholic and Orthodox should forget their traditional feuds for a moment and unite in advocating a *rapprochement* with Greece, though not a new thing in itself (for similar views have frequently been expressed in the past, notably in a memorandum submitted by the Albanian League to Lord Beaconsfield in 1878), is a fact deserving the serious attention of western diplomatists.

This review of the Macedonian problem from within will have rendered clear to all unbiassed students of Near-Eastern contemporary history that, besides the Slavonic interest which, now as Bulgarian now as Servian, is promoted by the great Slavonic Power of the North, there are two other interests—the Hellenic and the Albanian—to be taken into account. The importance of both these factors of the problem, though not generally emphasised—for it is nobody's interest to emphasise it—is, in our opinion, at least as great as that of the rival races. Both the Greeks and the Albanians are autochthonous, and they both have preserved their national characteristics in circumstances which would have crushed races gifted with less vitality. Instead of being absorbed by the Slavs, they have in many cases succeeded in absorbing them; and this process would have been more thorough were it not for the adventitious power of Panslavism, which, during the last half-century, has been working by might and main, *per fas et nefas*, to check the course of nature. That they have so well resisted the pressure of numbers and of external force for so many centuries is the best credential to their native superiority and a sure pledge of the part they are destined to play in the future.

A second point which, we hope, this study has elucidated is the futility of all reform which does not affect

* Inclosure in No. 200.

the root of the matter—the eternal barrier which separates the Moslem from the Christian, the conqueror from the conquered, and the barriers, equally insuperable, which divide the conquered races into many hostile groups. The gravity of these considerations and the notorious failure of all previous attempts at reform have led well-meaning politicians in this and other western countries to the conception of a plan for an autonomous Macedonia. The late Mr Gladstone advocated this plan in a letter addressed to the chairman of the council of the Byron Society in 1897, and prefixed to the pamphlet which stands second on our list. ‘Why not Macedonia for the Macedonians as well as Bulgaria for the Bulgarians and Servia for the Servians?’ asks that great dreamer of great dreams, with characteristic disregard of mere matters of fact. At the imminent peril of being classed with Mr F. S. Stevenson’s ‘captious critics’ who have ventured to object ‘to the use of the term “the Macedonians,”’ we must once more emphasise the objection, and, with other ‘captious critics,’ repeat ‘that the inhabitants of that country, being an agglomeration of races, languages, and creeds, ought not to be described by a term of homogeneity.’ Without disputing the antiquity of ‘Mr Gladstone’s interest in the ethnological problems of south-eastern Europe,’ we are bound, with all due modesty and equal firmness, to insist that Mr Gladstone was entirely wrong. If the interpretation put on his words by Mr Stevenson is correct, namely, that ‘what he doubtless meant was that, in spite of acknowledged differences of race, language, and creed, the inhabitants of Macedonia have a certain community of interests as against any and all outsiders,’ Mr Gladstone’s opinions on the subject, interesting though they may be to the student of his great personality, are of little help to the student of the Macedonian question.

We have laboured to small purpose if we have not already proved, by our account of the methods adopted by the Bulgarians for the conversion of the Macedonian Greeks and Servians, and of the readiness displayed by the latter in assisting the Turks to suppress the former, that such community of interests is purely imaginary. As for the attitude of the inhabitants towards ‘outsiders,’ we are in a position to state that it is the very opposite

of what Mr Gladstone and Mr Stevenson conceived it to be. The aspirations of the Greek Macedonians are simply to join Greece one day, just as those of the Bulgarians and Servians are to join Bulgaria and Serbia. There never has been a time since the prehistoric period when the inhabitants of Macedonia formed a nation distinct from their neighbours. In historic times they appear, in all material respects, an essentially Greek people. Such they remained under the Roman domination. The country was overrun by the Slavs in the eighth century of our era, and its Hellenic character was considerably impaired. Under the re-established government of Byzantium, however, and still more under the Ottoman rule, the process of assimilation progressed slowly but surely; and there is little doubt that, had not Russia stepped in to call back to life a national consciousness already nearly dead, there would have come to pass in Macedonia what took place in Southern Greece.

‘The superior social civilisation of the Greek element tended to repair its numbers. From the middle of the ninth century the Greeks in Greece began to do to the Slavonians just what the Slavonians, in their old home, had, for the same reason, done to the Turanian Bulgarians. The Slavonians, being superior in civilisation to the Bulgarians, had gradually absorbed them. Just so the Greeks, being superior in civilisation to the Slavonians, gradually absorbed them. The process of Hellenising the Slavonians went on steadily in Greece until, in about two hundred years, it was practically complete.’ *

But it was not to last. When the Hellenisation of the Slavs of Macedonia was arrested by Panslavic intrigue, these inhabitants ceased to identify themselves with the Greek nation, but they did not form a new unit. On the contrary, some began to call themselves Bulgarians and others Servians, according to the comparative activity and resources of the one or the other propaganda, while many continued to call themselves Greek. Hence the intestine struggle which we have been just discussing under the name of the Macedonian Question.

The only solution which accords alike with history and sound policy is dissolution. But such a solution,

* Sir R. C. Jebb, ‘Modern Greece’ (ed. 1901), p. 49.

apart from the difficulties which it presents owing to the irreconcilable claims of the various nationalities concerned, is, for the present at all events, impracticable owing to the interests of outsiders, not less irreconcilable. Neither Austria nor Russia would be pleased to see a definite partition among the smaller states of the Balkans of a province by which they both set so much store. We need not lay stress on the obvious consideration that partition could only be brought about by a war with Turkey, as the same would be the outcome of an attempt to establish autonomy. It is the apprehension of such an event—the inevitable calamity of a war—that inspired the Austro-Russian agreement of 1897; and it is the same apprehension that has dictated the latest effort of the two Powers to bolster up the *status quo*.

As has been seen, their effort has not yet been crowned with the success which might have been wished. Nor does it offer any guarantee that it will be ultimately successful. The *communiqué* simultaneously published at St Petersburg and Vienna declares with rhetorical emphasis that

‘Russia would not sacrifice a single drop of the blood of her sons nor the smallest portion of the heritage of the Russian people if the Slav states should resolve to strive, by revolutionary and forceful methods, against timely and well thought out counsels, to change the existing state of affairs in the Balkan Peninsula.’

But our faith in the miraculous powers of this instrument is seriously enfeebled by considerations already explained—the Sultan’s propensity to take back with one hand what he has been forced to yield with the other, and the readiness of the agitators to turn this propensity to account. Turkey is of course strong enough to put down the agitation; but, as has been shown, the fear of consequences ties her hands. Measures which anywhere else would be regarded as legitimate attempts to restore order would, if resorted to by the Turkish authorities, at once be described as atrocities. Hence the Sultan’s timid attitude towards the revolutionaries, which, when coupled with his evident unwillingness to carry out his promise of reforms, creates a situation fraught with the gravest danger. The insurrection, unextinguished and fed by the

disappointed population, may at any moment lead to a crisis. In that event Bulgaria would deem it her duty to intervene, and, on being defeated, would most probably be rescued by Russia. At all events, such is the conviction of Bulgarian politicians, and it is a conviction not utterly groundless; for people with awkwardly long memories recall the fact that twenty-five years ago a declaration made by the Tsar Alexander II, in terms not unlike those employed in the recent *communiqué*, was followed by Russian intervention and by the war of 1878. Nor was Alexander II of a less pacific disposition than Nicholas II.

Nevertheless, these fears for the near future, well founded though they are, need not deter us from lending our hearty support to the only action which holds out any promise of present peace. So far as this country is concerned, our government has pledged itself to lend an attentive ear to any suggestions that might be made regarding 'the steps to be taken in order to promote the adoption of such measures.'* Our geographical position would not authorise us to do more than meet such proposals half-way. At the same time, it is with the greatest satisfaction that we find Lord Lansdowne, while admitting that Austria and Russia are the two Powers 'specially interested in the matter, and also that they are in a specially advantageous position for dealing with it,' still dwelling on 'the immense importance which we attach to the question, and our earnest desire to contribute, so far as our opportunities permit, to its satisfactory solution.'† This dignified and emphatic assertion of Great Britain's right to be heard in the discussion of matters pertaining to the Near East comes very opportunely to rebuke those amongst us who are apt to forget that we still have valuable interests to safeguard and a mission to fulfil in that part of Europe.

* The Marquess of Lansdowne to Sir F. Plunkett, No. 358 ; cp. No. 359.

† Ibid.

Art. VII.—A MILTONIAN ROMANCE.

Nova Solyma, the Ideal City; or Jerusalem Regained. An anonymous Romance written in the time of Charles I, now first drawn from obscurity, and attributed to the illustrious John Milton. With Introduction, etc. By Rev. Walter Begley. London: Murray, 1903.

THIS curious work, one of the many philosophical romances which poured from the presses of Western and Central Europe during the first half of the seventeenth century, is now for the first time really introduced to public notice; and Mr Begley may claim for himself, not only the merit of an editor, but the distinction of a discoverer. He has brought to the performance of his task great industry, unwearied enthusiasm, and a large and varied knowledge of the byways of literature, both during the later Renaissance period throughout Europe, and in the confused and disastrous epoch of English history which culminated in the Commonwealth.

This industry, enthusiasm, and learning are all devoted by Mr Begley to the establishment of a single position—one which, if it can be established, would give the 'Nova Solyma' a permanent value, and constitute it one of the most important and interesting documents of the time. It is, that we have here an early work of Milton, summing up the results of his youthful studies and speculations, and anticipating the more certain achievements of his later years, those achievements which have given him high rank among political thinkers, and a place on a level with the very highest among the masters of human language. The work, according to this attractive and exciting theory, was written by Milton, partly while still at Cambridge and partly during the six years in his father's house at Horton which we know were wholly devoted to reading and study. It was laid aside by him, presumably when he went abroad to make the grand tour in the spring of 1638; it was perhaps occasionally retouched and enlarged during the years that followed his return to England, in which, gradually and insensibly, he ceased to be a mere student and recluse, to become the leading tongue and pen of the advanced Puritans; and it was published by him anonymously in 1648,

at the crisis and agony of the Civil War. Its fortune was to come into the world as absolutely still-born as has ever been the fate of a book of substantial size written by an author of genius. There is not a single traceable allusion to it in the contemporary literature of the Civil War and the Commonwealth. There is not a single reference to it—for this purpose the few words that may here and there be tortured into allusions count for absolutely nothing—in all the mass of Milton's other work, full as that is of autobiography and of a high pride in the course of life he had pursued from boyhood onwards. It has escaped the notice even of professed historians of English literature; and is now disentombed from a slumber of two hundred and fifty years just as though it had lain from the first in a virgin manuscript.

Whatever solution may be reached of the problem of its authorship, and no less if that problem proves to be insoluble, 'Nova Solyma' possesses this essential value, that it is full of Milton's principles and ideas, and often expresses them very nearly in Milton's language. It was clearly produced from among what may be called, in a wide sense, the Miltonian circle. To define, however, more clearly what we mean by this phrase, a few preliminary observations are required.

In the seventeenth century that much-abused phrase, the Republic of Letters, bore a real and profound sense. The movement of the hundred years preceding that period, political, religious, artistic, and social, had all tended with cumulative effect to do two things: first, to break up and dissolve the whole organised framework of life created and established in the Middle Ages; and secondly, to lay the foundations for a fresh fabric of life, conceived on a wholly different plan, which it was the work of the eighteenth century to consolidate and organise, and the work of the nineteenth to carry out in detail. In the meanwhile, there was a transitional state of things, more fluid, more cross-divided, more apparently chaotic, than has ever existed except at one or two other similar turning-points of recorded history. The whole fabric of life was in the melting-pot. Politics swayed helplessly between the old theories of the mediæval Empire, the dynastic interests of a few ancient families, the growing force and coherence of

nationalities, and the boldly democratic theories introduced into practical politics by the extreme Catholics in France before the end of the sixteenth century, which, after serving as weapons in the hands of many antagonistic parties, finally broke loose over the world in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In religion the great impulse of the Reformation had been followed by the full force of the Neo-Catholic reaction; both Catholicism and Protestantism were ill at ease and insecure, and a thousand short-lived sects formed and disappeared like vortices upon a surface of water swept by violent cross-tides. In literature and art the period was one of decadence and restlessness. Throughout every sphere of life the associates of a party or an individual were to be found widely scattered over Europe. Latin was still the current international language; less finely written, but more flexibly employed and more widely diffused than it had been in the preceding age, it had just reached the point of its maximum extension and effectiveness. In fifty years more all this passed away. The modern world had by that time been founded; religious controversies had assumed a settled form; literature had applied itself to what was to be its task for a hundred years, the conquest of prose; and French had taken the place of Latin as the universal medium for communicating thought or conveying criticism. Newton's 'Principia,' published in 1687, was perhaps the last work of primary importance in the general history of the world that adopted Latin as its natural and inevitable language.

The Republic of Letters, then, existed in the earlier seventeenth century in a double or even a more complex sense: as working through the medium of a universal language; as engaged with problems which, however national and particular, were similar throughout the world; and as reflecting, in its attitude towards those problems, what may be called the general republicanism of the age. For it is in this attitude or tendency—whether it be called republicanism or be given some other name—that the keynote of the whole age is to be found. Specific instances, like the foundation of the English and Dutch commonwealths, merely show this general principle producing particular results amid particular surroundings.

Everywhere the spirit of the age worked on similar principles but with the most various results. Everywhere what lay at the base of the whole movement was an appeal to reason and an immense confidence in the results, however strange, that the appeal to reason might produce. It might establish a centralised despotism in one country and utterly destroy centralised despotism in another country separated by a few miles of sea. It might produce, in religion, achievements so different as the Company of Jesus and the Society of Friends; in literature, achievements so different as the 'Pensées' of Pascal and the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' Their spirit is at the root the same; it is the spirit, not unreasonably named republican, which sets its face towards daylight and the springs of life, which ignores usage and crushes sentiment; which attacks or defends, uproots or justifies, any existing system, be it of government or of art or of belief, by reference to what it considers to be the abstract laws of a more than human intelligence, 'Night's candles are burnt out, and . . . day stands tiptoe on the misty mountain-tops'—day, not 'jocund' indeed, nor, to our own sentimental spirit, fair to see, but rather like the struggling dawn of some wild vision, 'a day of darkness and of gloominess, as the morning spread upon the mountains.'

In the central vortex of this movement stood, in those critical years of the mid-century, Milton and the men with whom Milton's name is most intimately associated. In England they represented a party numerically inconsiderable, though formidable from their talents and force of character. To the problems of government, of religion, of art, of education, they applied the same hard, clear dogmatism; in each of these, as in every field of life, they embodied to the full that type of aristocratic republicanism which was the great lesson left to the world by ancient Greece and Rome, as interpreted by the Renaissance to Europe. Their almost complete failure to mould national life—deep as was the impress they made upon it—is one of the many instances supplied by history to show how ineffective and precarious a thing is an aristocracy of intellect.

To this school or circle the unknown writer of 'Nova

Solyma' belonged. He and Milton had drunk at the same sources; their minds moved within the same field of ideas. Both were fine scholars and men of wide learning; both were deeply interested in education, in which, with Quintilian, they saw the real origin of the rise and fall, the greatness and decay, of states. To both the Christian religion meant a body of systematic dogma in which the Person of Christ and the spirit of the Gospel took a strangely subordinate place. The suggestion that the two authors are in fact one could hardly fail to present itself to any careful student of the Latin romance; and Mr Begley's thesis, supported by him as it is with a number of ingenious subsidiary arguments, is at all events one which deserves careful attention, and which, even if it be rejected—as in our opinion it must be—still leaves the work one of the first importance towards the study and appreciation of Milton, for it shows, be the authorship what it may, the soil and surroundings out of which 'Paradise Lost' sprang.

It is perhaps unfortunate for Mr Begley's thesis that, while he supports it with complete candour and no inconsiderable humour—qualities alike rare and alike commendable in a literary explorer—he has become in the course of his task, as it were, intoxicated with his own theory, and incapable of seeing things in their proper proportion. The effect of the real and strong arguments which he adduces is weakened by his eagerness to press every incidental or subsidiary point, however slight or however irrelevant. The question is one which must finally be decided on large and broad issues. Of Mr Begley's particular arguments, many of which are trifling, some irrelevant, and a few palpably absurd, it is not necessary to take much account. A few instances will show our meaning before we pass on. They are not without a wider interest as showing the state of mind into which a man of ability, learning, and candour rapidly drifts when, *θέσιν διαφυλάττων*, in the mordant phrase of Aristotle, he becomes an advocate in place of a judge, collects arguments on one side instead of weighing arguments on both, and winds up by being honestly unable to see anything which opposes or fails to bear out his theory.

A palmary instance of this habit of mind occurs in

the very first note appended by the editor to his translation. The romance opens with a dozen or so of hexameters beginning,

'Grandinis hybernos Boreas exolverat imbres,'

which describe, in a manner sufficiently commonplace, the approach of spring. From the *'Æthiopica'* onwards this had been one of the recognised openings of a novel. Mr Begley finds in these lines traces of the imitation of a passage in Columella, *'De Cultu Hortorum,'* itself imitated, with no pretence at concealment, from two or three separate passages in the *'Georgics.'* The resemblance of the lines in *'Nova Solyma'* to those of Columella is in no way striking; but that may pass. Let us see what Mr Begley makes of the resemblance, such as it is.

'I have discovered by the merest accident,' he writes, *'that these first few lines of our anonymous romance are borrowed or imitated, no doubt unconsciously, from that out-of-the-way Latin work, Columella "De Re Rustica." . . . The question naturally arises, What contemporary Latin scholar was there who was likely to draw upon Columella, of all people, for the beginning of a copy of verses on spring? My answer is, Who so likely as Milton, who knew Columella's works well, and recommended them to his pupils and others as the best from which to learn Latin and husbandry at the same time?'*

Had the editor been but content to end his note here, it might at least have produced some impression of plausibility. Unhappily his inconvenient candour hurries him on, and in the next sentence he demolishes his own structure completely at a single stroke by adding (what is of course the fact) that Columella was in Milton's day one of the classics of agriculture.

Take another instance. A story which occurs in *'Nova Solyma,'* of the escape of certain prisoners, under the heroic conduct of a young Englishman, from the hands of a crew of Barbary pirates, is shown by Mr Begley to be clearly taken from John Rawlins's account of *'The Wonderful Recovery of the Exchange of Bristow from the Turkish Pirates of Argier,'* published in 1622 and reproduced by Purchas in his collection of a few years later. It is needless to say that Rawlins's pamphlet was the talk of the day, alike on stage and pulpit and in private inter-

course, and that Purchas's collection was one of the most popular and most widely read books of the period. But how does Mr Begley proceed to argue? His candour is once more as refreshing as his in consequence.

'Could I bring Milton in? that was my next thought' (he says, after showing that the incidents in the romance are clearly borrowed from Rawlins's pamphlet). 'I then remembered that Purchas was one of the authors which John Milton had drawn upon more than once in his "Common-place Book," discovered so recently as 1877, and on reference to my shelves I found an extract which Milton had written down from Purchas, tom. ii, 759, i.e. only about a hundred pages before Rawlins's account. So that after two hundred and fifty years and more we are able to say that John Milton, in the course of his reading, arrived at a measurable distance of letter-press from the very tale in question! May we not believe, I ask, that our illustrious poet continued his reading a little farther?'

Comment on the logic of this argument would be superfluous. Similar remarks apply to the mass of instances in which a Miltonic origin is traced for 'Nova Solyma' on the ground of its imitations of Du Bartas. Milton's large borrowings from Sylvester's Du Bartas in 'Paradise Lost' are well known; it is the only poem, indeed, of the age immediately preceding his own from which he borrows demonstrably and systematically. There is perhaps hardly another instance, in English literature at all events, where a masterpiece of the first rank and an author of unexampled genius owe so much to a translation of a second-rate poem by a third-rate poet. But that other people besides Milton should at that time have borrowed from Du Bartas was the most natural thing in the world. The 'Sepmaine' had taken the world by storm. By its faults and its merits alike it made an appeal little short of universal to the taste of the period among all classes. Sylvester's translation passed through edition after edition at a pace which left Sidney and Shakespeare far behind. It held, in point of fact, very much the same unquestioned eminence which 'Paradise Lost' itself held during the eighteenth century. Passages suggested by it or borrowed from it in an anonymous work of 1648 give no ground for attributing that work to any particular author, still less

for attributing it to Milton. As well might one base an argument for attributing some anonymous work of 1748 to Johnson on the ground of passages which were clearly suggested by, or borrowed from, Pope.

It would be tedious, and perhaps unprofitable, to multiply instances. We prefer to consider the whole question upon a few of those large grounds to which allusion has already been made, for it is such large considerations alone that can bring conviction. But it will be well first to recapitulate, in the briefest possible form, the contents of the book and the known facts with regard to it.

The imprint on the title-page of the original issue is as follows: 'Novae Solymae libri sex. Londini, typis Joannis Legati. MDCXLVIII.' A second issue (consisting apparently of the unsold remainder of the original impression) appeared in the following year, 1649, with an enlarged title-page, containing the alternative title, 'sive Institutio Christiani,' and giving the further information that the book was sold by Thomas Underhill at the Sign of the Bible in Wood Street. This second issue also contains at the end a note by the author to the reader which is of considerable importance as regards the problem of authorship. The work was strictly and intentionally anonymous, as is shown by the motto prefixed to it:

'Cujus opus, studio cur tantum quaeris inani?
Qui legis, et frueris, feceris esse tuum.'

The work itself is in mixed prose and verse, after the fashion of the 'Satyricon' of Petronius, of the 'Arcadia,' and of many other romances of the time, whether written in Latin or in the vulgar speech of the country of their origin. The prose has little distinctive quality of style; its fluency, its large vocabulary, and also a certain clumsiness and heavy-handedness, are characteristic rather of seventeenth-century Latin in general than of any particular school or individual. One does not in that Latin, any more than in the Greek of the third century after Christ, expect or find anything that can be called a distinctive personal note of style. The verse is on a somewhat higher footing. It is more various and more scholarly than would readily be paralleled, except in the work of professed students of

the art of Latin verse. It may at once be frankly conceded that it gives an argument for the Miltonian authorship which has great plausibility and some real force. Other English scholars of Milton's time were indeed accomplished Latin versifiers. The often-quoted dictum of Johnson, 'that Milton was the first Englishman who, after the revival of letters, wrote Latin verses with classic elegance,' is, in the first place, not Johnson's own, but only quoted by him with dubious assent; in the second place, it is not true. Setting apart Cowley, whose slight juniority to Milton would except him from the statement, it is sufficient to cite the names of Owen and Barclay as English writers of Latin verse which had a reputation throughout Europe both wider and higher than any acquired by the Latin verse of Milton. But it might be difficult to cite any English or Scottish scholar, except Buchanan, who showed such a varied mastery of Latin lyric metres as is common to the author of the '*Liber Sylvarum*' and the author of '*Nova Solyma*.'

It is worth noticing that in the romance the greater part of the verse is expressly attributed to the fluent pen of the character named Joseph; and the longer passages all have the air of being dragged in by the heels. It is so with the 164 lines of really brilliant Alcaics in Book v; with the 'Bridal Song of Heavenly Love' (a lyrical drama in mixed metres) with which the romance ends; with the fragments, amounting to 266 lines in all, of the 'Philippica,' or epic on the defeat of the Spanish Armada, in Book III. The suspicion may be hazarded—it is not presented by us as more than a mere suspicion—that in these and the other verses attributed to Joseph, and always introduced with some sort of self-consciousness and uneasiness, Joseph is actually Milton, and the verse a portion of the product, undoubtedly great, of Milton's laborious youth, communicated by him to some friend of his college days, and used, with or without Milton's knowledge and sanction, by the author of the anonymous romance to enliven the rather heavy and formless structure of his own composition. One would be glad to know what became of Charles Diodati's papers after his death in 1638, when Milton was abroad. That, on the other hand, Milton should have sedulously collected, in his volume of 1645, such comparatively poor

schoolboy's work as the lines, 'In Quintum Novembris,' or such a trifle as the seasons to Salsillus, when he had lying by him, unused and unnecessary to their context, a mass of work at once larger, more varied, and of at least equal academic merit, and thus deliberately chosen to rest his reputation for scholarship on inadequate grounds, is an improbability so glaring that it scarcely requires serious refutation. And if this be so, the Miltonian authorship of 'Nova Solyma' is absolutely precluded.

We pass, however, from these considerations to sketch in bare outline the contents of the anonymous romance, for on their general nature and scope turns one of the main arguments for or against any particular authorship. 'Nova Solyma,' or 'Jerusalem Regained,' as Mr Begley, with 'Paradise Regained' running persistently in his head, ingeniously renders it, is not any heavenly city. It bears no relation whatever to the mystical Bride of the Lamb which the seer of the Apocalypse saw descending out of heaven, nor to the 'new heaven and earth, wherein the just shall dwell,' of 'Paradise Lost.' It is a terrestrial and matter-of-fact city, as it is supposed to exist towards the end of the seventeenth century. The conversion of the Jews—that consummation towards which Christian theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, then looked feverishly forward—has occurred; and Jerusalem, rebuilt in the style of some actual seventeenth century modern capital like Turin, has become the seat of a flourishing Christian community. In the new state, art, commerce, and agriculture flourish. The government is of the aristocratic-republican type dear to contemporary theorists, and is distinguished above all for the thoroughness and excellence of the education which it provides for its future rulers and citizens.

At this town there arrive, one day in spring, three young travellers—two being Englishmen, and the third a Solymæan, but in Sicilian dress. They enter the town just in time to see a civic pageant pass by, which, as Joseph, the third of the three travellers, explains to his companions, is part of an annual festival held in commemoration of the restoration. The central figure in the procession, a sort of May-queen sitting on a car, attracts all eyes, and notably those of the two young Englishmen, Eugenius and Politian, by her remarkable beauty. When

the procession has passed, Joseph conducts them to his father Jacob's house. They are hospitably received, and an account is given of the restoration of the scattered tribes about fifty years before, and of the great success that has attended the course of education, physical and moral, adopted by the republic. Joseph then introduces his friends. They are described as Cambridge students, half-brothers, and the sons of a London merchant. Having heard of the fame of the new state founded by the converted and reassembled Jews, they had run away from college and taken ship at Dover for Jaffa. Touching at Palermo on the way, they had found Joseph—who was also on his travels through Europe in charge of a tutor called Apollos—left alone and penniless in consequence of an adventure with brigands, and had paid his passage home in order to secure his services as a guide. The 'Daughter of Zion,' the queen of the procession, turns out to be Anna, Joseph's sister.

A long episode is here intercalated. It consists of an allegorical story concerning a King Philoponus, reigning 'in a certain island in the Atlantic Sea,' and his son and daughter, Philocles and Philomela. These names sufficiently indicate the drift of the allegory, which is explained afterwards as an attempt at moralising one of the stories that circulated in the current chap-books. The thread of the story is then resumed with the arrival of Alcimus, the son of Joseph's tutor, a scapegrace who had run away from home and, after many vicissitudes of fortune, had settled down as a member of a band of robbers in Sicily. In that capacity he had taken part in the attack on his own father and Joseph. The story of this adventure, which is both long and intricate, concludes the first book of the romance. In incidents and treatment the immediate source of most of this story is to be sought in the picaresque romances then in fashion. But the book also bears distinct traces of direct acquaintance with the 'Golden Ass' of Apuleius, in its original Latin, and not merely in Adlington's translation.

The second book is an equally complicated mixture of philosophical or theological discussion with episodic incident. Two new characters are introduced in it. The one is a girl, Philippina, daughter to Sebastian, Duke of Palermo, who has disguised herself as a boy (like

Euphrasia in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Philaster') for the love of Joseph, and followed him to Nova Solyma. The other, Theophrastus, is a religious monomaniac of the type so common in that gloomy century, of which Francis Spira—a name over which all Europe once shuddered—was but one among innumerable instances. Like Spira before him, or Bunyan after him, in real life, he is tortured by the belief that he has committed the unpardonable sin. The greater part of the book, however, consists of academic disquisitions, in the form of dialogues on nature and art, the works of God, and the creation of the world, and the beginning of a lecture on the arguments for the Christian religion. This last exercise, begun on a scale which would have filled a substantial volume by itself, is broken off by a summons arriving for the lecturer to attend a meeting of the council of state.

The third book is the portion of the whole romance which, for a modern reader, retains the most interest. An attempt is made in it to keep up a thin thread of story by making Eugenius and Politian both fall in love with the fascinating Daughter of Zion. This situation offers an obvious field for rhetoric if not for any more intimate handling of passion; but the author's treatment of it is as perfunctory as it is conventional. The book is mainly concerned with a description of the educational arrangements of the republic, and a discussion of the arts of rhetoric and poetry. If we could accept the editor's theory as to the authorship, the chapter dealing with poetry would be of priceless value, for it would represent the view taken of his own art, not indeed by the author of 'Paradise Lost,' but by the author of 'Lycidas' and 'Comus,' and nowhere else has Milton given any systematic discussion of the theory of the art in which he was so absolute a master. In any case we have here, if not what Milton thought, at least what was thought immediately around him; and even for this we owe no slight acknowledgment. It is at this point that the theory and practice of the classicist epic are illustrated by long extracts from the 'Philippica.'

The next book goes on to describe and exemplify the studies pursued in the post-graduate school of the university of Nova Solyma. The Englishmen are taken

to hear a lecture given in that school on the thesis, 'De ortu et occasu rerum,' a title unaccountably rendered by Mr Begley as 'the origin and first issue of the created world.'* It would seem that the tediousness of the lecture weighed equally on the audience and the translator. 'The lecture being ended, they returned home,' is all the comment made on the emotions of the hearers. Mr Begley, notwithstanding his enthusiasm, quails before the task of rendering the address in full; he contents himself with giving a summary of its argument. 'Possibly an old college exercise,' as he acutely surmises, it may be judged from the summary to be merely a piece of ordinary undergraduate work on a theme which, in one form or another, was the subject of hundreds of such exercises at both universities in both prose and verse. Milton's own college verses, 'Naturam non pati senium,' were composed in the summer term of 1628 for one of the fellows of Christ's who had to act as respondent in the disputation on that subject, and who, though he was equal to the composition of the prose oration, found that his capacities in Latin verse had become rusted through disuse. The only modern author of whom this exercise seems to bear distinct traces is once more Du Bartas. 'Who,' Mr Begley asks, 'but Milton would found a college lecture almost wholly on Du Bartas?' Who, it might more reasonably be asked, among the younger Oxford or Cambridge men of that generation, would not?

The narrative now returns for a little to the growing passion of Politian for Anna, but almost at once relapses into another academic exercise, this time in the form of a dialogue, dealing with the imperfections of nature, the problem of God's responsibility for the existence of evil, and the malignity of sin as opposition to the divine law. A chapter follows which is the least pleasing in the whole volume. The episode of Philander and Antonia is traced by Mr Begley to Montemayor's 'Diana.' It was needless to go so far afield, for the situation is one which recurs almost *ad nauseam* in the later Elizabethan plays and

* Did the translator confuse *occasus* with *occasio*? In any case this is one among a number of small things which show that Mr Begley's scholarship, though wide and discursive, is neither profound nor accurate. Elsewhere he describes the metre of the 'Pervigilium Veneris' as trochaic senarian.

novels; there is a slighting allusion to it in Middleton's 'Widow':—

‘I’ve heard o’ the like;
A gentleman, that for a lady’s love
Was thought six months her woman, tended on her
In her own garments, and, she being a widow,
Lay night by night with her in way of comfort.’

The author seems to have thought, not without reason, that this episode did not tend wholly to edification; he therefore hurries back from it to the more congenial field of theology. Theophrastus is found still suffering from acute religious melancholy, and a visit to him gives the occasion for a disquisition on the Fall and on God’s vengeance for sin, which the translator again finds himself constrained to abbreviate and summarise.

The fifth book returns to the unfortunate Philippina. Her early life, the train of events which aroused her passion for Joseph, the intrigues of her stepmother, Joseph’s imprisonment and escape, and Philippina’s disappearance in a page’s dress from her father’s court, as related by her maid, Galatea, with a fullness of information only possible to stage confidantes, make a lively and not uninteresting piece of narrative, although the incidents are the merest commonplace of seventeenth-century romance. After a corrective to this fare in the shape of a discourse on heavenly love from Joseph, the story returns to the rivalry between Eugenius and Politian. A threatened duel between the two is discovered and put a stop to; but for further security they are taken to hear a long address on the regulation of the mind, and Joseph supplements it by an impromptu discourse on the snares which surround human life at its various stages, principally (and with a fine disregard for the immediate occasion) on the love of money, and how it is kept in check by the sumptuary laws of the republic.

The sixth and last book opens with the return of Joseph’s missing tutor, Apollos, after a marvellous escape from African pirates and a subsequent visit to England, where he had made the acquaintance of the merchant, Angelus, the father of Eugenius and Politian. From this point onwards the work becomes for a long time almost purely theological. Jacob discourses at large on

the arguments for Christianity, and the steps by which he had himself become convinced of its truth. The discussion passes to the subject of conversion and the covenant of grace ; the operations of grace are illustrated at the deathbed of Alcimus ; and the author proceeds to the Lord's day, the efficacy of prayer, the sacraments, the loss and recovery of the sense of God's presence, and so on, all treated in the spirit of orthodox Calvinism. But it is necessary to huddle up the story. Angelus arrives from England ; the convenient discovery is made that the fair Anna has a twin sister, Joanna, who is her exact double. The *dénouement* of the intrigue is so delicious that it must be told in the author's own words, as thus rendered by his editor :—

‘ Having thus obtained their father's consent, and arranged between themselves which sister they should each choose, they went to Jacob and told their love. Politian asked for Anna, and Eugenius for Joanna, as their respective brides.

‘ The sisters were all this time quite unaware of what was being arranged ; but what with their father's advice and their brother's persuasion, and the delicate and loving attention of the two really very good-looking young men ’ (who by this time, it is to be presumed, knew which was which of the two indistinguishable sisters), ‘ they were not long in yielding consent. They soon began to feel love's ardent passion themselves, and burned with mutual fires.’

The double marriage takes place on the day of the great annual festival ; the wedding festivities are held in Jacob's house, ‘ and there,’ our author concludes, ‘ Joseph distributed to the priests copies of a sacred wedding-song he had recently composed.’

It will be evident from this brief abstract that ‘ Nova Solyma,’ whatever other merits it may possess, is formless in structure and chaotic in arrangement. The author would appear to have shot down into it all the material at his disposal, with the result, excellent as some of the material is, of a rubbish-heap rather than an articulated and proportional structure. That Milton, who, among all the English poets, is most distinguished for his consummate sense of form, should, even in youth, have been capable of heaping up so shapeless a structure, is a supposition which it would require strong proof to justify.

This primary objection is rather strengthened than weakened by the indications of authorship which the work itself puts forward. The most direct and most important of these is the note, to which reference has already been made, appended to the impression of 1649.

‘The author for some time hesitated’ (we quote from Mr Begley’s translation of this note) ‘whether he ought to publish the work in such a rough and unrevised state. . . . He also felt that he could not possibly have leisure time to take it to pieces again and rewrite it in a more perfect form. While in this changeful and hesitating frame of mind, which lasted for some time, he at length determined to publish, strengthened by the precedent of Apelles, whose habit it was to submit his pictures to the view of the passers-by in such a way that he could listen furtively to their critical remarks, and afterwards amend any faults they might discover.

‘Moreover, the author had a special desire, seeing that his work was such a novel and daring institute, to hear the judgments that others passed on his attempts before he bestowed further pains on them himself. . . . If it should turn out thoroughly distasteful to the public, he will not proceed further with a superfluous book. If it should meet with approbation, he will be encouraged to go on, and, paying due attention to what the critics may say of the present work, will proceed to bring this first imperfect sketch into a more finished picture.’

As to this, we can only remark that to suppose Milton, at the prime of his powers and at the summit of that haughty and magnificent self-confidence which it required a colossal genius like his to justify, should take so timid and apologetic a tone about any work of his own, or should stoop his own judgment on it to that of any outside public, is a thing flatly impossible. When the ‘Nova Solyma’ was published Milton was one of the foremost publicists and men of letters in England; he was the author of the Smectymnuus treatises, of the Divorce treatises, of the ‘Areopagitica’; in the interval between the first and the second issue of the romance he had published the ‘Tenure of Kings and Magistrates’ and written the ‘Eikonoklastes.’ Three years earlier he had published ‘those ever-green and not to be blasted laurels’—his own early poems in Latin and English. ‘The author’s more peculiar excellency in these studies,’

says Moseley, the publisher, in his preface, 'was too well known to conceal his papers.' Yet we are asked to believe that he had by him all the while a mass of Latin verse equal to that of his published volume, which he was afraid to publish at all, and refused to publish except anonymously!

In the body of the romance itself (Book III, chap. iv) there is a further passage in which the author gives an estimate of, and an apology for, his own book. It occurs in the description of the prizes given in the colleges of the republic, one of which is for mixed composition in prose and verse, a style discredited by having been so much abused in the interests of vice.

'One author we have heard of' (says the tutor, Alphæus) 'who is trying to use this style of writing to make the world better rather than worse. He has concealed his name, and given this distich motto instead' (i.e. the couplet prefixed to the 'Nova Solyma'). 'He deserves pardon for any slight error or slip. For he does not claim that he is absolutely correct, and that his magisterial decision should be accepted by all as of divine right; he simply presents an abundant succession of incidents and observations which any reader, according to his power of comprehension, may dwell upon, or skip, or censure. He has not the impudent audacity of those rash reformers who are for tearing up the old foundations . . . and for carrying out specious schemes which are as costly as they are dangerous, in order to overturn what has stood the test of many generations.'

'Sic notus Ulixes?' Is the author of these timorous commonplaces in 1648 the author of the following passages in 1642?—

'If my name and outward demeanour be not evident enough to defend me' (so runs the great crest-curling period) 'I must make trial if the discovery of my inmost thoughts can; wherein, although I fail to gain belief with others of being such as my perpetual thoughts shall here disclose me, I may yet not fail of success in persuading some to be such really themselves, as they cannot believe me to be more than what I feign.

'I had my time, readers, as others have who have good learning bestowed upon them, to be sent to those places where the opinion was it might be soonest attained; and, as the manner is, was not unstudied in those authors which are most

commended ; whereof some were grave orators and historians, whose matter methought I loved indeed, but as my age then was, so I understood them ; others were the smooth elegiac poets. . . . Whence having observed them to account it the chief glory of their wit, in that they were ablest to judge, to praise, and by that could esteem themselves worthiest to love those high perfections . . . I thought with myself by every instinct and presage of nature, which is not wont to be false, that what emboldened them to this task might, with such diligence as they used, embolden me. . . . Nor blame it, readers, in these years to propose to themselves such a reward as the noblest dispositions above other things in this life have sometimes preferred : whereof not to be sensible when good and fair in one person meet, argues both a gross and shallow judgment.'

The known facts of Milton's early life are sufficient to assure us that even as a Cambridge undergraduate the mass of his reading in ancient authors was immense, and that at Horton he extended it largely over the field of the later mediæval and what we should now call the earlier modern romance, as well as among the immense fields of the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. They are sufficient to assure us likewise that he had already in these years formed his theological system, and that the controversies with which so large a part of 'Nova Solyma' is occupied—controversies so many of which are handled in the two 'Paradises' and the 'Samson'—were already an open and a familiar book to him. We have sufficient ground for being assured that the lack of humour—a characteristic likewise of the author of the anonymous romance, as, alas, it is of at least three fourths of the writing of that period—was born with him, and was no defect that came with his fuller intellectual maturity. But from the earliest date at which we have any certain knowledge of Milton's mind (and that date is as early as his eighteenth year), the great characteristics of his later work are amply manifest : an almost unsurpassed sense of form ; a quite unequalled confidence in his own judgment ; a thorough belief in the value of whatever he had deigned to write, and as thorough a contempt for public opinion or vulgar praise. The haughty self-confidence of Milton, the ripe scholar and trained politician, was no less essential an element in the character of Milton, the young

student, the 'Lady of Christ's,' or the recluse of Horton. Long before the 'Nova Solyma' was given to the world Milton had definitely come to the conclusion that English and not Latin was the proper language for a work that should live in the minds of men. It was still longer since he had renounced, if ever he had affected them, the trivialities which make up the substance of the narrative portions of 'Nova Solyma.' It is not to be supposed that Milton, any more than other people, was born with an impeccable taste in literature, as regards either style or matter. The concentrated scorn with which he sweeps away 'the Arcadias and Montemayors' in a well-known passage of the 'Areopagitica,' may even indicate a reaction from some earlier fascination with both. And it was as one who had himself read largely in the classical literature of the decadence that he censures those who (like the author of the 'Nova Solyma') 'prefer the gay rankness of Apuleius, Arnobius, or any modern fustianist, before the native Latinisms of Cicero.' But the central fact with which we have to deal is, not that the 'Nova Solyma,' or large portions of it, may possibly have been written as early as 1630, but that it was published by its author with full deliberation in 1648; and that, according to what were then Milton's ascertained and certain principles of literary judgment, it deserves, in its main structure, rather the scorn which he pours on Hall's 'Mundus Alter et Idem' than the praise which he bestows on the 'grave and noble inventions' of the 'Utopia' and the 'New Atlantis.'

Yet we cannot regret that Mr Begley formed his theory, or that he sustains its inherent weakness with a wealth of subsidiary argument drawn from wide reading and research in little known fields of literature. Hardly any slighter stimulus would have induced him to traverse so much ground and ransack so many byways. As illustrating the thought and life of the period, in the circles among which Milton lived, and with which he was most closely associated, the romance is of the highest value; and Mr Begley deserves the thanks of all students of literature for his discovery and elucidation of so interesting a document.

J. W. MACKAIL.

Art. VIII.—HELLENISM IN THE EAST.

1. *The House of Seleucus.* By E. R. Bevan. Two vols. London: Arnold, 1902.
2. *Notes on Hellenism in Bactria and India.* By W. W. Tarn. 'Journal of Hellenic Studies,' xxii. London: Macmillan, 1902.
3. *The Tebtunis Papyri.* Part I. Edited by B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and J. G. Smyly. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902.

THE history of ancient Hellenism, in its relation to what it considered barbarism, is of more than academic interest in modern days. As the author of the remarkable work which we cite first at the head of this article says once again, Hellenism was, in all essentials, the product of that type of mind which is now commonly understood as the 'western,' in implied opposition to an 'eastern' type; and our own actual civilisation is in a great degree the expression of its principles, expanded to suit a wider field of action. The typically European attitude towards the community and towards science is precisely the Hellenic. The ancient Greek's experience of the eastern attitude, therefore, is full of instruction for us, who have followed him into the eastern world. Even the difference of our respective religious creeds does not vitiate the comparison; for it cannot be said of either the Greek or the Briton that he has appeared in the East with a message of civilisation primarily religious. The Greek offered a social system which had already lost all the religious colour it once possessed; and we offer likewise a social system which, whatever its theoretic basis, is practically influenced by the motive of duty to humanity, without question of religious sanction. In fact, in our relation to Eastern peoples, we are studious to suppress our Hebraism and to obtrude our Hellenism.

It is fitting, therefore, that the history of Hellenism in the East should have been studied with increasing minuteness ever since the essential identity of European civilisation with the Greek has been recognised. But the tendency until lately has been, in certain respects, to take too much for granted at the outset. In the first half of the nineteenth century, under the spell of the classic re-

vival of the eighteenth, and that Neohellenic enthusiasm which expressed itself in the liberation of Greece, Hellenism was regarded as an imperishable and irresistible influence, whose victory over any barbaric civilisation with which it might come in contact at any epoch was a foregone conclusion. In this spirit Droysen wrote his 'Hellenismus,' giving to his great book a title which not only begged a question then, but has been often responsible for the same question being begged since. In this spirit Shelley declared, 'we are all Greeks now'; and Sir Henry Maine made his famous lapse into lyrical rhetoric, when he declared that nothing moves in civilisation that is not Greek in origin. Grote heralded a reaction. The enthusiast for Athenian Hellenism, examining the evidence for himself, was not slow to see that 'Hellenisticism,' as it had come to be called, was very far from being the same thing as Hellenism; and that what he considered the essential principles of civilisation in the fifth century B.C., had left little enough proof of their operation in the greater Greece of the third. But he could not bring himself to study this 'Decline and Fall' as a historian; and crying 'Ichabod!' he closed his record with the death of Demosthenes.

Nor has the reaction, though continued since, ever yet found its full expression. One may measure its course by comparing the critical spirit of such an article as Mr Tarn's, in the last issue of the 'Journal of Hellenic Studies,' with the assumption, which pervades, for example, Schürer's 'History of the Jews,' that all Western Asia was at one time hellenised; and that the Semitic spirit had wholly died, but for the accidental provocation offered to it by Antiochus Epiphanes. But no historian has dealt with the whole Hellenistic world at any period without some measure of this assumption. Even Niese and Holm take the prevalence of Hellenism, wherever Alexander's arms had been carried, so much for granted that their conclusions cannot be said to be based on the actual evidence. It seems probable, from indications given in the first volume of his 'Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters,' that Dr Julius Kaerst proposes, presently to examine all the material *de novo* and without prejudice. Meanwhile, the most impartial historical treatment of the period that we can consult is certainly Mr Bevan's.

His book tells the story of the dynasty of Seleucus from the times of its founder, a younger captain of Alexander's, to the partition of Syria among Armenian, Jewish, Ituræan, and Nabathæan princes, its lapse into utter anarchy, and its rescue by Pompey in 64 B.C. The difficulty of piecing the record together has deterred all historians hitherto. The coins form the only continuous chain of evidence; inscriptions help very little, and papyri still less. But, such as it is, this archæological material has increased somewhat of late years; and that fact probably determined Mr Bevan, whose knowledge of it is remarkably thorough, to make his attempt. The literary authority for the period is the least satisfactory imaginable. The native Aramaic records, if any there were, have all perished. The writings of hardly a single local Greek author have survived. We are dependent on the historians of Greek affairs, whose attention was concentrated naturally on Greece itself; and the historians of Rome, who had a much larger world than the Seleucid to consider. Of these last we possess the work of the best, Polybius, only in a fragmentary form. The upshot is that, whenever evidence is abundant—that is, for the most part, when Seleucid affairs affected Rome—the historical episodes have already been treated often and fully; wherever past historians have failed, there is little better chance of success now; for fresh evidence is slow to come to light. There has been practically no excavation in any territory that was under the Seleucids for long, except Palestine. Very little topographical exploration of any kind has been done; and, even when we know the names of places where events of Seleucid history occurred, it is often impossible to fix the precise locality within a hundred miles.

If Mr Bevan, however, is to be sympathised with in his task, he is also much to be congratulated. He has done wonders with the material, and that without attempting to disguise its character. There is very little that is new in his book, but there is a great deal which has not been put together before, and more that has not been so well told. The collation of the numismatic evidence with the literary, and the lucid handling of such complicated episodes as the Jewish revolts, give excellent proof of Mr Bevan's merits as a historian. To keep the

reader's attention in the many intervals where the evidence is disconnected and no description of events is possible, the author has adopted a rapid style with free use of the historic present. Objectionable as that use may often be, it seems in place here, for it serves in itself to show how momentary are the gleams which fall on the dark picture. It was perhaps inevitable that, now and again, an episode on which we happen to have more information than usual should be rather disproportionately treated—for example, the escape of Demetrius Soter from Rome, or the treacherous capture of Achæus; and also inevitable, perhaps, that more should be made of the less ignoble figures than a universal historian might sanction. Neither the third nor the fourth Antiochus can justly be ranked very high, even in comparison with the better Ptolemies, still less in comparison with the great contemporary Italians. But on the whole, Mr Bevan's frankness and sense of proportion keep him astonishingly fair.

To have all that is known about the house of Seleucus collected and ordered, apart from the contemporary dynasties and states, is a most welcome boon, not to be enjoyed till now; and not less welcome because the day cannot be far off when inland Asia Minor and inland Syria will be searched below ground, as well as above, for the Aramaic and Greek archæological documents, from which alone we may hope for new light on their pre-Christian history. When that day comes the narrative part of Mr Bevan's book will be a standard authority for knowledge in the period before excavation. The other part of it, the chapters in which he sums up the social and political condition of the countries composing the Seleucid realm at certain epochs, while now the more interesting to the reader, are too much in the nature of essays to have a like permanent value. Large deductions from such evidence as is available at present cannot be expected to survive the discovery of much new material for history. Excellent as these chapters are, presenting passages both of argument and description (for example, the pen-picture of Babylon) of the highest interest, it may be thought that the author would have done better to incorporate in his narrative the facts they contain, and to have left his general deductions to be inferred. The

reader would then have been less tempted to suspect—though the suspicion, we allow, would be groundless—that his attention was being focussed on certain groups of facts which fitted in with the author's preconception, to the exclusion of others less compatible. For Mr Bevan has his preconceived theory, even as Droysen had, and sets it forth in his preliminary essay. He has obviously assumed Hellenism as the prevailing note of Seleucid rule, and set out to prove that assumption. At the same time, let it be said emphatically that he does not wilfully suppress any counter-evidence; and, indeed, that if there is a rebutting case to be made out against him, it must be established from material which he himself has supplied.

Simultaneously with Mr Bevan's book has appeared another, setting forth just that kind of new documentary evidence which, could it be recovered for Syria as for Egypt, would beyond doubt modify greatly our views on Seleucid history. This is the publication of the Ptolemaic papyri, recovered by Messrs Grenfell and Hunt from the wrappings of crocodile mummies at Tebtunis in the Fayûm two years ago. It is edited by the discoverers and Mr Smyly of Dublin with the same scholarly exactitude that has come to be expected of these Oxford volumes of papyri; and the amount of work in this particular instalment is amazing. The literary fragments now published are not very important, and the chief interest centres on decrees and deeds mostly of the time of Ptolemy Physcon Euergetes II. These supply a most useful reminder to the student of contemporary Syrian history; for, once more, they serve to show the worthlessness of the view taken concerning this particular Ptolemy before much archaeological material was available. As Dr Mahaffy was first to point out, a king who held so wide a rule over the Ægean as the Petrie papyri showed Physcon to have held, was not the failure in foreign affairs usually supposed; and we may now add that a king by whom such wise and minute provisions were decreed, and under whom society was as well ordered, as at Tebtunis, managed his internal affairs far better than we had been led by the literary authorities to believe. And we take notice of this volume here, not on that account only, but because, incidentally, it throws, as we shall see, not a little light

on the nature and limits of Hellenism in a realm contiguous to the Seleucid, and at a time contemporary with the most prominent Helleniser among the Syrian kings, Antiochus IV, the 'God Manifest.'

The actual evidences of Hellenism in inland Asia before the Roman period are exceedingly fragmentary and scanty, and so difficult to test that they are open to widely differing interpretations. If a historian starts with any prejudice for or against the Hellenism of the Alexandrian period, he has little difficulty either in finding the bulk of facts tell in his favour or in explaining them away. The use of Greek legends and Greek types on the coins of Parthian, Bactrian, and Indian dynasts is taken, on the one hand, to imply that Greek speech and Greek civilisation were paramount in their realms; on the other, to prove no more than that, since international trade was largely in Greek hands, and Greeks were to be found leading the business in bazaars (as in all western Moslem countries at this day), a currency was needed, as familiar to Europe as the Maria Theresa dollars which circulate now in Arabia and Abyssinia. The claim of the same dynasts to be 'Philhellene' may show that the Greek was dominant in all West Asia, or that there were strong Greek colonies here and there which had to be conciliated; or it may merely have been a survival implying at most a friendship with western states that were Greek only in name. For the term 'Hellene' had probably come to be used of all non-native elements in West Asia, as it was used in Ptolemaic Egypt of Syrians, Persians, Mysians, as well as of proper Greeks. The performance of the 'Bacchæ' before the Parthian court in 53 B.C. may signify much; or it may signify no more than did that of 'Aïda' before the Egyptian court in 1871 A.D. The use of the Greek language by such individuals as were of sufficient mark to find a place in history; the hellenising sympathies of kings and ministers; the production (very scanty, it must be allowed) of Greek literary work by Syrians, Babylonians, and the like—these may be used to prove everything or nothing, according as they are believed to evince a widespread habit and tendency, or to be isolated instances of the conscious efforts of an *élite* class. Even the constitution of πόλεις ἑλληνίδες with

the usual Greek civic institutions, with the *gymnasium* and the *ephebia*, need not be reckoned a very important fact, if we believe that their citizens were, in the vast majority, neither Greek nor of Greek sympathies, but Syrians, Persians, Afghans, bidden to be Hellenic by hellenising monarchs, but tending to revert at the earliest opportunity to their first state; they certainly in many cases lost no time in resuming the non-Hellenic names of their cities. When Tacitus thinks it necessary to say of the greatest Greek foundation in inner Asia that it had not become barbaric by the first century A.D., but still remembered its founder, some will see proof of the vitality of Hellenism in the East; others may reasonably argue that Seleucia-on-Tigris was recognised even then as an exception which proved a rule.

If the available evidence *a posteriori* leaves this interesting question of Hellenism in Asia undetermined, one is obliged to take account of general *a priori* considerations as well: what was possible or probable under the particular circumstances in which Greek culture was introduced to the East in the Hellenistic age; who were the introducers, and how far they were themselves imbued with the essential spirit of Hellenism; whether the polities which they established in Asia, or under which they came to live, were consistent with that spirit. When these considerations have been impartially set out, then let the detailed evidence for Hellenic thought, manners, and usage in Hellenistic Asia be stated for what it is worth and no more; and finally, let account be taken of the ages immediately succeeding the Hellenistic, and the question be proposed, how far Asiatic societies of the Roman and Byzantine periods showed traces of Hellenic modification. So far as we know, an enquiry on these lines is still to make.

There is, of course, a preliminary question which the writer on this theme must not shirk, or he and his readers will often find themselves at cross purposes. What does he mean by Hellenism? Is he arguing merely about intellectual manifestations, such as the use of Greek speech, of Greek political forms, of Greek literature, of Greek philosophical formulas? Or is he arguing about its moral manifestations, about a certain attitude towards fellow-men? Or does he mean to argue about

both? Mr Bevan does mean to argue about both. For him ancient Hellenism had an intellectual as well as a moral side. It implied a certain type of character as well as a certain type of ideas. The Hellene was the apostle of orderly freedom, not only in all enquiry concerning the world he lived in, but in all social life. Thus the message of the Hellene was the intellectual and moral freedom of the individual under the conditions of a state. Whether the Greek was really the first to conceive the state need not be discussed. If he was anticipated by the Semite of Sidon, Tyre, and Carthage, it was only in respect of political freedom. In its entirety, his message was certainly a new thing in the East in the fourth century B.C. We have only to ask how far it was accepted then and there, or rather, how far it was capable of acceptation under the local conditions.

It will be noted that there was no religious element in this message of Hellenism, as religion is understood commonly, and above all in the East. If it could be said of the Hellene at an earlier time that, side by side with his secular message, he had another concerning religion, it could be said now no longer. If his anthropomorphic conception of deity had once raised man out of bestial conceptions of the divine, it had ended, ere this, in lowering God. Now for all practical purposes he identified the human and the divine. His God was the aggregate of human perfections, the sum of human efforts, a personification, in fact, of the state. In offering the state to Asia, the Greek offered all the God he had. But Asia looked and found it was no God; and, it seems, taught the Greek to look also, find the same, and at last seek gods that had never known the city-state at all.

The warmest admirers of the Macedonians will hardly maintain that they took the social idea of Hellenism pure and undefiled into Asia in 334. The Macedonian, who of them all was purest Hellene by blood, and had been educated under purest Hellenic influence—Alexander himself—had the absolutist ideas of a Persian. He started with manifest distrust of the Hellenic element in his empire; he worked from the first to render himself independent of Hellenic co-operation; he never promoted any Greek to the higher places about his person, except

perhaps Eumenes, the creature of his father; he curbed Greek autonomy at all points, treated the nominally free cities as really subject to his absolute will, and openly proclaimed his preference for Iranian society, its customs and its manners. His attitude was adopted by his immediate successors. Little as they liked Persians, they liked and trusted Greeks less. The whole story of Eumenes' latter years is an illustration. One cannot help feeling that a Macedonian, even of the uppermost class, was not much nearer to a Greek than a North Albanian is to-day. He had not the spirit of the city-state in him at all, but that of the clan or tribe. He was a polygamist with a strangely primitive tendency towards inbreeding. If he could admire and sometimes emulate Greek intellectuality, much as a Briton may admire and emulate Gallic intellectuality, he did not therefore become a Greek any more than the Briton becomes a Frenchman; nor did he suppress, under the influence of wine or rage, the non-Greek element in himself. Surely Antiochus IV at his best was Harun al-Raschid; at his worst, a drunken Albanian brave.

By such apostles the gospel of Hellenism must have been preached with singular impurity; and thus, in fact, so far as we can see, it was preached—in a form, indeed, so impure that its moral influence amounted practically to nothing, while its intellectual influence only affected a small class, and that slowly. Alexander and his Macedonian successors for several generations founded cities all over the empire as rallying points for scattered populations and tenable garrison posts. These, it is probable, were in form Greek, though the contention that their magistrates were periodically elected is not proved; while it is certain that those of some cities, for instance Seleucia-on-Tigris, bore non-Greek designations. We may concede to Mr Bevan that 'whatever the real parentage of the citizen body, it was in theory and guise Macedonian or Greek.' In theory and guise, yes; but, with that 'parentage,' was it Greek in anything but external forms? Could it be said to have the progressive spirit of a 'living organism' within it, as Mr Bevan supposes? The parentage is not too well known. Of the Bactrian and Afghan colonies, which received the largest number of western settlers, we do hear that the city population was usually collected in part from the locality. In the

case of a certain Bactrian colony the proportion of native settlers was one third. And what of the western settlers? They were in part Macedonian veterans, of whom many must have belonged to the rude northern hill-tribes, of Pæonia, Elymiotis, Orestis, if not of Thrace and Illyria. In part, too, they were Greeks of the south. But how much Hellenism resided either in the Thessalian cavalryman, the Ætolian archer, or the soldier of fortune, from whatever city drawn? The Hellenes whom Alexander left beyond the Persian desert were his worn-out men and his *mauvais garnements*. They accepted their exile only under compulsion, mutinied at the first opportunity, broke out westwards, and were easily smashed and driven in again by a comparatively small Macedonian and Persian force. Strange pioneers of a potent Hellenism!

In the event, as Mr Tarn points out, those Bactrian and Indian cities, of which we know something more than the mere names in this period, seem to have been almost purely Iranian or Indian in character, even under dynasts of Greek extraction, and even while they bore Greek names. Baktra-Alexandria worshipped Anait, and had a distinctly Zoroastrian mode of disposing of its dead. Sagala-Euthymedeia (or Euthydemeia) struck coins with Buddhist emblems, and, in Menander, had a king about whom all we are told, beyond the fact of his existence and his conquest of north-west India, is of Buddhist flavour. Plutarch's story of the division of his body after death between eight cities, and the burial of each part under a *stupa*, is wholly Buddhistical, as Professor Rhys Davids said long ago; and if he be the King Melinda of the famous dialogue, and if we attach to that any historical importance, we must hold that Menander was himself a Buddhist who attained to Arahatship, and that his five hundred 'Yonakas' were Buddhist too. Distinguished on his coins as Δίκαιος, 'The Just,' in common with some half-dozen other Græco-Indian dynasts, he claimed, in all probability, the peculiar Buddhist righteousness.

Taxila, in spite of its *Vihara* with Ionic volutes, was both Buddhist and Iranian, as its coins and its records show. There, just as at a later time in Gandhāra, Greek art was put entirely at the service of Orientalism. As for Mr Tarn's fourth example, Eul-che, the royal city of

Ta-yuen, according to the Chinese envoy Chang-Kien, and situate probably in Sogdiana, it does indeed show more trace of Greek character than he thinks. For instance, the remark of the Chinaman, that the population of Eul-che paid great deference to their women, makes one think, not of polygamous Asiatics, but of Macedonians, in whose life and history women played a singularly prominent part.

It is not suggested for a moment that there was not a large Greek element, settled more or less forcibly by Alexander and his successors, in the Bactrian and Hither-Indian lands; nor is it denied that this was awhile dominant, preserving its speech at least as long as the Branchidæ exiles in Sogdiana had preserved theirs, and containing or attracting to itself Greek artists, to whom we owe the singular beauty of the Hellenistic Bactrian coinage, and probably the Greek influence in certain later schools of Buddhist art. But with all its Hellenic blood, speech, and art, this element does not seem to have hellenised its surroundings, or even maintained its own Hellenism against the first attack of Asoka. With Mr Tarn, we believe it 'bled to death,' or rather, with the adaptiveness of the Hellene in ancient and modern times, became wholly orientalised by sturdier stocks which had a religious as well as a social system. Nor does Mr Bevan's candour allow him to deny this fact that Hellenism quickly shrank in uncongenial surroundings. If he does not say it 'bled to death,' he seems to think it was dried up by blasts of barbarism. This is not to say very much for its vitality. The Greek state then, as a 'living organism,' was not comparable to the Roman political system. For this system absorbed worse barbarians than the Indians or the Yue-chi, and lived again in them.

What Hellenism imparted to India in permanence was a very faint intellectual influence, and even that not too certain. We are told that India owed her astronomy to the Greeks. The debt seems hardly more significant than our own to the Arabs in the field of mathematics. We are told again that the early Indian drama was a child of the Hellenic. But this statement is so much disputed and so impossible to prove that it cannot be used in serious argument. Professor Macdonell ridicules

it in his 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' saying that the most Greek of the Indian comedies is really much more like Shakespeare than the New Attic school. As for medicine, geometry, and philosophy, Greece owed more to India than India to Greece. When Niese would prove Greek influence on India by declaring that Chandragupta owed to Alexander or Seleucus the idea of overruling the petty states, one feels his case is weak indeed. Had India never known the Persian overlordship? No; Lamartine was not so far wrong when he assumed the failure of Hellenism east of the Indus, and explained it by the religious inferiority of the '*rêves de l'Olympe*.'

We should like to see West Asian Hellenism discussed with the same scientific impartiality that Mr Tarn displays in dealing with Hellenism farther East. Many assumptions in regard to the Seleucid and Ptolemaic realms might well go the way of those of Count Goblet d'Alviella, Dr Weber, and Mr Vincent Smith in regard to India. One would not necessarily be convinced of the reality of Syrian or Egyptian Hellenism by an even more general use of Greek speech, Greek script, Greek political forms, and the Hellenic name, than is in fact demonstrable. If all strangers, whether Greek or not, came to be called 'Hellenes' in those lands, the fact proves, at the most, that the Greeks were the best known strangers, and, at the least, not more than the modern use of 'Frank' in the same quarters. What it does prove in any case is that the Greeks were strangers. As to Egypt in particular, where the previous establishment of Hellenic settlements and the existence of a great waterway might have induced much modification of the native life in the Hellenistic age, what do we, in fact, gather from such documents as the important decree of Euergetes II, newly published by Messrs Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly? This much; that there was still in 160 B.C. the very sharpest distinction between Greeks and natives; separate law-courts and judges for the two nationalities persisted; separate corps in the army and navy; separate interests, religious and political, to be conciliated by the king. The legal deeds were written in demotic for the one element, in Greek for the other. Even when the Romans came on the scene, when the Fayûm was surrounded by Greek villages, and middle Egypt had a chain of Greek

cities, neither Egyptian cult nor Egyptian life in their neighbourhood was materially affected. The Fayûm still worshipped the crocodile god, Sobk, under various titles, which the papyrus scribes rendered into Greek; and a temple on a Hellenic plan has yet to be found.

On the other hand, the evidences of Orientalism in Hither-Asia, after long experience of Hellenistic rule, are very numerous, although our information comes almost exclusively from western sources. The centre of Asia Minor, for example, it is well known, was in no way generally hellenised till Rome extended her dominion over it; and even then it retained and never lost a strong Iranian character, which was presently reflected in the local Christian heresies. In the time of Mithridates Eupator, Cappadocia was still pre-eminently Persian in religious and political spirit, in spite of the efforts of the Rome-bred king, Ariarathes V, and the Ionian-bred Orophernes. Pontus, except on the fringe of the Euxine, was in like case. Paphlagonia and Phrygia were scarcely more really modified. St Paul found the folk of Lycaonia talking native dialects. Even Mitteis does not presume Hellenism in the centre of the peninsula till the time of the Emperor Severus. And to the end the sturdy populations of almost all the Anatolian plateau remained sufficiently un-Hellenic to be instantly and permanently converted to Islam as soon as it was offered them, and to become the mainstay of the Turco-Arabian social system.

As for Syria, if the north of it became in nomenclature New Macedonia, the population, even of the cities, is allowed by Mr Bevan to have remained 'largely and perhaps mainly Aramæan.' Greek did not oust Aramaic as the popular tongue, as Antiochene nicknames attest; it was in use for public inscriptions at Palmyra after the Christian era, and it survived to become a literary language. Even in the coast-towns of Phœnicia we hear that Greek was not generally understood; Syria, with all its philosophers and epigrammatists, made but a scanty contribution to Greek literature; and a Greek inscription of an earlier epoch than the Roman is the rarest of finds in any inland district of the country. Indeed, the extreme rarity of epigraphic monuments of the Hellenistic age in any inland part of western Asia

is a fact whose significance is not to be ignored. After nearly two hundred years of Greek rule, no Greek inscription whatever has been found in India. One may almost say that only on the Egyptian waterway are pre-Christian Greek inscriptions—excepting those of royal origin, whether on coins or elsewhere—to be found a hundred miles from the sea. If the *boule* and *ecclesia* of Antioch-in-Persis erected a Greek inscription at Magnesia on the Mæander, one may still doubt if they ever erected one at home, or if many citizens would have understood it if they had.

That Syria, like central Asia Minor, retained its native cults need hardly be said. Antioch, under the Seleucid domination, had its Persian Artemis and its fire-temple; Seleucia-of-Pieria its pillar-god; Mount Casius and Doliche their Baal; Hierapolis its fish-goddess, Atargatis. So far from being absorbed into the Hellenic, the Syrian divinities now extended their domain westward, and pushed even to Rome and beyond, heralds of the day when Emesa should send Elagabalus to be emperor of the West and East. Neither to the Greeks of Greece proper nor to the Romans did the Macedonian and Greek subjects of these gods seem true Hellenes. Polybius and Posidonius tell us of the low esteem in which the former held them; and Livy puts into the mouths of two distinguished Romans words which stigmatised them as not different from Orientals.

What happened in southern Syria all men know from the history of the Maccabees. The Jew, after a brief flirtation with the externals of Greek culture, maintained rather by a small class than the people at large, revolted against it, drove out the accursed thing, won over part of the populations of Samaria and Galilee to Judaism, and confined the Antiochene civilisation to the coast and to a few inland colonies chiefly beyond Jordan. It was not until it became associated with Christianity, primarily through the influence of a Jew born in a hellenising university town, that Hellenism can be said to have gained any influence again over the Hebrews of Judæa, whatever it may have effected with the Hebrews of Alexandria. As Tacitus said, it failed, on the whole, with that 'tæterrima gens.'

It may be said that in quoting against Hellenism the

persistence and dominance of native cults we are arguing its failure from its inability to perform what it could not be expected to perform. Hellenism, say objectors, had, of course, no religious message. It appealed to the intellect alone. It was a purely secular force. You must look for its influence in a change of individual attitude towards the community on the one hand, and towards the things of the intellect on the other. Well, if so, let it be remarked that to consider the action of a civilising force in the East, and especially the nearer East, apart from religion is to consider it as affecting but a very small part of life. The social systems that have governed the lives of these peoples hitherto have all been based on religion. Creed was always, what it is now, the criterion of social division in the countries bordering on the eastern Mediterranean. Religion has been far the most potent influence on their political and social action, both at crises of their history and in their ordinary workaday life. This fact was realised by the Roman imperial authorities. They knew that their domination in the East must be built on some single religious basis, and they tried to find it in the imperial cult. This failed; and, making a virtue of necessity, they replaced it by Christianity. When Christianity, under Hellenic influence, had lost its unity, the eastern part of the empire was ready for a new creed and a new domination; and it found both in Islam. To admit that Hellenism left gods and cults undisturbed, is to admit that what we began by saying was the essence of Hellenism, its social system, did not affect the East. The influence of the mere forms of Greek social life, where these were established, influence of the *boule*, the *ecclesia*, the *ephebia*, the *gymnasium*, would go for little, and vanish as suddenly as it came, if it had no root in religion. And that it did not penetrate more than skin-deep, and was blown away by the first breath of native revival, is just what we hold history to have proved.

One cannot expect, therefore, any change in individual attitude towards the community; and, in fact, none can be discerned in either the kings or the peoples of the East in the Hellenistic period. That care which Parthian kings showed for their subjects, characterised as *ἐπιμέλεια* by Strabo in speaking of the Hyrcanian cities, has been

cited to prove the contrary. But is such an attitude due in any way to Hellenism? Is it not rather an incident of such personal paternal rule as is typical of eastern monarchies? Mr Bevan has to admit, indeed, that there was no permanent change; and that the Seleucid, as well as the Parthian, ruled much as the Persian had done; nay, even that the Roman emperors were not more compatible with the Hellenic social system, and that 'the court of Diocletian or of Constantine differed in nothing from the type shown by the East.'

We are left to take account, then, of a purely intellectual influence of Hellenic culture, as proved by the modification of which Asiatic literature, art, and science show evidence henceforward. It may be granted at once that this modification was real, rapid, and extraordinarily far-reaching. We may even assume safely in this matter more than the actual evidence proves; for our knowledge of the intellectual state of western Asia before the Roman period is very fragmentary. Mr Bevan has said all that is to be said. 'Traces of intellectual activity,' he remarks, 'are scanty'; but we can infer the condition of things from such facts as the rise of Syriac literature out of translations from the Greek; the preference of the Greek medium by Orientals like Berosus and Manetho; the expression of Buddhist ideas in Greek plastic form, though Indian literature is free from Greek influence; the use of Greek scientific terms in Asiatic languages. At the same time, one is not justified in supposing that this Hellenistic culture was spread very widely among the native peoples. Matters intellectual could only affect a small class in that state of development which the Asiatic peoples then displayed; and they were, it seems, somewhat jealously kept from the vulgar in certain centres. Native Egyptians, for example, were not admitted by Ptolemy Philadelphus to the privileges of his Museum.

It is only at a much later period that the evidence of the literary and scientific influence of Greece becomes abundant—in the period of the rise and first bloom of Moslem culture. The Arab geographers were the avowed and faithful disciples of Claudius Ptolemy; the Arab medical writers of Hippocrates and Galen; the Arab philosophers of Plato and Aristotle; the Arab geometers of Euclid. Between this period and the Hellenistic lies

all the Roman. Even if it be allowed that the Arab writers largely translated from Syriac manuscripts, and the Syriac writers translated from Greek manuscripts introduced into their country in the Hellenistic age (which is not certain), there remains a Roman factor in this late bloom so considerable as to render it very doubtful how far it can be used in proof of the expansion and absorptive capacity of Hellenism as an independent and self-sufficient force.

It remains to meet a serious objection which is sure to be raised to this reduction of Hellenism in Asia to a purely intellectual influence, dissociated from religion. How, it will be asked, about Christianity? Did not Hellenism, even if it had not originated that, adopt it, give it its intellectual expression, and, transformed by it into a religious force, acquire thenceforward a social power in the East, even if it had not possessed one before? The weight of this objection depends on how much of its essential character we believe Christianity to have owed to Hellenic ideas, and for how much we believe the Hellenic interpretation of it to have counted among Oriental peoples. Christianity was, in the first place, an expression of a religious tendency which has always been displayed by the population of a large part of Asia, the tendency to solve the problem of the relation of the finite to the infinite by a doctrine of the Incarnation of God. Thereby is satisfied the strongest instinct of humanity, the instinct to overcome death and secure continuity of existence; and therewith not only Christians have comforted themselves, but so, to a greater or less degree, have all Shiah Moslems as well as adherents of other religious systems, whose homes lie farther east. But wherever the Incarnationist idea originated, it did not originate in Hellenism, nor was it a likely outcome of any Hellenic tendency.

Christian Incarnationism, however, differed from some other Incarnationist systems in not being put forward as either tribal or national, but in extending to all mankind the common relation of man to man, which resulted from a common relation to God. Under it the whole world was to be regarded as one community, the members of which had certain duties towards each other, as well as towards a common Father. In this catholicity of its

social message Christianity coincided with thought to east of it as well as to west, with Buddhism as well as with Stoicism; and if its catholicity is not to be regarded (as it reasonably may) as a spontaneous outcome of Hebrew thought, one has scarcely less reason to ascribe it to an Indian influence than to a Greek. If no difficulty is felt about admitting the debt of the Pythagorean philosophy on the one hand, and of the Neoplatonic and Gnostic systems on the other, to Indian thought, why should this thought be ruled out of court when another philosophy of an intermediate period is in question? In the interval the Indian *yogis* had become personally known to Europeans; Indian sages, like Calanus, had travelled westward, and made an impression on the Greeks, to whose reality the Alexandrian romance literature bears witness; and the great missionary effort of Asoka, which Mr Bevan eloquently describes, had taken place. Will not more monumental evidence come to light, like that Ptolemaic gravestone with the wheel and *trisula* which Mr Flinders Petrie found in Egypt? If present in Alexandria when the romance of the Pseudo-Callisthenes was written there in the second or first century B.C., why may we not suppose Indian influence present in Palestine about the same epoch?

There is nothing, therefore, necessarily Hellenic about either the original doctrine or the social message of Christianity; but these found in hellenised minds not unreceptive soil. The social message had been anticipated there in spirit and to a small degree in application; the doctrine found the field unoccupied by any counter-doctrine possessing vital force. But in the crude miraculous form, which had satisfied the Syrian mind, the new doctrine was not acceptable to the Greek, till it had been interpreted more subtly in terms of Hellenic philosophy. What is unquestionably Hellenic about Christianity—this philosophic interpretation of its doctrinal basis which we find in the fourth Gospel—was an essential element in it as presented to Europe and especially to the northern nations; and no doubt this element has gone far to render it acceptable by us. Indeed, one may ask, if Christianity had not come to us hellenised, would it have made much way in Europe? But in Asia, how far was it presented in the hellenised form at all to those

peoples who received it? How far, if it were so presented, did its Hellenism go toward their acceptance of its essential doctrine and social code? In a word, can Hellenism be said to have found *for the East* a religious message in Christianity, and to have conquered there in the strength of that message?

To our mind the triumph of Hellenism as a civilising force was won in the West not the East. With no social system of its own applicable to wide areas, and finding in the East none congenial or strong enough to graft itself upon, Hellenism exercised there an intellectual influence only, such an influence as a barbarian invasion or any period of storm and stress might interrupt or obliterate altogether. In the West, on the other hand, it found just what it had lacked in the East, a social system of immense vitality and strength, flourishing and expanding. To this it attached itself, to this it supplied refinement and intellectual expression, and in the might of this it returned eastward as Græco-Romanism. The effect which Hellenism exerted on western and northern Europe through the Roman social system needs no proof. But even there, great as Hellenic influence was, it may be, and has often been, overstated. To say that we northern Europeans owe all our social organisation to Greece, and all our intellectual civilisation to the revival of Greek learning in the Middle Age, is as untrue as to say that we owe all our religion and all our morality to Christianity. The germs of our civilisation, much capacity for social order, and not a little realisation thereof, existed among the Germanic and the Celtic peoples before Rome, Hellenism, or Christianity came nigh them. We owe our present dominance in the world, if greatly to what we have learned of Italy and Greece, not a little also to forefathers who had never heard of those lands. It is just neither to them nor ourselves to overstate the Latin debt. The spirit of Hellas is, as Mr Bevan says, the spirit of the western world; but the western world has that spirit not solely nor altogether because Hellas had it. If all Hellenism is Occidentalism, all Occidentalism is not necessarily Hellenism.

Art. IX.—THE PROVINCIAL MIND.

It is certain that all educated and thoughtful people are confronted at times with modes of thought, with points of view, with systems of argument, or with habits of expression which, for one reason or another, they call provincial: it is equally certain that, if asked for some definition of the term which should include all admitted instances of its application and yet possess some historical and logical propriety, they would be severely posed for an answer. We, no more than they, are prepared with any brief and precise formula which shall meet the occasion; but, since it would be futile to pursue the subject at all without some sort of agreement as to its scope, we must endeavour at least to supply the reader with some approximate equivalent of that desiderated and unattainable certainty. But we must premise that this attempt will make for convenience of argument rather than for precision of thought; that our examples may not always correspond with fine-drawn exactness to our general remarks; that suggestion more than information will be the upshot; in fine, that, while it is hoped there may be something of philosophic merit in the following pages, scientific accuracy is not to be expected.

Living in an age and country of compromises, we find here also a practical utility in the mean. The original sense of 'provincial' is no longer useful in discussing questions of intellect or taste, except as applied to the material on which intellect and taste are exercised. The telegraph, the newspaper, and the railway have brought the metropolis and the provinces so near together that very little can be argued as to a man's taste and mode of thought from his place of abode. To live away from the metropolis is no longer necessarily to be remote from its culture, from the centre of things. In that sense the provincial need not be, and in the case of active and educated minds very seldom is, *paganus*. We shall find in this section of our meditations that there is more to be said for his advantages than his disadvantages. This section, however, is not an extensive one. When we come to the secondary and enlarged meanings of the word, we discover that it has been taken to include

almost every limitation and fault of taste and intelligence. Matthew Arnold, for example, finds a note of provinciality in Addison on account of the commonplaceness of his ideas. At this point, surely, comprehensiveness merges into nothingness. If commonplaceness of ideas be in itself provincial, then is Horace, for example, provincial; which is absurd. Even to take Matthew Arnold's own definition of provinciality, that it is ignorance of the best, no acquaintance with the best will preserve a certain order of intellect from dealing in commonplaces; and, since certain intellects, dealing with commonplace ideas, have produced certain of the world's most cherished masterpieces of expression, perhaps we need not deplore the fact. But of Matthew Arnold there will be something to say in our connexion later. Again, provincial is often taken to mean the antithesis to catholic or universal. That also is not convenient. The true antithesis—at least in matters of art—to the universal is the personal; and although the personal, that is to say, the introspective or self-regarding writer may be encouraged in his tendency by a provincial state in the literal sense, he is sometimes, as in Byron's case, a man eminently versed in general life and society and well acquainted with the best.

So that we find that, while we must extend the denotation of the word from its original sense, we must extend with caution, and it seems well to extend it along its natural lines; that is to say, not to lose sight of an implication of position, not to confuse it altogether with a vague antithesis to cultivated or well-informed. The flexibility, the lack of definiteness in our language supplies most of us, who are loose thinkers, with synonyms enough and to spare; it will be no ill thing to invest this word, so far as we are able, with a particular and distinctive meaning. We shall look then for provinciality in writers or in persons otherwise articulate as an outcome of associations with places, sets of people, or circumstances; and we shall not have to do with limitations of intellect or taste except in so far as they come from such associations. When we praise the results, we shall mean that the associations are properly and happily operative. But, since it is best to keep, so far as possible, to the ordinary uses of language, and since provinciality is

almost always used in an ill sense, we shall attend chiefly to the results which mar an otherwise good thing, to the results which come from associations irrelevantly and mischievously operative. We shall observe such results of too intense or too limited associations in very diverse spheres; we shall observe a provinciality of class, of coterie, of education, as well as the lack of it; a provinciality of patriotism and anti-patriotism, of platitude and paradox. The scope will be wide enough; but, since our space is limited, we must restrict our purview of examples and confine ourselves in the main to the most practical field, that is, to English life and letters as they are now or have been in the last few generations.

In the days before the common use of printed books, when living remote from local centres meant living remote from possibilities of culture, from learned teachers and famous lecturers, the disadvantages were no doubt unmitigated. But those days were in the Middle Ages; and then, happily, local centres were not infrequent, and philosophers and other lecturers were peripatetic. When we come to the period when books were to be had with tolerable ease, but communications were difficult, and men had to abide with the friends and acquaintances their local business gave them, to live a provincial life was to the man of exceptional talent and mental energy at once a torture and a stimulus. A torture, because he found little oral and personal sympathy; a stimulus, because, being thrown in upon himself, and being sharply and constantly reminded of the folly and the prejudices of those in the far rear of his advancement, he was set the more sternly to assert good reason and enlightenment against them. Often such a stray unhappy genius may have wasted in futile repinings and bitterness the powers which, in sympathetic surroundings, might have worked to a brilliant end. But often, also, one who in happier circumstances had melted away in urbane discourses and pleasant *jeux d'esprit*, has been wrought upon by intellectual and emotional discomfort, the direct result of a provincial life, to strike hard and successfully against these things, and has so got fame for himself and left us some fine possession. Which, in the latter case, had been his happier lot is a question we need not go about to decide; we at least are gainers. A man in such a case

finds himself and finds his age as he sees it. Imagine Burns a wealthy cosmopolitan peer: what should we have had of him? A few careless love-songs and drinking-songs, it is likely; it is possible some ordered philosophical work from that wide and enquiring mind; but not the immortal pathos he has left us, and not that masterpiece of satirical invective, 'Holy Willie's Prayer.'

As for living in the provinces nowadays, we think a cultivated and thoughtful man is to be congratulated on the fact. Only very exceptional circumstances can prevent his visiting and being visited by his intellectual peers; and the thought of his age is easily accessible in print. He is no more apart from the movement or the crisis of his day than the man in the city, and he has readier to his sympathies the homely humanising interests and anxieties of common life outside his own house. To the general intellectual interests, political interests, and so forth, of the town man, who has no neighbours and meets his acquaintances in a hurry, the provincial man may add all sorts of kindly gossip from village and country-side. He may be exposed to the temptations of conceit which come from a narrow and too-admiring circle, but he need not be so exposed, and if he be a humane man he will not be; for it is likely his country neighbours will think poorly enough of his intellectual achievements. The London man—for we are speaking of England—is just as much exposed to mischievous admirers if he has a taste for them, and if he be a man of exceptional prominence; while he may still have something of the conceit of place which lingers yet as to some extent the provinciality of the Londoner—the delusion that comparative proximity to greater or more important men still confers an advantage. But how little provinciality in the original sense tells either way may be guessed from the vagueness of these speculations.

A word should be added in this place of the confusion which is sometimes made between the provincial nature of a writer's subject-matter and provincial qualities of mind. When such subject-matter is the result of prolonged residence in the place where it is found, the writer may have been exposed to the advantages and disadvantages already adumbrated. So that while, in instances too numerous to need example, the writer—poet or

novelist—who writes of provincial things has shown exceptional concentration and devoted insight, in others he has shown a narrowness of view and pettiness of feeling. In contemporary writers we should attribute such faults to other associations than those of place; but plenty of examples may be found in the 'Kailyard school,' and in certain lovers of the slums. There is, however, no inevitable reason why the writer on provincial themes should be in any way provincial. What subjects more provincial than Miss Austen's? What writer more free from the faults commonly called provincial? Or, to take a better instance, 'Cranford' is occupied for the most part with the utmost pettinesses of provincial life; but there is an all-embracing humanity in Mrs Gaskell, which being properly restrained in expression is the very reverse of provinciality. Such writers may suffer in popularity: the excellent idiom of Dorsetshire may have lost the poet Barnes some lazy readers; but that is not to the purpose.

We pass to the next division, which in modern England is the most important of all—the provinciality of class. It embraces more than snobbery. In England, where there is no caste in the proper sense of the word—caste renders snobbery impossible—where changes of class are constant, and where small distinctions of class are still fervently, though no longer rigidly, preserved, snobbery is both rampant and subtly pervasive. The highest—technically—and the lowest classes are comparatively free from it; but elsewhere it dims our social life with all kinds of irrational distinctions and reservations. Consequently he who looks suspiciously for it will seldom fail to find it. But provinciality of class is wider than snobbery, which it includes, because it is produced by any limitation, coming from class associations, of understanding and knowledge, and does not imply necessarily any personal animus or mean admirations and dislikes.

This provinciality of class has indeed an importance in our national life which transcends any question of taste or literary achievement. It is a price we pay in our government for the advantage of being governed by men who are above the temptations of material corruption, and whose word can generally be trusted as a matter of course. As a rule the price is not heavy; but there are occasions, easily to be imagined, when a want of first-hand

knowledge of popular emotions and points of view may handicap national policy. The authentic statesman, of whatever class, is not subject to this provinciality; but authentic statesmen are rare.

This sort of provinciality shows itself occasionally in the political deliveries of public writers, and, where it has the least excuse, in criticisms of literary work. In the latter case it is often connected with an academic provinciality, of which we shall speak later, but may be considered, for the credit of academic provinciality, as essentially distinct. The ideal of the 'English gentleman,' derived perhaps from the ideal of the perfect knight professed by post-mediæval chivalry, is worthy and wholesome. It is true that we are finding cause to regret that the ideal, as understood by our schoolmasters, should exclude knowledge and intellectual ability; and it is certainly a pity that it too often leads our critics, even some of the most eminent of them, to disparage unduly any literary work which, in their opinion, conflicts with it. If the work does truly so conflict, the fact may be rightly mentioned, but it should not overshadow merit in all other directions. For instance, some of the criticism lavished on Mr Rudyard Kipling's book, 'Stalky and Co.,' illustrated the provinciality of class working narrowly but naturally enough. An instance of this provinciality in a more degraded form may be taken from a weekly paper—English, more's the pity—which remarked some time ago that the Americans were growing tired of being 'governed by a gentleman.' Such an appalling piece of impertinence is not of course typical, but it is worth mentioning as an instance of the dangers which this class preoccupation has for ill-regulated minds and manners.

But it is more profitable to observe a weakness in a great than in a little intelligence. There is no such interesting and remarkable instance of the provinciality of class among English writers as Thackeray, because no other writer approaching his genius of observation and presentment has had it in anything like the same degree. When Thackeray writes of contemporary life—in three parts of his work, that is—he writes as an Englishman of the upper middle class. Whatever else is there, the shrewd and comprehensive observation, the gay or melancholy or subtle humour, the perfect ear for dia-

logue, the perfect artistry in narrative English, always the upper middle class is there also. If he had occasion to write of the titular aristocracy, its titles seem to have haunted him, and he must needs approach it, either with an air of ironical civility or with an air of apologetic patronage. So obsessed was he by this distinction of class that, artist and observer as he was, he could never fully use the advantage of our aristocracy for a novelist, which consists in its comparative freedom from preoccupation with matters irrelevant to the simple passions. Again, if he wrote of the classes technically beneath his own, he could never approach them fairly and squarely as composed of human beings. Servants, tradespeople, and the like, he seems to have thought of as themselves rather ridiculous, if not despicable. Their love-affairs and ambitions were with him themes for good-natured banter, and that only. The artist in him triumphed over all this of course. If his provinciality of class was great, his natural powers were greater. But undeniably the fault is there, and is a reason why his 'Esmond'—even his 'Virginians'—with far less of life and knowledge in them than there is in 'Pendennis' and 'The Newcomes'—are read by some of us with the more continuous pleasure, because he has gone back to a time when this provinciality had no occasion to appear.

It is difficult to mention Thackeray and not to say something about Dickens; and it happens that he comes into the argument, in so far as he shows a bias against the 'upper classes.' He is a little inclined—reversing the dictum of Tennyson's farmer—to say that the rich 'in a loomp is bad,' and that irrationally, with no consistent economic creed to back him up; in short he reflected the Radicalism of his day. But happily the largest part, and all the best, of his work concerned the poor, or at least those who were not rich, so that his provinciality is, in the result, only sporadic. His case seems, however, to remind us that provinciality of class is by no means confined, among English writers, to one class. Mr Barrie, in that charming idyll of his, 'The Little Minister,' is free enough from provincial provinciality, so to speak, as he is in his 'Thrums' book, and as some of his imitators are not; but in the rather absurd passages where he brings in members of the 'upper' class, he treats himself to a

mode of class provinciality. So in his play, 'The Admirable Crichton,' otherwise so refreshing because it contains an idea, he has a rather malignant fourth act which lacks the fairness of the true comic spirit. In criticism this aspect of class provinciality shows itself among certain writers who seem to hold a brief for the lower classes, rather artificially, because they do not themselves belong to them or profess any particular knowledge of them. But so it is; provided a book concerns itself with a remote village or a London slum, and abounds in dialect which, whether like its professed models or not, is at least unfamiliar to the critics, some of them will always acclaim the profound observation and humanity of the author. But in coming to this odd fashion we touch the bottom of the subject.

The division which seems to us nearest to class provinciality, and which, though far from rivalling it in extent, is, for questions of taste, almost as important, is academic provinciality. By this we mean a perversion or limitation of view which results from the associations of university culture and scholarship, associations either direct and professional, or immediately derived from those in direct and professional touch with universities. The word academic is therefore literally correct, but it has a side advantage in suggesting Matthew Arnold's well-known opinion of academies. It suggests, in fact, his essay on 'The Literary Influence of Academies.' Now, that essay is an important *locus classicus* on the subject of our article; and the reader may have wondered that, having mentioned Matthew Arnold at an earlier stage, we did not proceed to discuss it. But since we did not adopt his definition of provinciality there was no necessity; and convenience suggested that we should leave the essay to this place, because we saw in it the note of academic provinciality. It is with no audacious wish to turn the tables on that great writer that we make this assertion, but because, as in Thackeray's case, the fault is made the clearer by being set in a heap of merits. And it certainly is not with Matthew Arnold as with fair Amoret, that 'he is the thing that he despises.' He was free from the national fault which he rebuked, but in the very fullness of his culture, the very fervency of his zeal, he was betrayed into a fault of another kind.

He himself would hardly have allowed the propriety of the term 'academic provinciality,' because with him provinciality meant the absence of academies. He believed that for this reason it afflicted the whole of our literature, and that even our greatest men of genius would have been somewhat greater for the restraining influence of an academy. If it could be shown that an academy would have corrected our prevailing demerits of formlessness and eccentricity, or that an academy ensured knowledge, the theory would be very largely true. Even so, we should have preferred, as a question of words, not to adopt Matthew Arnold's use of the word provinciality, taking ignorance to be barbarous rather than provincial. An unkind critic might say that much of our literature, that a little even of its best, is barbarous for want of knowledge. So much is true; whether a literary academy would have removed the reproach is doubtful.

Academic provinciality is of two kinds. One kind is an excessive regard for mere information, mere reading, and in consequence a contempt for ignorance which extends to the belittling of fine qualities sometimes joined to ignorance. Your academic is apt to forget that information without understanding is at least as poor a thing as understanding without information. The other kind is an excessive devotion to system, to completeness of presentment, to apparent logic. The academic provincial is always *κατέχων θέσιν*. It is to be said of both these faults that, in the balance of English taste and intelligence, they are faults on the right side. Beyond all question ignorance is the chief vice of our popular contemporary writings and the parent of their innumerable vulgarities. So little is knowledge in evidence or in demand that, even among our professed critics in our professed 'literary' papers, a tendency to regard literature as bounded by the last catch-shilling novel is emphatic. It is this prevailing ignorance, unconscious and shameless, among us which, in matters intellectual and artistic, is ever widening the gulf between the few and the many—to the loss of both sides. Moreover, we are beginning to find out that contempt of knowledge is not an advantage even in our practical life. The glory of the showy and incompetent amateur is somewhat dimmed among us; the outer darkness of the expert is receiving rays of popular recognition.

In this regard, then, the spirit of the academic provincial may be by accident a blessing. Nor need his excessive regard for logic and system disturb us. There also the general run of us are very much to seek. We have come to regard the practical common-sense on which we pride ourselves as something so superior to logic and systems, even so much opposed to them, that we are in danger, it seems, of forgetting the relations of cause and effect in very important concerns. And in such matters as criticism of literature, of painting, and the drama, and so forth, we are, to use an intelligible colloquialism, 'all over the place.'

By accident, then, the academic provincial is in general to be welcomed. But what there was of provinciality in Matthew Arnold was not to be welcomed, because he stood before England as the type of ideal culture and pointed the way of intellectual salvation; because he was one of the very few great critics we have ever had who could gain an extensive hearing; so that whatever tended to mar the perfect reasonableness, the sweetness and light, of his utterance, tended to spoil the effect of his mission. Did it fail? This is not the place to answer the question; but we remember that it was 'the depression of pure intelligence' among his countrymen (the phrase is in his essay on Heine) which was most present to his militant consciousness, and we see that pure intelligence has even less to say in our national life to-day than it had in the sixties and seventies. However this may be, it can hardly be denied that Matthew Arnold betrayed a note or so of academic provinciality as we have diagnosed it. Take, for example, the opinion of Byron, whose genius, as genius, he appreciated to the full. He found him 'so empty of matter,' and traced that emptiness to want of knowledge and implicitly to want of reading. A recent editor has shown us that Byron's reading would hardly have shamed a professional student; but surely to say of Byron, introspective and personal though his genius was, that the author of the 'Vision of Judgment' or of 'Don Juan' was empty of matter, is to carry regard for mere knowledge somewhat far. Again, Matthew Arnold is concerned to show that intelligence is more likely than genius to be followed worthily by disciples and imitators. We do not dispute it; great

genius is a thing apart. But Matthew Arnold, *κατέχων θέσιν*, asks what was the sequel to the 'literature of genius, as we may call it, stretching from Marlowe to Milton,' and answers that it was 'our provincial and second-rate literature of the eighteenth century.' 'Now, really,' as he himself says of a passage in Ruskin, 'what a piece of extravagance all that is!' Fielding, Pope, Gibbon, and Sterne second-rate and provincial! That they were inferior to Shakespeare may be allowed. The phrase means nothing if it does not mean that they were second-rate in the contemptuous sense. Matthew Arnold could not have meant that soberly and deliberately; but he was concerned to make his theory complete, and sacrificed exactness to a touch of academic provinciality.

His instance is the most perfect, because so finely relieved. We might pursue the characteristic into many deliveries of many lesser men. We might detect it in an appearance—here and there—of self-conscious superiority or impertinent knowingness, amusing but not urbane, and might go on to speculate as to the effect of comparative isolation and immunity of life in preserving the attributes of clever adolescence to old age. But we should not do wisely, partly because we have other themes to our hand, and partly because all this is the defect of a quality which at present is very rare and valuable. Academic provinciality is a far better thing than its opposite, the pretentious ignorance which is proof against rebuke.

On the provinciality of the coterie, the militant essayist might say provoking things. Even the essayist who would fain be agreeable to his fellow-men is likely, on this subject, to annoy some few of them. The most prominent of all coteries have been those formed by men of letters, or by those interested, or appearing to be interested, in things literary. The quarrels of authors have commonly been quarrels of coteries, formed of people personally acquainted, or at least in some personal sympathy. We must not go too far back, but we will permit ourselves to go back to Doctor Johnson. Doctor Johnson found room in his extensive brain for prejudices of all kinds, and his overwhelming personality impressed these prejudices on his coterie. They were not seldom prejudices

of a merely personal origin, irrelevant to the literary judgments in which they found expression, and therefore the coterie which promulgated the judgments was in so far provincial. It was the more conspicuously provincial in some few of these matters, because Doctor Johnson's great influence made almost invariably for the correction of provinciality—for masculine judgment and good sense and sound morality. It was the coterie more particularly devoted to his friend Samuel Richardson which showed how provincial a coterie may become, wholly absorbed in the master's one theme, hymning his praises till the high notes ended in a shriek, hysterical with alarm and rage when his greater rival and crushing satirist came into view. It may be said that the contemporary disparagement of Fielding and of Sterne was the provinciality of coterie, among them Horace Walpole's—not, of course, his large and cosmopolitan social set, but the section of it which exchanged opinions about literature. He is by no means to be included in an earlier division of our subject; writers in our times who have found a snobbery of exclusiveness in him have forgotten the altogether different constitution of society in his day, or have been impervious to the whimsical irony which lightens all that he says on matters of social interest. Horace Walpole had no provinciality of class in our meaning of the phrase, but he was a man of fastidious taste in manners and in the minor ethics, and associated by choice with those who satisfied the taste and did not provoke the fastidiousness. What he heard of Johnson's social customs, and still more what he heard of Fielding's, repelled him; and, not having our advantage of perspective, he underrated their work. So did those of his friends who cared for letters. It was the provinciality of a coterie which was as little provincial as any recorded or existing.

The war of poets in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was essentially a war of coterie. Byron, Shelley, and Thomas Moore on one side, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey on the other, in spite of all the cross-divisions which individual genius and real intellectual interest would have made, were led by personal motives to form hotly contesting factions. Moore, of course, was no friend of Shelley, but we may assume that it was Byron's personal influence which prevented his being an enemy.

On both sides continued, systematic, deliberate depreciation of work because of personal dislike—the provinciality of coterie at its deadliest. We might say that Shelley was merely a sufferer if we did not remember that most brilliant of wicked parodies, ‘Peter Bell the Third.’ But Shelley was the victim of a provinciality of coterie from which Byron was free. Like some other great lyric poets, he was neither a profound nor an original philosopher; but the Godwin coterie impelled him to excursions in social philosophy which may be called provincial without erring on the side of harshness. A curious cross-division of conviction and achievement is that Byron should have stood forth as the champion of the classic tradition. But whatever works or opinions were to be criticised, ever since Southey wrote his personal libels on Shelley and Byron in 1816, we find this bitter personal hostility directing judgments and inflaming language. That is the provinciality of coterie.

The same period, or one immediately antecedent, saw the opening roars of critical Edinburgh answered anon from Albemarle Street. It is the fashion to decry those hardy scrimmagers whose battle-pieces occupy so much of the old Reviews; and of course their proper inclusion in a discussion about the provinciality of coteries can hardly be disputed. Political publications in intention though the Reviews were, we think it unfair to attribute the fierceness of writers indubitably interested in literature for its own sake to political predisposition, and not rather to the more human influence of personal association and sympathy. But if they were guilty of ferocity in their language and of narrowness in their judgments, and were very far from fulfilling Matthew Arnold’s requirements of the true critic, they certainly had a double dose of that ‘vivacity’ on which he once congratulated himself. When you can permit yourself to write of an author that he has ‘exhausted every species of sensual gratification,’ and ‘drained the cup of sin even to its bitterest dregs,’ you are not a very calm or collected critic but you are in your way an amusing writer. Disproportionate savagery in these matters may be regretted, but let us not be too deeply shocked; these good folks doubtless said more than they meant, and these little excitements must have cheered many a dull moment.

They have passed out of our manners ; and sometimes, in the level dullness of our prints, one almost wishes them back.

As the mind, pondering on coteries, follows the years after Byron's death, it lingers inevitably in Holland House. It may well be said in the 'Quarterly Review,' the traditional enemy of Holland House and of the policy it connoted, that the sterling qualities of host and hostess, and the personal affection they inspired, were strong ties in that brilliant circle. Nevertheless, that coterie was far more political than personal, and stood so largely for the whole Whig party that mention of it in this place may be thought irrelevant. Hardly so; for politics, especially among the Whigs, were then an affair of coteries rather than of parties; and it is to be observed that that part of political provinciality which is the irrelevant depreciation or exaltation of non-political work on political grounds disappeared along with the coterie. We all remember Macaulay's attack on Croker's edition of Boswell and on Johnson himself. Mr Meredith has recently attacked the present government: would any of its supporters on that account depreciate Mr Meredith's works? Do we not all praise Mr John Morley's writings, even if some of us dislike his political views? But the coterie of Holland House was too notable and valuable a centre of wit and intellect for its occasional provinciality to count for much against it.

The decay of the fierce fighting spirit which animated criticism in Byron's day has left even literary coteries of more recent years tolerably free from the provinciality of excessive depreciation. The Mills and Carlyles may have been inclined to exalt themselves and their friends, but not to attack their opponents over-fiercely or unfairly, on any literary issue. From time to time, however, intellectual and artistic fashions appear which their advocates will push with a provincial zeal. Such a provinciality, for example, did much to prevent the appreciation of Ibsen's plays in this country. A coterie of his admirers, exulting in a rather cheaply acquired philosophy, found a new heaven and earth in these plays, and proclaimed aloud their rather absurd discovery. So the British public, which, left alone, might have perceived in some measure Ibsen's mastery of dramatic effects, hearing

this cry of 'new ideas,' was frightened away. Since it is our place, however, to look for good in all things, it may be added that, although the less discreet of these admirers and of their opponents divided a rather plentiful stock of ignorance between them, it is something in our country nowadays that ideas of any kind, even 'new ideas,' should attract any public attention. A like merit may be claimed for another coterie, or set of coteries, which it occurs to us to mention. Starting from the late Mr Oscar Wilde, a habit of paradox and attempted epigram spread over a large portion of the more or less educated inhabitants of London in the nineties. It resulted, of course, in a great deal of silliness and of irritation to the judicious. Mr Wilde himself, a man of fine intellect and of marvelously ready and light-playing wit, carried this fashion with distinction. With his imitators it was apt to become a nuisance. Ineffectual wit is destructive of agreeable intercourse. An affected horror of the commonplace is an insult to humanity: love and life and death are commonplace. Wit, even true wit, is inappropriate on certain themes: 'nam risu inepto res ineptior nulla est.' Some taste as well as intelligence is needed by your social wit; and these witlings sometimes lacked it. But, for all that, to pride oneself as a wit, to have the ambition of being thought one, is better in itself than the common contentment with stupidity.

These little coteries were provincial in their incessant striving for effect and in their choice of inappropriate subjects for their jests, no doubt. But they had, *en revanche*, their good ingredient. Of strictly literary coteries we have very little sign among us. A generation in which ideas—at least for the moment—are languid and barren, and which therefore can produce but very few creative artists of the first or even the second rank, but which abounds in fairly competent mediocrities, and is, moreover, blessed with a myriad occasions for their appreciation—'literary columns' and what not—such a generation is likely to produce its little rings of criticism, its little business-like societies of mutual aid; but they are very innocuous. The more considerable men are apart from them; the bubbles of reputation they send up are often quite pretty to see, and they are generally free from malevolence. Provincial they are, of necessity,

but in a sphere where little if any harm can be done and much innocent satisfaction afforded.

We thought it a mistake to confuse the provincial with the personal or individual, and we think it equally a mistake to confuse it with the national. If we can predicate a quality of a whole nation, it seems to us a misuse of terms to call that quality provincial. It has been said of the English that they are as a nation, or as a race, intellectually coarse, impatient of ideas, prone boorishly to resent or to gibe at the unfamiliar, as certain English visitors are reported to have gibed at the dress of the Indian princes at the Delhi Durbar. Such a reproach, fixed upon a man or a group of men, might be the result of narrow associations and would then be provincial; but, if it be true of a whole race, the word is inapplicable in that connexion. A mere question of words, perhaps; but we prefer to keep to the line of thought on which we started. It seems to us, however, not inconsistent—and if it be, we must be content to risk it—to say of a national literature, if it be too narrowly national, that it is so far provincial; because a literature is the work of a certain limited number of writers, and these writers may fairly be called provincial if the result of their national associations be pushed to narrow or irrelevant extremes.

It may be said that the culture of Europe generally is at this time less homogeneous, less inclined to mutual inspiration, than it was a century and a half ago, or even later. That may be so. Unfortunately, it is to be said with greater confidence that our own literature, at this present day, neither gives nor takes as once it gave and took. Through the greater part of the eighteenth century London and Paris exchanged ideas intimately and with freedom. The fact is a commonplace of literary history. Sterne and Richardson on the one shore, Rousseau and Diderot on the other, are the simplest cases of this cosmopolitan interest, and it is to be observed that in these the Englishmen were the inspirers. Cultivated men of fashion—to be cultivated was then a distinction, not an opprobrium, in English general society, and how distant it seems!—Chesterfield, Horace Walpole, George Selwyn, frequented Parisian philosophers and *littérateurs*; Montesquieu spent two years in England;

Voltaire visited Congreve. Which of our contemporary dramatists would be so honoured? We bowdlerise a few French plays, and these not the best; we translate some of the more popular French novels; we translate Tolstoy, Annunzio, a stray German or so. But what are we giving back? Where are we leading, influencing European thought? To what extent—it is asked merely for information—are we even listened to? So far as our contemporary literature is concerned, we seem to be moving outside the thought of Europe, outside its social interests, theories, problems, emotions, ideas.

This is not to condemn ourselves off-hand—a vice which alternates with our self-complacency. Much of our literature concerns social conditions, humours, or eccentricities which are distinctively and essentially English and incommunicable to the foreigner. We may say cheerfully that it is his loss. But it is hardly a matter for congratulation that our contemporary literature should reflect so little of the general human movement—in addition to what it may produce justly for ourselves alone—so little of the ideas and fancies which the thoughtful and cultivated among us share more or less with those of other lands. It is a matter for reflection that, so far, our literature should now be provincial, which in the eighteenth century, *pace* Matthew Arnold, it most assuredly was not.

One reason, among others, for the fact may be found in a quality which is become national, but was in its origin essentially provincial. The first Puritans were zealous rather for doctrine than for ethics; but what is rightly called the Puritan spirit, in affairs where questions of morality can be discussed, dates from them, from a set of people alien to the general English of their time, and has gradually imposed itself—as strength of conviction and keenness of interest, met by indifference only, will ultimately do—on us all as a nation. We may call this spirit historically provincial, at least. In practical morality it may be good or otherwise. But in matters intellectual and artistic its effect is an obsession of formal and specialised morality, and of hair-splitting issues concerning this specialised morality. It is not, as it is commonly stated, that we refuse to discuss certain things; it is that we refuse to discuss anything else. It is something far more formidable than mere prudery, far

more insidious, far less easily thrown off. We must bring everything down to its level. All of the human heart and the human mind which does not concern these questions of narrowly moral right and wrong in one field only of morality is for us secondary, slightly entertained, apt to be ignored altogether. The prudes and their irritated opponents are at one in this. They approach the matter with different opinions, but they are all intent on it, all obsessed by it. 'Art for Art's sake,' that old phrase, represented literally an impossible idea; morality cannot be banished from art. But morality is more even than questions of sex, much more than the transitory customs of this or that society which regulate questions of sex. If our contemporary literature is to cease to be exposed to the charge of provinciality, this note of provinciality at least it must lose.

We leave our subject incomplete, having promised nothing better. Even on the broad lines we proposed we have left many modes of provinciality untouched, it is very probable; and any one who should enquire a little more curiously than we, will find a thousand more notes of provinciality leap to his mind. If we have in any way been suggestive to him, we are content. It is pleasant to have done with fault-finding. Looking back through our pages we are almost shocked to find a demerit alleged against Thackeray, who has made us a whole world of friends, or against Matthew Arnold, but for whose teaching it is likely this article would never have been written. We observe the phrase 'academic provinciality,' and remember shamefully a university where so many dreams of youth lie graciously buried. . . . It is pleasant to be done with fault-finding.

G. S. STREET.

Art. X.—THE NEEDS OF RURAL ENGLAND.

1. *Rural England: being an account of Agricultural and Social Researches carried out in the years 1901 and 1902.* By H. Rider Haggard. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1902.
2. *A New System of Heavy Goods Transport on Common Roads.* By B. J. Diplock. London: Longmans, 1902.

LITERATURE and farming are seldom associated, except in mutual suspicion, veiled, on the one side, by artificial compliments. Scores of poets have philandered with hay-rakes; dozens of essayists have embroidered their prose with pictures of the delights of country life. But their views of a farmer's life resemble the truth as little as a beribboned Strephon in Chelsea china resembles a real shepherd. We cannot recall an instance, except that of Mr Haggard, in which a distinguished writer has beaten his inkstand into a ploughshare. In 'Rural England,' so far as we are aware, for the first time, a man who has achieved a great success in literature has studied, practised, and written on English farming.

If this fact stood alone it would make the publication noteworthy. But in its matter, as well as in its manner, the book makes strong claims to the attention of all who are interested in a subject of national importance, which daily increases in urgency and gravity. It is possible that the descriptive passages, the sidelights on rural habits, the pictures of everyday country life, the scraps of antiquarian lore, the architectural enthusiasms, the personal flavour, which are skilfully mingled with the solid facts of 'Rural England,' may attract hundreds of readers who shy from an ordinary farming-book as they run from the whiff of a fertiliser. Should this be the case to any large extent, Mr Haggard will have earned the lasting gratitude of agriculturists. As governments nowadays understand their duties, legislation is only forced to the front by the pressure of public opinion. But the landed interest, including landlords, their mortgagees, tenants, and labourers, are numerically, and as a voting power, of small importance, even if they were a united body; they cannot force their claims imperatively

upon the notice of the government; they cannot educate public opinion if people recoil from the subject.

If then the new alliance of literature with farming promotes the formation of a large body of public opinion on a question of national gravity, Mr Haggard's name deserves to be the toast of every farmers' ordinary. We sincerely hope that his book will gain that widespread circulation which his industry, his charm of style, and the importance of his subject, deserve. The attention which has been denied to the gruff grumble of John Bull may, perhaps, be granted to the honeyed but lugubrious accents of Mr Haggard. Such a result is devoutly to be desired; yet we must candidly own that, in our opinion, it will not follow. Mr Haggard's investigation has been laborious; and the evidence which he has collected is voluminous. As a record of the practices and methods of English farming at the dawn of the twentieth century, his portly volumes take their place by the side of the works of Arthur Young, Cobbett, and Caird. But though his book may, on its literary merits, gain even more than their share of posthumous recognition, it will not, we believe, receive their reward of immediate appreciation. The reasons why this comparative failure is probable are not hard to discover. They are due partly to Mr Haggard's virtues, partly to his defects, partly to the circumstances of the time.

It is unfortunate that Mr Haggard should have made his survey at a period which was disastrous to farmers, and at a moment when the labour difficulty was preternaturally acute. Five years ago, things had begun to assume a more favourable aspect for agriculture. But the South African war, combined with the dismal season of 1901, nipped hope in the bud. Men grew bitter in proportion as they had become sanguine. Last year, on the other hand, was more favourable for farmers, and labour was less scarce. The change is scarcely noticed in Mr Haggard's book, and the omission is the more regrettable since he appears to be constitutionally inclined to pessimism. At the back of his mind there seems to lie the conviction that only protection can restore prosperity; and that this remedy will not be adopted until the country is ruined.

Apart from this tendency and this secret conviction,

Mr Haggard started on his mission without any prejudices, and without any preconceived ideas which he was determined to support by evidence. His picture of rural England is as impartial as an honest collector of biased opinions can make it. But its message is too negative and too half-hearted to excite enthusiasm. If Mr Haggard had grouped his facts to support any particular theory, he would have produced a more readable book. If he had weighed and sifted the indiscriminate mass of evidence which he has collected, his work would have been more thorough and more valuable. As it is, his gospel of dependence on the government is a confession of failure.

We do not think that many farmers believe themselves to be 'fighting against the mills of God.' If they do believe it, the sooner they shake themselves out of it the better. They may affect the apathy of despair, but their actions fortunately contradict their despondency. We think that Mr Haggard reproduces only too faithfully the language of disillusionment which undoubtedly prevails in agricultural circles, and that he attaches exaggerated importance to a grumble which means less than he thinks. That he should have no panacea to suggest, is not his fault. The circumstances of the time are not in his favour. His great predecessors Young, Cobbett, and Caird, had each a gospel to deliver, and preached it with fervour. Each had a message to the men whom they addressed, and to whose personal energies they appealed. It is humiliating to turn to Mr Haggard's palliatives. They are all worthy of careful consideration, if not of adoption. But the conquest of difficulties by vigorous effort or scientific aid is scarcely touched upon. His eight suggestions are, in one way or another, dependent on the action of a government which has its hands full of unsatisfied pledges, only moves under the pressure of public opinion, and, in the absence of that pressure, hopes to deal with the worrying of sheep. In certain districts this is a serious grievance that calls for redress. But, assuming Mr Haggard's view of the almost moribund condition of English farming to be correct, can any conclusion be more impotent? In such circumstances, what can the proposed establishment of a parcel-post do to revive dormant energy or arouse renewed effort?

We have said that, in our opinion, Mr Haggard's book is not likely to achieve immediate popularity, partly because the evidence is at once too impartially and too indiscriminately collected, partly because it too faithfully reproduces the disillusionment of the times and the tendency to rely upon government assistance. We must also admit that the book seems to us to show defects which still further militate against its complete success. Mr Haggard claims that, in pursuit of his enquiries, he has adopted 'a new system—that of the interview.' He probably does not intend to suggest that, as a means of collecting information, the system is new; for the work of the assistant-commissioners of 1893-97 was based on interviews. What is novel in Mr Haggard's system is his record of the interviews as such. Instead of presenting the purport in his own words, he preserves the information in the shape in which it was given. To himself the method is doubtless more graphic, as it recalls the hour, the place, the man, the surroundings. The motive, also, which induced him to follow this plan is laudable. He deliberately adopted it because of its greater trustworthiness. Yet we must confess that the effect is to us tiresome, for it involves endless repetition, as man after man goes over what is practically the same ground, with little to distinguish him from his predecessor, either in ideas, experience, or expression. To this continued repetition is partly due the difficulty which baffles readers in finding their way about the book or deducing clearly defined impressions from the recorded conversations. No tables of contents prefixed to the chapters act as guide-posts; no summaries group the evidence or gather its general effects under headings; nor does the index, copious though it is, afford us much assistance.

Another difficulty, which at the outset confronts the enquirer, is the fact that Mr Haggard's pilgrimage followed no definite order. The result is unfortunate. Common conditions of soil and climate, of markets and of railway services, render it desirable to group contiguous counties for the sake of comparison or distinction. Interesting points of difference and resemblance are often suggested by this process of juxtaposition. It is therefore bewildering to find Essex, in the first volume, sandwiched between Shropshire and Middlesex, while the order of

the second volume (Cambridge, Huntingdon, North Hants, Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Notts, Yorkshire, Suffolk, Norfolk) shows how far Lincoln is divided from Norfolk. Nor is the pilgrimage complete. Thirteen counties are omitted. With the very important exception of Yorkshire, the North is entirely neglected. It may be pleaded that the inclusion of these counties would have swollen the volumes, bulky as they already are, beyond the limits of human endurance. But, in our opinion, the space might have been gained, and profitably gained, by the curtailment of repetitions.

There are other points on which we might be inclined to comment. But where the object is so excellent, and the literary treatment so admirable, we are not disposed to criticise further. We think that Mr Haggard's picture is too pessimistic, not because he has exaggerated the facts, but because he relies too much on a certain class of evidence. There is, of course, very great difficulty in generalising truly on such subjects as the condition or prospects of agriculture. They vary in every district, and almost every large estate can show the extremes of prosperity and adversity. Yet we believe that, taking the whole country through, farming to-day is in a sounder position than it was ten or five years ago.

Evidence supplied from conversations with landlords or farmers requires those modifications which the custom of the country demands—and makes. Landlords are prone to declare that they do not know where to look for a sovereign, though they probably have a shrewd suspicion where they can find nineteen shillings and sixpence; farmers, on the other hand, aver that they are losing capital with both hands and such rapidity that we are fairly staggered by their continued self-sacrifice. But such statements are well understood on both sides; and, as a general rule, the professional pessimism of both classes must be liberally discounted. Another point, which ought to be determined in deciding the force of any piece of evidence, is the period with which landlords and tenants contrast their present position. It used to be the era of Protection: now it is 1872. Compared with either of these periods, agriculture, as a money-making industry, is in a poor plight. No one can deny the severity of the losses which, in the last thirty years, have

befallen the landed interest. But the more important issue is, whether farming is now holding its own better than it did ten years ago; and we believe that the answer is in the affirmative.

Of the three classes most directly interested in agriculture, Mr Haggard thinks that landlords are the greatest sufferers; and with this conclusion we agree. We do not, of course, speak of those fortunate individuals who, from other sources of income, support their land, but of those less fortunate, yet still enviable, persons whose land supports them. Such landlords, if their estates are unincumbered and their farms let, can hold their own, though, as compared with 1872, with much diminished incomes. No doubt, in many respects, the ownership of real property has lost some of its charms. It is galling to have to submit, as many must, to the caprices of tenants. Moreover, landed property is more difficult to keep up than it was, and it belongs less completely to its owner. Farmers ask for more, and can enforce their demands; greater elasticity and variety are needed in agricultural practices, and each change necessitates some more or less costly alteration in accommodation; public bodies, in the interests of the consumer, inspect and control the sanitation of farm-buildings, and again the cost falls upon the landlord. If the labour difficulty becomes more acute, it is from the landlord's pocket that the rise in wages will inevitably come, and a ten per cent. reduction of rents would make the prospect serious. Already, when estates are burdened with mortgages or jointures, the margin is so narrow as to cripple owners seriously; and it may be questioned whether many properties, in these circumstances, will hold together after the next incidence of the death-duties. If farms are unlet, the landlord's difficulties and anxieties are increased. Where land is in hand and cultivated by the owner, it is probably true that, in the majority of cases, there is little profit, and often a loss. But to base on these results any broad conclusions as to the general condition of farming would be unreasonable. The farms that are in hand are those which no one will take. Whatever may be the reasons why they are unlet—condition, rent, size, soil, configuration of the ground—

they are regarded as unprofitable, and therefore are farmed by their owner. If, with all his disadvantages, he can make his accounts balance, the probability is that his neighbours are doing much better.

At present rents and present prices farmers are, we believe, making a living. Where conditions of soil or market are favourable, and where, in addition, skill, care, and personal supervision are expended on the land, they may, and do, make money. But neither living nor money is easily made; it is often a scrape and a struggle. On the other hand, the farmer lives in a pleasant home; he is occupied in a healthy pursuit; he commands, for himself and his children, abundance of fresh and wholesome food; he is an important personage in his own neighbourhood. No man who is a farmer by instinct and by birth, with an inbred love of animals and outdoor things, would care to change his existence for an office in a town, even if he could secure a larger income. A bare living, earned in congenial surroundings, is preferable to comparative wealth gained under distasteful conditions. Much that is depreciatory is often said against the class. No doubt the farmer is often conceited, obstinate, and, in many parts of the country, impervious to instruction. He backs his experience against theoretical knowledge, and refuses to profit by well-intentioned efforts to teach him his business. But a good farmer must be a man of greater practical all-round ability than is generally supposed. His habits of reflection and observation may be concentrated on a limited area, but they are highly trained. He must know what is best for every variety of soil on his holding; he must be a judge of horses and livestock, possess some veterinary knowledge, be something of a corn and seed merchant. He must be practised in the management of men and the supervision of labour, resourceful, masterful, and not afraid of responsibility. In a word, he belongs to a class which has developed a type of character that the country cannot afford to lose without serious detriment to the national fibre.

In most districts of the country the readjustment of rents, the reduction in the price of feeding-stuffs and fertilisers, the development of mechanical appliances, and other advantages, enable tenant farmers, as we have said, to make their industry pay. Probably the margin

of income over expenditure often depends more on pennies saved than on pennies gained. Anyhow, the profits are often so small that men without capital, skill, or that indefinable something which, for want of a better word, we must call 'luck,' are still ruined in considerable numbers. In this respect, we imagine, all industries are alike. For most men a living is possible, and in pleasant circumstances. But the old, happy-go-lucky, jog-trot style of farming must be abandoned. It is an ancient truism that those who starve their land starve themselves. The modern danger comes, for the most part, from the opposite source. Those men are doing best who have most intelligently applied the lessons of modern science to the economical growth of roots, corn, milk, and meat. But the greatest care must be used in the application of this teaching. Many a man, in his eagerness to increase the yield of his land, spends more than the crop is worth. Once upon a time farmers expected their live-stock to recoup expenditure by their manurial value for corn crops. Now the parts are reversed, and it is a question in many districts whether corn does not yield the best profits as food and fodder for cattle. Live-stock farming is in fact the farmer's sheet-anchor, and as breeders or feeders of stock, or as dairymen, multitudes of tenants are doing well. No general return of the old days of prosperity is in sight. But, though the time may still be distant, the increased cost of production in other countries and the increased demands of their own populations must in the end mitigate the severity of foreign competition and improve the prospects of English agriculture.

Probably the worst feature in the farmer's position to-day is that he has changed his master. Once he was too dependent on the caprice of his landlord: now 'the boot is on the other leg.' Very few land-owners can afford to quarrel with their tenants, or refuse them concessions even at considerable sacrifices to themselves. 'Notice to quit' was a tremendous weapon when it was wielded by a landlord who was besieged by applicants for vacant tenancies. Nowadays it is just as strong a weapon in the hands of the tenant who has made the only eligible offer for a farm which has been industriously advertised for weeks. But farmers have fallen from the frying-pan into the fire. It was better to be at the

mercy of a landlord than under the thumb of a labourer. It is galling to see work neglected, scamped, slovenly, or unpunctual. It is still more galling to have to abstain from reproof, and to feel that faults must be passed over unnoticed, for fear the offender should discharge himself from your employment. Yet this is the condition of things in many parts of the country. Labourers are the masters of the situation, and understand it better than their employers. Farmers, as a rule, have learnt to be generous to their land, but they still drive hard bargains with their labourers. They haggle over sixpences till they let the good men go, and find themselves saddled with those who are born tired. The rustic memory is singularly tenacious. Labourers have not forgotten that, in the piping times of agricultural prosperity, they were underpaid, and, in the struggle that seems to be imminent, they are not likely to be chivalrous.

The improvement in the position of the agricultural labourer is the brightest feature in rural England. His wages have risen, not only nominally, but in purchasing power: food, clothing, and all the necessaries of life, are cheap. And yet, in spite of this improvement, a great social change is taking place in our midst, a change which is so silent and so partial in its operation as almost to escape public notice. In some districts the depopulation of the villages threatens to bring farming to a standstill; in others, it is so slightly felt as to be denied altogether. The most valuable part of his book is, as we think, the stress that Mr Haggard lays on the labour difficulty. Yet, were he to make his survey now, he would, we believe, find the labour crisis less acute than it was two years ago. Since the cessation of the war, and the return of men to their old employments, a portion of the inhabitants, temporarily displaced, has been restored. But this check to the process of depopulation, though it is for the moment real, is not permanent in purely agricultural districts. It eases the difficulty for the time. But, if the leak which drains rural villages of their inhabitants is to be stopped, it must be patched higher up, and at its most dangerous place.

It is a fact that, in country villages, among lads of the rising generation, any pursuit is regarded as preferable to the lot of the farm labourer. Ask the village school-

master what advice he gives to the pick of his pupils. He will tell you that he advises the best lads to get away and try their fortunes in some other sphere than that of the farm. The calling has come to be regarded as something of a degradation. Ask the village postman about the sons of some horseman, or ploughman, of your acquaintance. He will tell you that one is on the railway, another at the brick-fields, a third in a shop; as to the fourth—he is a ‘bit wanting,’ and ‘only fit to be an agricultural labourer.’ The result is that farmers are often at their wits’ end to find boys, and have to employ men in their place at men’s wages. Boys will not learn to hedge, or stack, or plough, or thatch, because they do not mean to stay on the land. The end is inevitable, if the supply of labour is thus checked at its source. It is the difficulty of the War Office over again. Schemes of reform may be admirable, but without recruits they are futile. Plans for ‘brightening village life’ may be most attractive, but, without the living material on which to work, they are foredoomed to failure.

A valuable example of the reluctance of village lads to learn the work of the farm has been afforded by the failure of the Duke of Bedford’s Farm-school at Ridgmount in Bedfordshire. The school was established in 1895 to train boys as skilled agricultural labourers, and to give them a more intelligent interest in their work. To the school were attached 273 acres of varied soil, so that practical training, under competent instruction, in every branch of farm work was offered. The course lasted two years. Board, lodging, education, were free, and reward wages were given in addition. The number of lads who took advantage of the opportunity was small; fewer still completed the course, and, of those who did so, only half embraced callings connected either with farming or horticulture. The experiment, after being tried for seven years, has now been abandoned. Various causes, doubtless, contributed to this result; but it seems to us plain that the chief obstacle to the success of the school was the conviction that agriculture offers no real opening to boys, and that farm wages make little or no distinction between the skilled and the unskilled labourer.

The difficulty of finding boys who are willing to

become workers on the land will soon become a serious danger, especially in view of the existing conditions of the agricultural labour supply. Already the work of the farm is being done by more or less elderly men, who, in the nature of things, cannot last many years longer; by a sprinkling of the younger generation, who prefer country life to the lottery of town and the doubtful gain of receiving higher wages with one hand and paying them away with the other; and by the 'returned empties,' who have drifted back to the country from urban employment, deteriorated in character and physique. With rare exceptions the younger men are inferior to the old in the quality of their work; they take less interest in it, and they cannot, like their forefathers, turn their hands to everything.

Throughout many of the most prosperous districts of England the labour of the farm, in times of stress, is done by immigrants, sometimes English, sometimes Irish, either employed by the farmers or by the dealers who have bought the crop as it stands. If the crop is heavy or the weather catchy, the employer had better secure the itinerant Irishman. His English rival is too often a town loafer, who shirks his work, cracks up if he is pressed, makes mischief, turns labour-lawyer, and is his employer's servant only on Saturday night. Irish labour, on the other hand, is, as a rule, excellent in quality. Splendid in physique, easily contented, 'working harder,' to quote the words of a large employer, 'living harder, and praying harder' than any of his class in this country, the Irish labourer is indispensable. Year after year the same gangs of men hire themselves out to the same employers, and the letters in which they offer their services generally contain those tactful little touches, such as a message to the wife, or a flower for the baby, which at least show that they are responsive to kindness. In the fen districts they often stay from hay-harvest to the beginning of November, when they return to plough and sow their own holdings for crops which their wives will harvest in their absence.

It is obvious that, except in wide districts, where there are large and heavy crops to be harvested, whether corn or potatoes, immigrant labour is not available. Therefore it may be truly said that, in the greater part of

agricultural England, the work of the farm is carried on by men of the type we have previously described. No doubt labour-saving appliances have lessened the difficulty. But mechanical science has discovered no cheap and satisfactory means of milking cows or lifting turnips and potatoes. Meanwhile more and more land is laid, or tumbles, down to grass, and more and more of the younger men seek their fortunes in other callings. Less work is needed on agricultural implements, the shoeing of horses, the repair of carts and waggon. So the blacksmith's forge is blown out, and the carpenter's shed falls in. Another significant change is making itself felt in some districts. The little holdings attached to the business of the village butcher and baker are getting hard to let. Once they were greedily snapped up almost before they were vacant. Now they may be advertised for weeks; but the butcher's carts from the neighbouring town, or the vans from the co-operative bakery have enlarged their circuits, and are displacing the aristocracy of village labour.

Imagine a village lad standing at the parting of the ways and making the choice between life in his native place and the venture of the unknown in a town. What are the circumstances that influence his decision? In the higher classes there are hundreds of boys who prefer a pittance in the country to competence on an office stool. It might be the same with the son of the ploughman. We do not believe that increased facilities of locomotion, or the gaieties of the town, or even the higher rates of wages, though all these considerations doubtless influence his mind, are the real causes which drive him from the village. It is the hopelessness of the lot of the ordinary labourer. Once a ploughman always a ploughman, so long as he can work, and afterwards a pauper.

Our imaginary boy has before him, day after day, the practical lesson of his father's career—a life of hard unremitting labour, without amusements, change of scene, variety of occupation; and at its close, after fifty years of industry and sobriety, the dependence of the pauper. It is the exception when a self-respecting agricultural labourer has not provided against sickness, or against burial at the expense of the parish. He makes these provisions through a friendly society, or

through an insurance company, like the Prudential. But to do more than this, and to lay by a sufficient sum to secure comfort in his old age, is so difficult that to ordinary men it is practically impossible. In higher ranks of life it is relatively easy, and even tempting, to save. An insurance brings with it its quinquennial bonus. An investment produces interest which is more or less worth having. But for the agricultural labourer things are very different. His difficulties do not lie only in the narrow margin of income over necessary expenditure. If this were all, it would, in many cases, be conquered by the desire for independence. But even that desire may be chilled by the apparent hopelessness of the effort. We doubt whether the extent of the difficulties is sufficiently realised. Temptation to thrift there is none; attraction there is none; discouragement is everywhere. All the facilities for saving are infinitely more costly for the poor than for the rich. It is probable that, for every twopence which a labourer invests in an insurance, very nearly one penny goes to pay the cost of the investment. How many men would be found to invest their money if, for every hundred pounds they put by, they only got fifty pounds back?

Yet it must not be supposed that the cost of investment is an extravagant charge, or that we intend to accuse collecting companies of unfair dealing. On the contrary, the Prudential, with whose operations we are most familiar, has endeavoured to make reasonable provision for the renewal of lapsed policies, or for the payment of a fair surrender value. But experience proves that, if the pennies are not called for week by week at the homes of the labourers, they fall into arrear. This house-to-house collection is the secret of the success of the collecting companies, and of the failure, in spite of the better terms which it offers, of the Post-office. This is the reason why the Prudential can show fourteen million policies against the twelve thousand of the government. If the Post-office could have offered annuities and undertaken to collect the pennies, that step would have gone far to meet the demand for old-age pensions. It would have not only met it at an infinitely smaller cost, but supplied a better moral discipline than any of the schemes which, under disguises more or less specious, sap

the independence of the working-classes. So long as there is no real alternative to pauper relief for the aged poor, so long will there be a repugnance, sentimental, illogical, but none the less invincible, to the strict application of the law. Show the public that there is an alternative, and that labourers, by their own thrift, can secure their independence, and the abolition of out-door relief will become not only practicable but acceptable.

Against the contingency of sickness the labourer generally provides by belonging either to a friendly society or to a village club. Much has been written on the solvency of friendly societies. Whether a particular court or lodge is solvent or not, depends on actuarial calculations, which only experts can make. The large friendly societies have strenuously exerted themselves to put their affairs on a sound financial footing. In 1900 those bodies which sent in returns were able to pay 17s. 9d. in the pound on their estimated liabilities. But each court or lodge stands on its own footing, and, if this is the average result, it is plain that the deficiencies are, in some instances, still serious. Nevertheless, the labourer who has provided against sickness by membership of a large friendly society may consider himself reasonably safe. But the case is very different with regard to village clubs. It is no exaggeration to say that very few are solvent. Here, again, is a fruitful source of discouragement to thrift. The position is common talk in the village; there is no disguise about the matter. Young men, wisely enough, go to the friendly societies. Thus the clubs, often started on a basis which was from the outset actuarially wrong, and depleted of younger lives, are sinking into hopeless insolvency. The members have passed the age when they can be accepted elsewhere, and no one can contemplate without sympathy the approach of a catastrophe which will destroy the self-denying efforts of a lifetime. For private individuals who possess the means there is here a sphere of real usefulness which ought not to be ignored. Reconstruction on a sound basis, which would outlast the lives of existing members, would not always be a costly process. Even the state might more profitably expend public money on such an object than upon the gift of a pension to those who have not earned it, or do not need the money.

Our imaginary village boy sees from his father's example that, as an agricultural labourer, he has no incentive to save money, and consequently little prospect of escaping the fate of the pauper. That is a future which does not attract him. He knows the best as well as the worst that the life can do for him. But in the towns or on the railways there is at least a chance of independence. His wages as an artisan, or as a shopman, or on the line, may not be really so great as those of the skilled labourer in a village, but he has the joy of handling 'big money.' When we are young, the proof of the pudding is not entirely in the eating. Then there are the stir and movement of the streets, the half-holidays, the free Sundays. And none of these attractions are counteracted by his education. On the contrary, the teaching that he receives increases the tendency to leave the village and the farm. Educationally we are passing through one of those transition stages which are always disturbing and uncomfortable. We have not yet had time to reap the reward of education, nor can we gauge its real influence on village life till the general atmosphere of cottage homes is educated. At present the rising generation knows more than its parents, and this, in two ways, tells in favour of migration. Children feel a sense of superiority which discourages any tendency to stay at home; parents, seeing that their children have had advantages which they themselves have not enjoyed, urge them to try their fortunes in a wider field. For the moment our juniors know at once too much and too little to be contented. They have acquired that amount of knowledge which makes them restless, dissatisfied with circumstances that their forefathers would have accepted without complaint. Anything is better than dull apathy. The discontent is not perhaps divine, but it would be deplorable if it were altogether absent. Nor can we expect to see the real value of education at the stage which we have at present reached, or so long as the advantages of parents and children are so sharply contrasted. When the level of education has been raised all round, people begin to find that, by the aid of knowledge, they can conquer adverse surroundings, soothe the restlessness of discontent, and find intelligent interest in details which they once thought trivial, or in a routine that formerly appeared

monotonous. We may hope, therefore, that in the future education may help to repopulate the villages which now it helps to deplete.

Apart from the restlessness that is fostered by the enjoyment of a better education than his parents, the village lad is taught on a system which rather encourages than counteracts a distaste for rural surroundings. Education is imparted to him, in most cases, by teachers whose sympathies are urban, and out of books framed for purposes of commerce. Teachers not uncommonly have no love of country life and no training in its special needs. It would be unjust to give the rustic an education which is in any true sense inferior to that of the town-bred lad, or which would exclude him from following any calling for which he was eligible. Reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, should be the main subjects. But we think that the sums might deal less with yards of ribbon or wall-papers, and more with measurements of fields and timber. 'Readers' and science 'Primers' might be introduced which describe the various breeds of cattle, the life-history of animals and poultry, the work of the farm, the management of live-stock, the processes of nature in plant growth, varieties in the composition of soils, insect life, the noxious weeds, or the good, bad, and indifferent grasses. At present, when a boy has finished his educational career in a village school, country-bred though he is, he knows little more than the town boy of the actual work of a farm. But if, during some of the summer months, rural schools could be closed, except for infants, the elder children might be of use in the hay or harvest field, lose little in point of learning, gain something in health, add a trifle to their parents' earnings, and perhaps strengthen or acquire the taste for agricultural industries. If lads do not gain a love of the country in their boyhood it is useless to try to teach it to them at a later stage. Continuation-classes should be held during the winter months in the practice and theory of matters more or less connected with the farm or the garden, so that boys might enjoy the continued opportunity of taking a progressively higher interest in rural life. It is a frequent complaint that farmers obstruct education, and that rural ratepayers strive to starve it. Perhaps the complaint is true. But the attitude thus assumed towards book-

learning is not altogether unreasonable. If elementary education were not so exclusively directed towards commercial pursuits, and so deficient in everything which can make country life interesting or attractive, it might yet receive the intelligent support of farmers.

At a later stage in the growth of the village boy, the want of proper cottage accommodation often drives young men into the towns. It is the practice on many estates to let to the farmer a sufficient number of cottages to house the labour which he employs on his farm. The system is undoubtedly not without advantages to the farmer in the cultivation of his land; but it gives him a double hold upon his men, who are dependent upon him, not only for their weekly wages, but for their homes. Cottages should, in our opinion, always be let by the landlord, and remain in his hands, though he may have an understanding with the tenant that, so far as possible, certain cottages shall be let to the men employed on particular farms. Wherever the contrary system prevails, we believe that the utter dependence to which it reduces the labourer is a frequent cause of his shunning the life of a farm hand.

Apart from the tenure of cottages, their badness and their scarcity drive men from the land. It often happens that when a young man and woman want to get married they either cannot find a vacant cottage in their native village, or, if there is an unoccupied house, it is so inadequate or insanitary that no one with any sense of decency or self-respect, or any regard to health, can become its tenant. Cottages of this kind generally belong to small investors, who screw from their tenants the uttermost farthing, and spend nothing on their repair or sanitation. If these wretched tenements were the property of wealthy landlords, they would be promptly condemned by the sanitary officials. It affords yet another illustration of the principle of one law for the rich and another for the poor, that these insanitary, inadequate cottages, so long as they belong to small investors, are spared until they become a public scandal or a public danger too grave to be ignored. In our opinion, the Acts will never be justly and impartially administered until the sanitary officials are appointed and paid, not by the local authorities, but by the Local Government Board.

The remedy for the want of cottage accommodation is to build more. This is easily said. But the building of cottages is not a profitable investment. A pair of three-bedroomed cottages, with a fifth of an acre of garden-ground, cannot be supplied at less than from 350*l.* to 400*l.* The landlord pays taxes, repairs, insurance, costs of collection, and perhaps rates. If he lets the houses at a rent which the cottager can really afford to pay, he receives, say, 4*l.* a year for each cottage, and is lucky if he gets two per cent. on his outlay. Were he to charge a commercial rent, based on his expenditure, the labourer would enforce from the farmer a rise in wages, and the farmer would demand from his landlord a reduction in the rent of his land. Nowadays the landlord is not a Dives. On the contrary, he not infrequently sits at the rich man's gate, and is certainly entitled to expect a fairly remunerative return on the expenditure of his capital.

Cottage-building is rendered still more unprofitable by the absurd bylaws which are applied to rural districts. Many of them seem to be framed, not by men of business, but by acute clerks, whose chief aim is to hit upon some regulation which will make everybody 'sit up.' In our opinion, the jerry-builder is often an unjustly abused person. Without his aid thousands of working-men would be homeless. The agricultural classes are not compelled to have their clothes made by Poole, and consequently they clothe themselves, according to their needs, at a ready-made shop. Similarly, the labourer does not want a house built by Cubitt, of the best materials, with every costly appliance which modern science can suggest. So long as his home is water-tight, structurally safe, properly drained, with a sufficient number of adequately lighted and ventilated rooms, he has everything that he reasonably requires. But so long as bylaws insist upon a variety of expensive, unnecessary, and often vexatious conditions, no private individual can afford to build houses for the agricultural working-classes unless he is rich enough to do it from pure philanthropy.

In Ireland, under the Labourers' (Ireland) Act, provision has been made for the erection of houses for agricultural labourers. Twelve persons may represent to a district council that the cottage accommodation is insufficient, or that existing cottages are dilapidated and

unfit for occupation. On this representation the council acts, frames a scheme, and petitions the Local Government Board, which holds an enquiry and makes an order. The money is provided, partly by a rate, partly by a government loan. When once the cottages are erected, the rents repay the capital and interest within a certain period. Land may be compulsorily acquired for the purpose. Whether English labourers could afford the rent which the application of this Act would require, is very doubtful. It is referred to here as an example of the means by which, if the existing legislative facilities are insufficient, district councils might, if necessary, obtain powers to increase the cottage accommodation of villages. But it is probable that, if loans were repayable, capital and interest, within a period of sixty, or even of eighty years, English landlords would do the work without the interference of a local authority, which already has its hands more than full. It is only in certain districts that the need is felt; the want is infinitely more urgent in urban areas, and an increased number of cottages is certainly not a panacea for rural depopulation.

We have already stated our opinion that neither the low rate of wages, nor a love of excitement, nor the want of cottages, drives men into towns or into other callings than that of the agricultural labourer. Nor do we believe that there is now any considerable demand for allotments beyond the existing supply. Many of the best men who now seek other employments would, we believe, remain in the villages, if there was any opening for a rise, any prospect of placing their feet on the lowest rung of the social ladder, any chance of themselves renting a small holding. It is not in every district that small holders will thrive, nor is it every man who is qualified to succeed. At the present moment we do not believe that any large percentage of those younger men who are now working on farms would be fitted for such a position. The best men are gone elsewhere. It is for this very reason, as it seems to us, that the multiplication of small holdings would be of such value. The quality of labour would be restored to its old excellence by competition, and, if anything would keep the pick of the rural population on the land, it would be the opportunity of renting it. We do not put forward the multiplication of small

holdings as a panacea for agricultural difficulties. On the contrary, we recognise that, if farming is rightly regarded as a trade, as a calling pursued for gain, as a manufactory of articles for profitable sale, the wholesale subdivision of the land is not progress, but retrogression.

But it is not a question of wholesale subdivision. Nor is it right to assume that small holders are necessarily 'needy squatters,' raising just enough from the land to feed and clothe themselves and their families. Even if this were so, it would be better that the soil should support a family than that it should pass out of cultivation, become a game-farm, and maintain a few partridges for a non-resident sporting tenant. There can be no question that in recent years small men, who hire no labour but till their land themselves, have often done better than the larger tenant, whose labour bills grow heavier as the money return for his produce grows lighter. Where steam-cultivators will not pay, spades sometimes turn up trumps. We could quote instances in which, under favourable conditions of soil and market, small holders have done much more than extract a precarious subsistence from the soil. Acre for acre, they have produced as much from their land as their larger rivals, paid their rent regularly, repaid borrowed money, and added to their own capital.

The attempt to force the creation of small holdings where economic conditions are unfavourable, is as ridiculous as a pope's bull against a comet. But we do not altogether agree with the contention that, where conditions are favourable, small holdings will certainly be created. It is the misfortune of the crippled state of English landlords that they have not always the money to make the most profitable use of their land. The initial cost of subdivision is considerable. The requisite house, buildings, and fences for a thirty-acre farm can scarcely cost less than from 500*l.* to 600*l.* This is another object for which the period over which the repayment of loans is spread should be extended to sixty or eighty years. Without loading the land unduly, small holdings will always let at a higher average rent per acre than larger tenancies. If reasonable facilities were given to landlords, they might be safely trusted to create such tenancies, wherever experience proved that they could be created profitably. Owners of land are not more wanting in wits than their

critics, and generally know more of the facts. Even on the lowest ground of self-interest—and no class, as we believe, is more open to higher arguments or more capable of sacrifices for the welfare of dependents—there will often be the incentive of gain. Wherever they have the capital for the outlay, and can more profitably employ their land by subdividing it into small holdings, they may be trusted to do it without legislative interference.

In our review of the condition of agriculture, and of the three classes chiefly affected by it, we have endeavoured to show that there are no real grounds for wholesale discouragement, and no reasons for drastic legislative changes. The most serious feature is the labour question and, above all, the reluctance of the rising generation to work on farms. Unless some motive and desire for rural life can be implanted in lads and young men, things must necessarily go from bad to worse. Agriculture is not prosperous enough to pay such high wages as can be nominally earned in other industries. An extra shilling a week would not compete with the pecuniary temptation offered in other callings; and we do not believe that many farmers could afford such a sum, much less put on an extra hand, so as to give each man relief, once in three weeks, from the continuous labour required for live-stock. It is difficult to see in what direction, while prices remain what they are, money can be raised to meet this additional wage-fund. Yet there are, as it seems to us, two points in which the landed interests—owners, tenants, and labourers—have a strong claim upon the government for aid. One is the readjustment, on a permanent basis, of local taxation; the other is the revision of railway rates on perishable produce. If, in these two respects, agriculturists received the help which justice demands, they would be able to do something themselves to check the depopulation of villages. Both subjects are distasteful writing and tedious reading. For this reason, perhaps, they have too much escaped attention. We will state the case as briefly as possible, in the hope that the real gravity of the labour crisis which seems to be approaching for farming may obtain for agriculturists a hearing.

It is unnecessary to complicate the question of local

taxation by discussing who really bears its burden. This is a point on which a dozen experts would probably disagree. Neither need we enquire whether subventions or assigned revenues, both coming from the national exchequer, are the best method of giving relief. That question seems to us a matter of imperial book-keeping. We may further clear the ground by saying that, in calculating the ability of land to bear the burden of local taxation, we do not take tithe into account, while land-tax, though it has become a rent-charge, should probably be so included.

The distinction is now recognised between local taxation for imperial and for local purposes. By the first expenditure the nation profits; by the second, the individual. The first is onerous and national; the second is local and beneficial. This distinction, now clearly defined and accepted, should appear in the respective principles on which the two classes of rates are raised. The measure of the first should be ability to pay, and of the second, the benefit received. In the matter of the further relief of agricultural land from local taxation for beneficial expenditure, we do not think agriculturists can establish any strong claim. Many complaints are made; but they rather indicate administrative defects than invalidate the principles. Local beneficial expenditure comprises such objects as roads, sanitation, drainage, and, where they exist, such charges as the interest on loans for gas and water. It is by the expenditure upon roads that farmers are chiefly benefited. The rest of the local expenditure concerns them more indirectly, and the only benefit which they derive is from the markets which the growth of urban populations implies. Probably it will be found that, roughly, but for all practical purposes correctly, the contribution which, in such circumstances, is levied on agricultural land represents the benefit which the farmer receives from the expenditure upon highways.

It is with regard to the burden of expenditure for national services that agricultural land can establish a real grievance. When this country lived under protection, realty was still the chief form of wealth. Personalty was hard to tax, and scarcely worth taxation. It was, moreover, on other grounds, reasonable that land should bear the chief burden of onerous national expenditure.

Through the artificial price of corn the whole community contributed to the support of agriculture. In the circumstances then existing it was fair enough that agricultural land should be rated to support the poor and pauper lunatics, pay and equip the police, defray the cost of criminal prosecutions, prisons, and prisoners, and contribute the largest proportion of the money which was expended for national services. Land had its compensation in the artificial prices for its produce. But when free-trade took the place of protection, the incidence of local taxation became an injustice. On the other hand, if protection were reinstated, it would be only fair that land should resume the burden for national services from which it has been partially relieved. For many years the principle of relief has been recognised; and the history of rates has been the progressive redress of the inequality by means of subventions from imperial taxes, or, latterly, by the assignment of imperial revenue for local administration. The amount so given exceeds eight millions. But the redress still remains incomplete. Agriculture obtains free-trade prices for its produce and, to a considerable extent, still bears the burden of protection taxes.

National services should be paid for by national taxation. But it may be unwise, for the sake of logical consistency, to upset the whole intricate system of assessment. At all events we understand the reluctance of the government to assign to the control and administration of local authorities all those imperial revenues which would be required to defray the total cost of national services. But we think that in two directions further redress may be fairly claimed, not as a dole to a distressed industry, but as a matter of justice. The Agricultural Rates Act of 1896, originally passed for five years, was renewed in 1901 for a further period of four years. By that Act half the poor-rate levied on agricultural land was undertaken by the national exchequer. But the uncertainty of the renewal of the relief prevents that process of diffusion which gradually distributes the burden of a tax. Thus the measure is deprived of a great part of its benefit. The relief should, in the first place, be made permanent; in the second place, the government should advance another step towards the only fair principle of 'national taxes for national services,'

and extend relief to three fourths of the rate levied on agricultural land.

But the whole question of local taxation is dominated by the escape of personalty. No fiscal system can be good if it creates a reasonable and legitimate grievance. This is a serious drawback to the present mode of raising local taxation. To some small extent persons who have invested in British railways, banks, or commercial undertakings contribute to the rates because the premises through which their incomes are derived are rated. But this contribution is a mere fraction of the amount which should be paid if measured by the ability to pay. Even this fraction is escaped by those who derive colossal incomes from investments abroad. These fortunate individuals not only enjoy free-trade prices, but the practical immunity from local taxation which was given to personalty under the system of protection. Their escape is a matter which deserves the earnest attention of government, and should be kept to the forefront by agriculturists. The Local Taxation Commission suggested that rates for onerous expenditure should be levied on houses only. Such a rate would operate as a rough kind of income-tax. But we do not think the ground which the commissioners assigned for the rejection of their own suggestion—that its adoption would make too revolutionary a change—is any sufficient reason for allowing personalty to remain exonerated.

The direction in which the state can give agriculture the most real and immediate assistance is the revision of railway rates on perishable agricultural produce. *To break down the system of protection which railway companies have established in favour of foreign producers, seems to us the absolute duty of the government.* We should not allow the Post-office to charge us twopence for a letter to Birmingham and one penny for a letter of the same weight to Copenhagen, especially if the cheaper letter were carried at the carrier's risk and the dear letter at the risk of the sender. Nor should we tolerate a system by which twelve words could be telegraphed to New York, and delivery guaranteed, for sixpence, while a message of the same length to Maidstone cost a shilling, without any compensation if the telegram failed to arrive. But we eat our foreign meat, our

foreign butter, our foreign fruit, our foreign vegetables, our foreign eggs, and never realise that they arrive over English lines from America, Denmark, or France, at half the cost at which our English graziers, dairymen, gardeners, or poultry farmers, living at a distance of a hundred miles from the metropolis, can put them on the London market. It is *not* free-trade to destroy the natural advantages of time and neighbourhood and establish in its place an artificial monopoly in favour of the distant market and the foreign producer.

We purposely confine the argument to perishable goods, the freshness of which is essential to their sale. Here time is of the essence; rapid delivery is all-important; delay in transit means either the increased use of preservatives, or loss of condition. If corn is brought from Western America, via Liverpool, to London at a less cost than the Staffordshire farmer can transport his wheat to London from an intermediate station on the line, the explanation would be that the through railway rate is really determined by the rates of sea-borne commerce. The produce would not deteriorate if it were longer on the road; consequently there is an alternative mode of transport; and this competition regulates the rate. But, in the case of perishable goods, this argument does not apply; the rate is determined by the scramble for dividends, and the cost is regulated by the competition, not of alternative modes of conveyance, but of rival railway companies. Let agriculturists combine and, through the able, energetic, and industrious minister who presides at the Board of Agriculture, attack the railways on their weakest point, namely, the conveyance of foreign perishable produce at cheap rates, when rapid delivery is essential to condition, and when there is therefore no alternative of sea transport. All goods that are to be sold as fresh should be placed in a separate schedule, and the rates and conditions made the 'same or similar' for home and foreign produce. It is not, we think, possible to contend that, because a train-load is made up at the port of debarkation, the railways can carry it more cheaply than goods which are picked up at intermediate stations. In the case of the foreign produce, there are the expenses of loading the cargo at the port of embarkation, the dock charges, the cost of running

the vessel to the English port, the transfer of the cargo to the railway, and the running of the train to London. Against these charges can only be set, in the case of home produce, the expenses of loading the railway trucks, the extra fuel consumed by the stoppage, and the cost, common to both kinds of produce, of running the train to London.

The case on behalf of home producers is so strong that they can afford not to overestimate it, and not to underestimate the difficulties of the railways. To some extent farmers are themselves to blame for their exclusion from their own markets. If they could be induced to combine and co-operate with the railways, so as to concentrate on given spots large consignments of assorted goods, we have no doubt that the companies would quote them more favourable charges, and probably assist them by the construction of receiving-depots at certain stations. In any revision of rates this concentration and co-operation might be fairly demanded from English agriculturists. The basis on which railway charges should be fairly calculated may be endlessly discussed. The old mileage rates do not appear to us to be applicable to the complicated services of modern transport, and some classification of goods must necessarily be adopted. But the facts remain that home produce is carried at fixed rates, defined by inter-agreement between the different companies, while foreign produce is transported at charges determined by keen competition either with sea-borne commerce or with rival railways. The rates on the first are assessed on the value of the goods to the trader, and the rates on the second are regulated by the cost of service to the railway company. The non-competitive traffic at home has to look after itself, and is carried at the maximum rate the traffic will bear. The competitive traffic from abroad is transported at minimum rates, which are governed by the actual expenses of its movement. A further hardship lies in the fact that the minimum rates for foreign produce cover rapid and safe delivery at the carrier's risk, while the maximum rates for home produce, unless the highest scale of all is adopted, only cover delivery at the risk of the sender.

The policy pursued by railway companies is, we believe, the principal reason why English farmers have been

unable to adapt themselves to the changed conditions of their industry. The large sum of sixty millions is annually paid to foreigners for such articles of food as vegetables, fruit, eggs, and dairy produce. English farmers are often reproached with apathy because they have not turned their attention to the supply of this profitable demand; but it is the action of English railways, rather than the apathy of English farmers, which has produced the result. The foreign producer enjoys, in the shape of rates, protection against the home producer. Milk is, at present, the only exception to the superior advantages which foreigners enjoy in the home market. If some preservative were discovered which would not affect the taste, we have no doubt that the Danish dairyman, enjoying lower rates, and guaranteed rapid and safe delivery, would be able to oust the dairymen of Somerset or Dorset from the milk trade of London.

As an alternative to the revision of railway rates, an agricultural parcel-post has been suggested for perishable produce. The remedy sounds attractive enough. But it is well to realise exactly what is meant by the suggestion. It means that the Post-office must either co-operate or compete with the railway companies as carriers of agricultural produce. Assume that co-operation is intended. The Post-office authorities, according to the scheme now before the country, are to collect the produce, convey it to the nearest railway station, and distribute it on arrival at the terminus. The success or failure of the scheme depends on the bargain which the Post-office can drive with the railways. If the bargain is sufficiently favourable, the postage rates can be reduced to the necessary minimum. But if the railway will not carry for the producer, except at a high rate, why should it carry for the postal authorities? The only inducements are that the consignments are collected and delivered at the stations and distributed on arrival. There is nothing in the collection which farmers cannot do for themselves, and probably do more cheaply, if they would only co-operate for the purpose. There is nothing in the distribution which the railway companies, if so disposed, cannot do as efficiently as the Post-office, and, with their existing staff and their existing appliances, do more economically.

If the Post-office is to compete with the railways as carriers of agricultural produce, the traffic must be road-borne. For this purpose the very ingenious 'Pedrail' devised by Mr Diplock might prove a most useful invention, and country districts may become familiar with the sight of loaded waggons waiting by the roadside to be hitched to the train which makes its way along the highways. But we do not suppose that, for the rapid conveyance of perishable goods, this mode of transport would be available; while for heavier produce farmers might find that this road-borne competition landed them out of the frying-pan into the fire. The extra wear and tear of the roads, the strengthening of bridges and culverts, and similar items of increased expenditure, would, for some time to come, raise the cost of highway maintenance so considerably as to discount the profit of readier access to markets. If, as a consequence of road-borne competition, the central authority assumed the responsibility, and a proportion of the expense of repairing roads, the work might be more uniformly, more systematically, and more economically done. But the change from railways to roads would inevitably entail a heavy increase in rates, or a new departure in the principle of local taxation; and farmers had better look before they leap. At present no universal system of highway maintenance is practicable: it is said that there are in England no less than 1850 distinct highway authorities. Before road-borne competition can be successfully attempted, this administrative chaos requires to be simplified.

This country is too deeply pledged to the present system of conveyance by railway to turn from it hastily. The light lines which have multiplied so rapidly in recent years act as feeders to the great companies, and we doubt whether road-borne competition is either economically possible or economically advantageous. But, though we deprecate a competition, the success of which is dubious, the companies are responsible to the nation for their fair management of the great monopoly entrusted to their administration. For perishable produce it seems to us that a revision of the existing rates is the readiest solution of the difficulty. For heavy, non-perishable traffic it would be best, in many cases, to revive, and even extend, the system of canals. We are well aware

that half the canals in the country are the property of the railways. But with steam towage it is probable that the companies would find in their canals a profitable source of revenue and a welcome relief to the congestion of their railroad systems. It ought not to be difficult for the companies to meet agriculturists fairly upon this great question, and we believe that co-operation between the producer and the carrier, backed by business enterprise on both sides, and supported by the authority of the government, might reduce the farmers' grievance—and their rates—to the minimum.

The era of protection, as we read the history of those times, is inseparably associated with violent fluctuations in prices, widespread suffering, agrarian outrages and discontent, high rents for landlords, huge profits for farmers, starvation wages and pauperism for the labourers. Its record is the praise of hundreds and the curse of millions. For every man who to-day would vote for the re-establishment of the system on such a scale as would add five shillings a quarter to the price of wheat, there are thousands who are directly interested in voting against its revival. When truth is on its side, 'dear bread' is a cry which no government would really dare to face. But the hardship to agriculturists is that protection still flourishes in favour of every class except themselves. It is protection that has saddled agricultural land with the load of onerous expenditure for imperial services. It is protection that, as compensation for the artificially high prices of agricultural produce, suffered personalty to escape its share of the burden of local taxation. Above all, it is the protection which railway rates establish in favour of foreigners that drives English producers out of their own markets at home. If these three inequalities were redressed, we believe that English farming might yet have before it a period of quiet hard-working prosperity, equally distributed among the three classes most directly interested in the oldest of our national industries.

Art. XI.—THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

1. *Reports of the Royal Commission on University Education in Ireland.* London: Spottiswoode, 1901-1903. (Cd. 828, 900, 1229, 1483, 1484.)
2. *The Ruin of Education in Ireland.* By F. Hugh O'Donnell. London: David Nutt, 1902.
3. *The Irish University Question. The Catholic Case.* Selections from the speeches and writings of the Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1897.
4. *The Early History of Trinity College, Dublin (1591-1660).* By W. Urwick. London: Fisher Unwin, 1892.

AMONG the many dismal pages of Irish history there are few more pathetic to a student of sympathy and insight than those that chronicle the various and inconsistent policies of England in the attempt to solve the problem of national education in Ireland. During the centuries when the Roman Empire lay helpless beneath the hosts of barbaric invaders, and the night of the Middle Ages had settled down upon continental Europe, Irish scholars preserved and perpetuated the tradition of learning; and Ireland, as a writer of the ninth century expresses it, despising the dangers of the deep, migrated with almost her whole train of philosophers, destined to rekindle the lamp of learning in the new foundations of Salerno, Bologna, and Paris. The country was covered with prosperous schools: students came from Great Britain and from the Continent in 'fleet-loads,' and Ireland acquired the proud title of *insula doctorum et sanctorum*.

But the whole of this civilisation fell with a crash before the Danish inroads; and the Anglo-Normans found the land a wilderness, torn with intestine feuds, a prey to the first-comer who was cunning enough to turn to his own advantage the personal animosities of the petty Irish kings. The Anglo-Norman conquest had not the effect of impressing a higher civilisation upon a barbarised land. A far-seeing policy would have encouraged the complete fusion of the two races which natural causes tended to bring about; but the quarrelsome, impracticable character of the powerful 'native' Irish, as the naturalised Anglo-Irish were called, convinced the English government that an attempt must be made to check intercourse between

the English and 'the Irish enemies'; and the Statute of Kilkenny inaugurated that fatal narrow policy which for six hundred years, in one form or another, has hung like a millstone round the neck of statesmen who have attempted to deal with the Irish question. To the pre-Reformation policy of race-ascendency was added, under Elizabeth, that of sect-ascendency; and, with the latter object in view, public money was spilt like water on founding schools to denationalise the people, and either to wean them from their religion, or to keep them hewers of wood and drawers of water.

It cannot be denied that those who lavished their money on the fruitless task of denationalising and 'converting' the country, wished well; but the bane of Ireland has ever been good intentions linked to pedantry and officialism. The authorities despised such remnants of native culture as remained, and sought to thrust upon a sentimental people a civilisation alien to their sympathies, which broke the thread of continuity with the past. Only once in the last five hundred years has an institution been founded which was designed for national purposes and intended to spread its roots through every creed and class; but in this case too the intentions of its founders were frustrated; and what was designed as a national possession became the monument of the ascendency of a single sect.

It is generally forgotten that Trinity College was originally a university for the whole people, from which no one was excluded for doctrinal reasons. The first public step towards its foundation was taken by Stanishurst, a Catholic; and, says Mr Urwick, 'the Irish, though then generally papists, were very bountiful thereunto. . . . No tests were set up, no ecclesiastical observances enjoined, and the fellows were not of necessity to be clerics.' The national element was strengthened by the promotion of the study of Irish, it being directed 'that a chapter of the Irish Testament should be read by a native each day during dinner.' The early provosts were Puritans, until Primate Usher invited Laud to take the poor society under the shadow of his wings. After a fierce struggle the national and citizen element in its government was eliminated, and the college became the property of a 'handful of Protestant clergymen'; and so

it remained until the Tests Act of 1873 again placed all denominations on a position of equality. Trinity College was founded to be a *mater universitatis*, in the sense that, 'whenever it should be thought necessary to found other colleges, they should all spring from her as their parent, and that she should be the sole University'; but failure has hitherto attended all attempts to fulfil the intentions of the founders.

Until the chancellorship of Laud all creeds and classes mingled in the common life of the national college. Under the auspices of Laud, tests were imposed, and strangers from Cambridge were preferred to scholarships and fellowships, 'so that the natives of the kingdom by such practices were infinitely grieved, discouraged and disheartened to follow their studies.' During the Commonwealth there was a design to establish a second college (to be called New College) in connexion with the University, 'on the broadest basis, restoring the University to its primary standing as a clearly national institution.' In 1660 the Act of Settlement gave the Lord-Lieutenant and council power to found a second college under the University, to be called King's College; but the scheme came to nothing; and no further attempt to provide for the higher education of Roman Catholics was made until the Penal Laws were repealed in 1781, and the Catholic Relief Act was passed in 1793. Under Provost Hely-Hutchinson, the policy of Trinity College became more liberal than it had been for centuries; many Catholics were received in it by connivance, and no religious conformity was required. Indeed the provost was anxious to legalise their admission, and to make no distinction between them and Protestants, 'but such as merit might claim.' His efforts led to the Catholic Relief Act of 1793, which enabled Catholics to take prizes and degrees in Trinity College, and to hold professorships and fellowships in a university college in the University of Dublin 'to be hereafter founded in the kingdom,' but not exclusively for the 'education of papists.' It was also contemplated to provide in this college for ecclesiastical students the discipline of a seminary without withdrawing them from the lectures of the University.

There is little doubt that, if the policy of the Relief Act had been carried out, it would have changed the course of subsequent Irish history. Hitherto the anti-

Catholic policy of the government had produced effects the very opposite of what were intended. The Penal Laws, which had been designed to destroy the influence of the clergy, had riveted it on the nation by depriving Catholic laymen of the right to educate their children at home or to send them to foreign schools; and Trinity College, which was intended to train the 'natives' under English influences, became a close institution. In 1793, however, there was an opportunity, such as had not presented itself before, to unite all classes and creeds in a common university, and, by educating the Catholic clerical students in common with laymen of all denominations, to broaden the narrowness of ecclesiastical training which has had such fatal effects on Irish progress during the nineteenth century.

But the death of Hutchinson in 1794 led to a violent change of policy. The provost left no successor in Trinity College to continue his plans; and no attempt was made either to open the fellowships or to found a second college. Meanwhile, it was impossible, now that the religious seminaries in France had been swept away by the Revolution, to allow ecclesiastical students to be exposed to the 'contagion of sedition and infidelity,' and to 'the licentious philosophy' * prevalent in the non-religious schools in France; and, in 1795, the government took the step, ostensibly liberal, but really of fatal import, of founding, at Maynooth, a college 'for the education only of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion.' Catholic laymen protested, 'in the interest of liberality,' that Parliament should not exclude Protestants from it; but the government, as usual, disregarded their advice. The chief cause of the foundation of Maynooth was the fear that the clergy would imbibe hostility to England in the revolutionary schools of France; and the actual political results which the home education of the clergy was destined to produce were foreseen by Wolfe Tone alone. Hitherto the clergy educated in foreign seminaries were Tory in their principles and, as Mr Lecky says, 'a most formidable obstacle to the seditious and anti-English movement which Wolfe Tone wished to foment. The disappearance of this type of ecclesiastic was welcomed

* Lecky, 'History of Ireland,' iii, 348-9.

by Wolfe Tone; but it has been an irreparable loss to Irish life.' The government, however, were not satisfied with relegating the clergy to Maynooth. Their next step was to separate the laity from the clergy, as they feared that the former were likely to become monastic in their habits from association with clerics; and, when Lord Castlereagh closed the lay college at Maynooth, the last step was taken in the long process by which the English government has secured the supremacy of the clergy over the laity.

Yet there never was a time when the temper of the Roman Catholic hierarchy was more conciliatory. Their objections to 'mixed education' had not crystallised; and there is little doubt that, if Trinity College had acted in the spirit of Hely-Hutchinson, the Irish University question would have then been solved in the only way that could permanently satisfy the needs of Ireland. Under the Penal Laws, Catholics had petitioned to be admitted to Trinity College; and for more than fifty years after the Union there was scarcely a single Catholic of repute who was not educated there, with the tacit sanction of his church.* But the liberal spirit which had animated some of the fellows at the end of the eighteenth century had deteriorated; the college was now, even in the opinion of many of its friends, † 'a mere ecclesiastical' and 'anti-national institution'; and it could not be expected that, after the passing of Catholic Emancipation, Catholics would long remain satisfied with the scanty recognition they received there.

There is, however, ample evidence that, so late as 1831, when the system of national education was established, admission to the highest honours of the University would have satisfied Roman Catholic claims. The most influential of the bishops at this time favoured 'mixed education' for Ireland. Dr Doyle stated before a parliamentary committee in 1830: ‡

'I do not see how any man, wishing well to the public peace, and who looks to Ireland as his country, can think that peace can ever be permanently established, or the prosperity of the

* Appendix to Second Report, p. 188, col. 1.

† E.g. Mr Wyse, Appendix to Second Report, p. 183, col. 2.

‡ Ib. p. 183, col. 2.

country ever well secured, if children are separated at the commencement of life on account of their religious opinions . . . to separate them is, I think, to destroy some of the finest feelings in the heart of man.'

But the opportunity was lost through the bigotry of the Presbyterian and Episcopalian bodies. Trinity College resisted the attempt of Sheil in 1834 to open her endowments to dissenters; the Established Church refused to accept the combined literary instruction in the State schools; a distinguished Protestant went so far as to say, in evidence before the House of Lords, that it was more proper that Roman Catholic children should be brought up without any religion at all than that they should be instructed in their faith;* the Presbyterians established gun-clubs to defend their Bibles; schools were sacked, schoolmasters beaten, and pupils expelled by force; processions of armed men paraded the country to intimidate the friends of the national system. The National Board itself was suspected of a design, in the words of Archbishop Whately, 'to undermine the gigantic fabric of the Catholic Church';† and certainly, in the system of education which it introduced, it waged war against the national feeling of the country.

In these circumstances the enthusiasm of the Roman Catholic hierarchy for 'mixed education' gradually cooled. Archbishop MacHale, the eloquent spokesman of the national party among the bishops, preached a crusade against state education, and withdrew his own schools from the system, which narrowly escaped being condemned by Gregory XVI in 1840.‡ The growth of Ultramontanism has probably been the most calamitous incident in recent Irish history; but even bishops are human, and it cannot in fairness be denied that the attitude of the other churches towards the Roman *see* abundantly justified the change of policy in the eyes of all but the most far-seeing. Nevertheless, the opponents of Ultramontanism were still strong in Ireland; and the English government had yet another opportunity of conciliating and uniting the warring creeds. In 1845 Sir Robert Peel passed the Maynooth Act; and in the same

* 'Report of the Powis Commission' (1870), p. 81.

† Appendix to First Report, p. 93, col. 2.

‡ Appendix to Second Report, p. 184, col. 1.

session he introduced the celebrated Bill 'to enable her Majesty to endow new colleges for the advancement of education in Ireland.' The Established Church condemned the system as 'godless'; but the charge, though taken up by the Roman Catholic opponents of the colleges, was groundless, as abundant provision was made for religious instruction. Sir Robert Peel said in Parliament at this time:—

'The principle of equality is preserved in the new institution. We have given the Catholics every facility for religious instruction; we have given them direct sanction and encouragement; we have admitted that secular instruction will be imperfect unless accompanied by religious instruction as its basis; but we have thought (it may be erroneously) that the best way of providing that religious instruction, where there is so much jealousy of interference, was to give every facility, but to call on parents . . . to provide the means, and to call on the respective churches to give their aid in providing that education.' ('Hansard's Debates,' vol. 82, col. 367.)

Furthermore, encouragement was offered for the erection of halls of residence, under the supervision of representatives of the various churches; chaplains or deans of residence were to be appointed by their ecclesiastical superiors. The college in Belfast was to be established mainly in the interest of the Presbyterians; but the colleges in Cork and Galway were to be largely Roman Catholic institutions, with a considerable representation of Roman Catholics on their staffs. A Roman Catholic priest was appointed president of the Galway college, and an eminent Catholic layman president of the Cork college.

The reception which Peel's measure met with was not encouraging to the advocates of united education. After much hesitation the Belfast institution was accepted by the Presbyterians, who were about to establish a purely denominational college for themselves, in which 'every one should be a Presbyterian, from the president to the hall-porter'; the colleges were denounced by the Established Church of England; the Catholic hierarchy condemned the principle of 'mixed education' as 'dangerous to faith and morals,' but referred the question to Rome for decision; Catholic laymen were divided. The Young

Ireland party were enthusiastic supporters of the measure; but O'Connell's son denounced it 'as an abominable attempt to undermine religion and morality in Ireland.' The reply of Davis to O'Connell is worth quoting even at the present day:—

'Disunion, alas! has destroyed our country for centuries. Men of Ireland, shall it destroy it again? Will you take the boys of Ireland in their earliest youth and deepen the differences between them? Will you sedulously exclude them from knowing the virtues, the genius, the spirit, the affections of each other? If you do, you will vainly hope that they who are carefully separated in youth will be united in manhood, and stand together for their country.' (Gavan Duffy, 'Young Ireland,' p. 702.)

The great influence of Dr MacHale was exerted successfully at Rome against the Act; but it is curious and pathetic to think that, if either side had displayed a little of the spirit of compromise on which, according to Burke, all government is founded, a measure, the rejection of which dealt a blow to Catholic education from which it has never recovered, might have changed the current of Irish history. It is past doubt that it was a piece of pedantry—no doubt prompted by fear—on the part of the government (which has no objection to pay army chaplains) to refuse to endow the deans of residence, and to establish dual chairs in the 'dangerous subjects'; but, on the other hand, it is difficult to understand the logical and religious grounds on which the bishops based their condemnation. Dr O'Dwyer told* the late University Commission that the most objectionable feature of the Queen's Colleges system was the nomination of the professors by the Crown. But this was done in the interest of the Roman Catholics, 'for their security in the absence of tests,' as Dr O'Dwyer elsewhere admitted; and Peel promised that, after 1848, the selection of the professors should be left to the governing body of the new University—an arrangement which the bishop himself approved in another part of his evidence.

The nomination by the Crown is said, by Dr O'Dwyer, to be 'the whole difficulty.' If so, it is curious that it did

* Appendix to First Report, p. 37, col. 2.

not disappear when Peel nominated a board, largely consisting of bishops, to select the first professors. This scheme, however, fell through, as Archbishop Murray refused to serve; and the nomination of professors was ultimately entrusted to the six presidents and vice-presidents of the colleges, two of whom were Catholics, one being a Catholic priest. Another authoritative witness before the late Commission, Dr Delany, admitted that Peel's scheme was excellent 'on paper, if it had been in other respects satisfactorily carried out.'* But the government was hardly to blame for the unfortunate fact that the withdrawal of the Catholic bishops from the visitorial boards, and the resignation of the deans of residence, threw the management of the colleges almost entirely into the hands of Protestants; and it is by no means certain that it was possible, at that or any other time, to give a larger representation to Catholics in Cork and Galway. Dr Newman wrote in 1853:—

'I do not see how Ireland (or England either) can possibly supply professors for *three* colleges. Either you will have incompetent men to fill the chairs, or you will of necessity bring in a set of quasi-unbelievers. On the other hand, if you cut down the staff, you have three incomplete schools of learning.'†

Even if Catholic professors had been available, it is almost certain they would not have been allowed to accept the chairs; for during the years 1845–50 the Queen's Colleges were assailed by the priesthood with the most vehement denunciations, and Catholics connected with them occupied a 'disagreeable,' in fact, an 'intolerable position.'

As was said above, the Queen's Colleges scheme was very nearly accepted in 1845. The explanations of the government satisfied a large body of the bishops that 'education might go on in them with perfect security to the religious opinions of the Roman Catholic youth.'‡ Archbishop Murray wrote of

'the absurdity of applying the epithet of "godless" to institutions which comprise the ministers of religion, appointed for the express purpose of teaching the students to adore,

* Dr Delany in Appendix to First Report, p. 78, col. 2.

† Dr Newman, 'My Campaign in Ireland,' p. xlv.

‡ Lord John Russell, quoted in Appendix to Second Report, p. 189, col. 2.

and love, and serve God'; and was persuaded 'that, for the protection and preservation of our holy religion, it was safer far to tolerate these colleges, though not unattended with danger, and to allow our priests, aided with proper precautions, to watch over their progress, than to repudiate them utterly.' *

Although it is difficult to explain how, on the ground of conscience, this scheme of mixed education was intolerable, since it differed 'not a hair's breadth' † from Mr Balfour's proposals, which the bishops unanimously accepted in 1897, it is easy enough for the student of history to understand how unfavourable were the circumstances of the years 1845-52. The Act was sent over to Ireland at a time when the country was in the throes of the great famine; political feeling was embittered to an extent unknown since 1798; the champions of 'mixed education' among the hierarchy had either passed away or were advanced in years; a strong national party had sprung up under Archbishop MacHale; Ultramontanism had come in with Dr Cullen, who had witnessed the evils of secularism in Italy, and confounded, as he did to the end of his life, Italian with English liberalism. At Rome Pope Pius IX, abandoning his liberal attitude of 1846, had yielded to the retrograde policy of the 'Gregorians,' led by Cardinal Antonelli; and, finally, the success of the Roman Catholic University at Louvain had encouraged the Propaganda to hope that the foundation of a similar institution in Ireland would counteract the anti-clerical and irreligious tendencies of the age. It was not observed that Ireland was freer from these influences than any other country in Europe; and that, although a purely Catholic university might suit the conditions of Belgium, where no Protestant party existed, what Ireland required was a university in which all Christian creeds might associate. The project of a Catholic university was not popular with the Irish bishops—it is said that Archbishop Murray refused to receive its first rector, Dr Newman—and much inertia had to be overcome before it was founded; but from the time when the university was opened in 1854, the fate of the Queen's Colleges was sealed, since to ask the Pope to withdraw his censure of the

* Lord John Russell, quoted in Appendix to Second Report, pp. 187, 188.

† Dr O'Dwyer in Appendix to First Report, p. 56, col. 1.

Queen's Colleges was 'simply asking him to extinguish the projected university, for both could not flourish.'* Nor should it be forgotten that the attitude of the English government had changed. In 1846 Sir Robert Peel resigned, before the Colleges were opened; and the inauguration of the new institutions became the task of the author of the Durham letter and the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

The fate of the Queen's Colleges was for Ireland one of the most significant incidents of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, it demonstrated the power of the hierarchy to wreck any scheme of education which did not meet with their full approval; on the other, it made it no less clear that, so long as that very elastic phrase, *censura fidei et morum*, is strained so as to justify pretensions not insisted on in other Protestant countries, such as Prussia, and believed, at least by Protestants, to be incompatible with the free development of a modern university, Parliament will hardly be persuaded to redress the educational grievance; and Irish Catholic laymen, who are obedient to their bishops, must resign themselves to being deprived of facilities for higher education from which their co-religionists in England are not debarred. The panacea for the ills of Ireland is the free intercourse of all denominations in a common college or university; but this intercourse is rigidly proscribed by those who form Catholic opinion on educational subjects, 'as being dangerous to faith and morals,' although it is certain that, in their hearts, it is this that Catholic laymen desire. The ideal of the Catholic hierarchy is, in the words of Dr O'Dwyer, a university

'in which the authority of the Pope would be supreme, and reach directly or indirectly to every part of its organisation, and guide and inform its operations. . . . All its intellectual life would be carried on under ecclesiastical supervision and control.'†

In this spirit they proposed, in the draft charter drawn up for the government in 1866,

'that the four Roman Catholic archbishops, for the time being, shall be the visitors of the said college, and their

* Dr Newman, 'My Campaign in Ireland,' p. xliii.

† 'Nineteenth Century,' January 1899, p. 78.

authority be supreme in questions regarding religion or morals, *and in all other things in the said college.*' *

In the days of concurrent endowments it was conceivable that an English government might have entertained such a scheme, as Lord Grey did in 1868; but since the disestablishment of the Irish Church it has been impossible openly to ask Parliament to sanction legislation that would confer a position of privilege upon a particular denomination. The endowment of the Jesuit College in St Stephen's Green is not an argument to the contrary, although much stress has been recently laid upon it; for this endowment is circuitous and insignificant in amount, and was never sanctioned by a vote of the House of Commons. The Catholic hierarchy have only recently recognised the fact that the abolition of tests has altered the situation. In 1873 they wrecked the Liberal government by repudiating, 'as incompatible with Catholic doctrine,' its scheme of university education, which had received the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Manning as 'a final settlement of a vexed question.'† They accepted, as 'a lame and halting measure of relief,' the Royal University scheme of 1879, as it involved the dissolution of the detested Queen's University, and, in providing an indirect endowment for a strictly Catholic college, seemed to decide in their favour—at least logically—the long-continued struggle with the advocates of undenominationalism. But although Disraeli 'placed the ball at the feet of the Irish Roman Catholics,'‡ and 'they kicked it to some purpose,' they have never been satisfied with the examination system or the undenominational character of the university; and the most prominent Conservative statesmen have admitted the grievance, although they have hitherto professed their inability to redress it.

Since Mr Balfour's speech at Partick (December 1889), and his 'letter to a constituent' (January 23, 1899), it has been obvious that the Catholic claim would have to be faced in all its bearings. The general dissatisfaction on the senate of the Royal University resulted in a petition (February 1901) to Earl Cadogan for a Royal Commission

* Appendix to Third Report, p. 83, col. 2.

† Purcell, 'Life of Manning,' ii, p. 529, *note*.

‡ Appendix to First Report, p. 382, col. 1.

to examine into the relations of the Royal University with its recognised colleges. The Commission was appointed in May 1901; and its Report is now before the country. It remains to consider whether the result of its labours has been to provide a solution of this vexed question acceptable to Catholics and Presbyterians, and, at the same time, politically practicable.

Whatever may be thought of the recommendations contained in the final Report, it is at any rate certain that the Commission commenced its labours under the most unhappy auspices. At the very outset they were 'quoted and signed' with the stamp of incompleteness. The government yielded to the pressure of Trinity College; and in framing the terms of reference, an investigation into the only real university in Ireland was excluded from the scope of the Commission. The exclusion of Trinity College might conceivably be thought only to preclude an investigation into the resources and internal government of the college, while it left it open to the Commission to recommend a solution, in connexion with the University of Dublin, which should be consistent with the integrity of Trinity College; but the Commission held that Trinity College and the University of Dublin were so 'inseparably and undistinguishably blended' that it would be impossible to alter the University without 'profoundly affecting the interests of the college.'

The exclusion of Trinity College and the University of Dublin left only two courses open: (1) to recommend a solution on the terms of Mr Balfour's proposals, viz. the creation of a university mainly for Presbyterians in Belfast, and of a second university mainly for Catholics in Dublin; (2) to reconstitute the Royal University on educational lines, so as to be a federal teaching university with affiliated colleges. Both these solutions are carefully analysed in the Report.

The Commission have adopted the second, which is practically a restoration of the old Queen's University, but with certain important modifications calculated to make it more acceptable to Roman Catholics and better adapted to modern educational ideas. In the first place, an attempt has been made to enlist local sympathy by giving to local interests representation on the governing

bodies of the Colleges. Secondly, in order to meet what Dr O'Dwyer called 'the principal objection' to the Queen's Colleges, the appointment of professors will not be vested in the Crown, but in the governing bodies. It seems curious that such slight modifications in a system which has been described for half a century as 'essentially dangerous to faith and morals,' and to be condemned 'on grounds of conscience and immutable principle,' should be expected to render it 'tolerable' to Roman Catholic opinion; but the Commission are perhaps well-advised in hoping that the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church would 'adopt a more benevolent attitude' towards the Colleges if they were again offered what they refused in 1847, especially if a Roman Catholic college were founded in Dublin, as is proposed in the Report. Indeed there have not been wanting signs of a turn in the tide of opposition to the Queen's Colleges. Dr Delany said that he liked the scheme 'on paper'; while Dr O'Dwyer admitted that Peel's aim was to set up in Ireland 'a system of education pretty like'* what the Roman Catholics are asking for now. He even went so far as to allow that the opposition to the Colleges was 'more or less a question of time and circumstance.† The condition of Ireland was—not without reason—considered so exceptional in 1845 that a system of mixed education, which is accepted by Catholics in all European Protestant countries, was condemned in Ireland on the ground of faith and morals. But if the condemnation of Peel's measure was merely a question of 'local conscience,' it is strange that it should have been persisted in, under altered conditions, for fifty years, to the destruction of all lay-Catholic learning in Ireland, and that laymen, whose adherence to the dictates of their Church has been nothing less than heroic, and who, in some cases, have declared they would sooner see their children dead than send them there,‡ should now learn that what they believed was an immutable principle was merely a counsel of expediency. It would appear then, that the saying of Archbishop Walsh—that 'in the matter of mixed education the Church can have no discretion,'

* Appendix to First Report, p. 47, col. 2.

† Ib. p. 85, col. 1.

‡ Ib. p. 21, col. 2.

must be largely qualified. What is right at Oxford, at Bonn, at Tübingen, and at Munich, cannot be wrong in principle in Ireland.

While the three Queen's Colleges are to continue the system of 'mixed education' established by Peel, the fourth college in Dublin is admittedly to be a college, not only *de facto* but *de jure* Roman Catholic, and largely controlled by ecclesiastics, 'with limitations,' as many fear, 'of thought corresponding to the requirements of the authoritative exponents of that creed.'* The *ex-officio* representation of bishops on the governing body of the Catholic college is imperatively demanded by the hierarchy; otherwise the Commission would have been loth to recommend a constitution so strikingly at variance with the comparatively undenominational character of the other university institutions in Ireland. And yet Mr Balfour has stated that the Catholics demand a college which is Catholic only in the sense in which Trinity College is Episcopalian and Belfast Queen's College Presbyterian; and Dr Healy denied† that the bishops wished to control the appointment and dismissal of professors so long as they were enabled 'to safeguard the faith and morals of their flocks.'

The Report has done good work in dispelling this persistent illusion, and in explicitly stating what is involved in the creation of a college for Roman Catholics. It is futile to argue that a Catholic college, with a clerical head, and with bishops sitting *ex officio* on the governing body, is no more denominational than Trinity College with 'a distinguished Protestant controversialist' as its provost, and with four Protestant ecclesiastics on the Board; or than Queen's College, Belfast, whose president has always been a Presbyterian clergyman. A Catholic ecclesiastic has a sacrosanct character to which Protestant ecclesiastics lay no claim; moreover, he is a member of a highly organised body, and is under the control of his bishop to an extent unknown in the Protestant Church. The provost of Trinity College is by accident a clergyman, and is completely independent of any Church. The General Assembly has no control over the president of

* Lord Robertson in Final Report, p. 60.

† Appendix to Third Report, p. 207, col. 1.

the Belfast college. When, therefore, the Roman Catholic hierarchy claim a college as denominational in a sense in which no existing college has been denominational since the abolition of tests in 1873, it should be clearly understood that, in this respect, their demand is for something more than a 'Catholic atmosphere,' and really involves the reintroduction of religious privilege in Ireland. Many attempts were made before the Commission to prove that the Jesuit College in St Stephen's Green is as undenominational as Trinity College; but the result was perilously near a surrender of the whole Catholic case. The Catholic ideal is education thoroughly permeated with religion. There is much in this ideal with which we can sympathise; but it is not easy to understand how it can be attained, in any measure, in a college where the teaching in secular subjects has 'no religious trend whatever,'* where there is nothing 'to indicate that the teacher belongs to one religion more than another,' and where many of the professors and more than ten per cent. of the students are non-Catholic.

It may be doubtful whether Parliament will ever be likely to sanction grants to a college, such as that recommended by the Commission, 'after the system of concurrent endowments has been finally extinguished by the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland,'† and religious equality has been produced by the process of 'levelling down'; and yet, on the other hand, although the Commission have made some sacrifice of academic principle in their desire to satisfy the Catholic hierarchy, it is practically certain that their proposals will not be accepted. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin has condemned the scheme beforehand; and the episcopal member of the Commission has expressed his preference for a Catholic university. These are ominous symptoms and the government is unlikely to propose a scheme without, as Mr Balfour said, 'being tolerably sure that it will be accepted.'

The Catholic hierarchy have always demanded a Catholic university, and, on the grounds of equality with Protestants, have refused to be satisfied with less. But

* Dr Delany in Appendix to First Report, p. 77, col. 2.

† Lord Robertson in Final Report, p. 80.

the Report has once for all demonstrated the impracticability of the claim. The creation of a Catholic university would involve the creation of a university for Presbyterians in Belfast; but this would not be tolerated by the universal opinion of the north of Ireland, and 'it has never hitherto been attempted to thrust a university on an unwilling community.'* Furthermore, it is certain that such a university would not be acceptable to the most enlightened Catholic laymen, 'who would be less and less prepared to frequent it';† and the degrees of a denominational university 'would not pass current in the market of life.'‡ Ireland is not a country in which Catholic laymen are encouraged to express opinions on education at variance with the views of their pastors; but, in their declaration of 1870, they did not entirely adopt this claim,§ and, in the 'statement of certain Roman Catholic laymen,'|| it is said that

'no scheme of university education for Ireland will be satisfactory unless it affords Catholics the opportunity of taking the best degrees to be obtained in Ireland, and enjoying all the advantages to be obtained from collegiate life.'

The result, then, of the whole inquiry would appear to be this. The Commission have condemned the examination system of the Royal University because 'it has lowered the ideal of university life and education in Ireland'; they have pronounced the system by which all appointments, from chancellor to hall-porter, are made on religious grounds, to be 'educationally indefensible'; they have condemned the indirect endowment provided for the Jesuit College in Stephen's Green and for the Presbyterian Magee College. But when we come to their positive proposals to remedy these evils, it would appear that there is an *impasse*. It is easy to recommend that the indirect endowment should be made direct; but this step involves certain consequences which may not be acceptable either to Parliament or to the denominations affected. Under their terms of reference, the only practicable solutions open to the Commission would seem to have been either affiliated colleges in a reconstituted

* Final Report, p. 36.

† Cf. Mr Wilfrid Ward, Final Report, p. 66.

‡ Final Report, p. 36.

§ Appendix to Second Report, p. 128, col. 2.

|| Appendix to Third Report, p. 581.

Royal University, or a Catholic university and a Presbyterian university. The first solution is unlikely to satisfy the aspirations of the Catholic hierarchy; and, although academic opinion in Belfast is strongly in its favour, many authoritative Presbyterians have pronounced it more objectionable, as being less honest, than the second solution.* On the other hand, the second solution is obviously impracticable, in view of the attitude of Parliament, the opposition of the north of Ireland, and the openly expressed dislike of Catholic laymen. It would appear, then, that the Report of the Commission, after all the hopes which it has excited, issues in a lame and impotent conclusion.

Nevertheless the educational situation in Ireland may fairly be described as intolerable. For more than half a century the country has been a scene of turmoil and unrest, entirely at variance with the academic calm which is the essential condition of good work. After the passing of Catholic Emancipation the struggle centred about the national schools; in 1845 the Queen's Colleges were planted in a desert artificially created by the destruction of the secondary schools, which a highly endowed system of elementary education brought about,† and at once aroused an agitation which was not stilled even by the destruction of the Queen's University in 1881; in 1879 there was substituted for the academic training of the Queen's University the examinational test of the Royal University, which, in the words of the Report, has lowered the ideal of learning in Ireland without solving the religious difficulty or satisfying educational needs;‡ the year 1878 saw the creation of the Intermediate Board, whose immense endowments have been squandered in paying grants to schools and scholars without inspection, on the results of a 'tug and scramble' in a narrow and unintelligent programme. After the expenditure of countless millions the results beggar description.

Until recently the system of primary education, although it had a start of forty years in advance of the English board-schools, had done little beyond reducing

* E.g. Dr Petticrew, Appendix to Third Report, p. 85, col. 2.

† F. H. O'Donnell, 'Ruin of Education in Ireland,' p. 23.

‡ Final Report, p. 29.

illiteracy; with regard to the system of intermediate education, Dr O'Dwyer is of opinion that 'it would be a great deal better for the Catholics of Ireland that it should be stopped altogether' * than that it should continue to produce a class of half-educated men who are 'led up to the doors of the university and are then left absolutely helpless in the world'; and the examinational system of the Royal University, in destroying the academic ideal, has gradually extinguished all intellectual life in Ireland. A well-known crammer, who was described as 'bearing on his shoulders the weight of the university,' has outstripped in successes the efficient Queen's College of Belfast; attendance at the other colleges has been reduced by over 50 per cent.; in 1882 more than 1100 students were receiving a high-class academic training in the Queen's Colleges; in 1901 this number had decreased to about 600. A similar decline has taken place in Trinity College, Dublin; in 1886 the students under M.A. standing numbered 1346; in 1903 the numbers are 938. In view of these facts the Report truly states that the influence of the Royal University has been 'one of positive destruction'; and that to it, and the misguided legislation which created it, is due the 'lowered ideal of university life and education which too generally prevails.' †

Another and still more fatal result of the educational unrest of the last half-century has been the disappearance from Irish life of the educated lay Catholic. After the Union Roman Catholics of the upper classes were educated in Trinity College, 'with the tacit sanction of their pastors'; and for more than fifty years they enjoyed the immense facilities for higher education which that celebrated seat of learning afforded. The mingling of the creeds had the happiest results in public life. The most zealous advocates of Catholic Emancipation were the representatives of the University (such as Plunket), and the warmest admirers of Trinity College were Catholics such as Sheil and Wyse. But with the Famine and the dawn of Ultramontanism this happy condition of things ceased. Attendance at Trinity College was pronounced 'dangerous to faith and morals'; and, although indi-

* Appendix to First Report, p. 25, col. 1.
Vol. 197 — No. 394.

† Final Report, p. 25.

viduals continued to frequent its halls, it gradually ceased to occupy the place, at any rate in the hopes of the rising generation, of a great national institution. The Catholic landed interest, which was its strongest support, gradually lost weight in the country; and the great middle class, which arose after the Famine, regarded it, with the political prejudices of the stratum of society from which they sprang, as an institution anti-national in its history and allied to an alien Church.

The unhappy results of the consequent separation of classes have been among the most noticeable features of recent Irish life. It may be said without exaggeration that young Irishmen of different creeds rarely meet on terms of intimacy during the most impressionable years of their lives. The national system of education has departed very widely from the stand-point of Mr Stanley, and may be styled denominational education with a conscience clause; the secondary schools are purely denominational; a large part of the teaching for the Royal University is carried on in clerical seminaries; less than two hundred and fifty Catholics attend Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges. A distinguished Catholic witness, not averse from sectarian education, has lamented that 'the relations between Catholic and Protestant are not as cordial as they were some fifty years ago';* and a Methodist witness testified that

'the early friendships which were often formed in olden days, and which lasted from school life to old age, are now no more; and Catholic and Protestant youths are brought up without knowing each other, and with every probability that they will come to regard each other as natural enemies.'†

It is difficult to determine whether Catholics or Protestants have suffered more from the alteration of feeling; but there is no doubt that the educational legislation and the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church during the last fifty years have well-nigh extinguished the desire for higher education, and have given rise to the fatal idea that there is no career in education for a Catholic layman. Outside of Trinity College 'a layman has hardly any

* Chief Baron Palles in Appendix to Second Report, p. 128, col. 1.

† Sir William Whitla in Appendix to First Report, p. 172, col. 2.

chance of living by his brains in a Catholic land;’* secondary education is the monopoly of ecclesiastics; and a large number of the fellowships of the Royal University must be assigned to Jesuits in order to provide an indirect endowment for their college in St Stephen’s Green; while to medical men, barristers, and solicitors, the possession of a degree is considered of little value. The result is that it is difficult to find educated Catholics fitted for the higher posts in the gift of the government; and it is a curious result of the ‘levelling down’ legislation of the nineteenth century that a smaller proportion of Catholics occupy the highest legal and civil service positions in the country at present than fifty years ago.

The degraded position of the Catholic layman in Ireland has had consequences which fatally hamper the progress of the country. Through recent legislation the political centre of gravity has shifted towards the Roman Catholics; and yet, according to an authoritative witness, their representatives are ‘absolutely and entirely unfit for the duties they have to discharge.’† In the absence of natural lay leaders they either fall into the hands of ecclesiastics who ‘possess an influence far-reaching and vital, without being sufficiently enlightened to appreciate the national issues depending on its exercise,’‡ or, in their blind desire to rid themselves of an oppressive thralldom, they reproduce a form of Jacobinism which is dangerous to the interests of religion and to the economic prosperity of the country.

The salvation of Ireland undoubtedly lies, not in strengthening clerical influence, but in developing a class of educated laymen, sympathetic with the national ideal, and, at the same time, absolutely independent and untrammelled in secular matters. This class has been crushed out of existence by the attitude of the hierarchy for the last half-century; but it is one of the happiest signs of the times that the most enlightened authorities of the Church now deplore its extinction. The vice-president of Maynooth advocates the higher education of the better classes among the laity in order to fill up the void in the lay leadership of the country, and believes

* F. H. O’Donnell, ‘Ruin of Education in Ireland,’ p. 26.

† Dr O’Dwyer in Appendix to First Report, p. 25, col. 1.

‡ Dr O’Dea in Appendix to Third Report, p. 296, col. 1.

that in this way the 'power of the priests, so far as it is abnormal and unnecessary, will pass away.'*

But, with a view to ameliorating the position of the layman, it is not sufficient that he should be educated in a Catholic college or university. Ireland is not like Belgium, where the contest is between Catholicism and free-thought. It is a religious country, deeply divided by social and sectarian differences which have hitherto been fatal to its well-being. The shibboleths of a hundred years ago, that have lost their potency in every other civilised country, are still paramount in Ireland, and are so far from being discredited, that all the churches and almost all statesmen have combined to regard them as dictates of Holy Writ. 'Equality with the Protestants' meant in 1850 education under ecclesiastical control; but this theory has now been discarded even by Catholic states. There is no university in the world, in receipt of state endowments, which has any direct relation to the episcopate of any church; and, so far from the condition in Ireland being so exceptional as to justify a more retrograde policy, there is no country in which it is so necessary to establish a community of thought and interest between the various classes which divide the country into several hostile camps, 'with clerical sentinels pacing up and down between them.' A Catholic university, or an isolated Catholic college in a reconstituted Royal University, will not mend matters, but will place one further obstacle in the way of the fusion of creeds and classes, which cannot be long delayed, although the time may not yet be ripe for its consummation.

Such ought to be the aim of an enlightened statesmanship; and yet the terms of reference placed it out of the power of the Commission to recommend any legislation which does not run counter to the hope of bringing about a union, which may be described as 'a lingering hope,'† but which is absolutely vital to the national welfare. The exclusion of Trinity College and the University of Dublin from the inquiry is, furthermore, at variance with the legislation of 1873, and is a confession that Roman Catholics and dissenters cannot be expected to frequent

* Dr O'Dea in Appendix to Third Report, p. 296, col. 1.

† Final Report, p. 34.

that college, which is thereby labelled for all time as the stronghold of the Church of Ireland. Indeed the Prime Minister has openly stated that he should regret its becoming a national institution if it should thereby lose its Protestant flavour. The true friends of Trinity College, and of Ireland, entertain very different hopes as to its future.

Trinity College was founded in the interest of the nation; and the bigoted, anti-national policy of Laud, too long persisted in, should not be permitted to condemn it to an isolation which is becoming daily more perilous to its interests. Archbishop Healy stated before the Commission his belief that,

‘in these days, when the power is in the hands of the democracy, the latter are not likely to continue to consent to Trinity College holding 45,000*l.* a year for the benefit of a small section of the community, and leaving the rest out in the cold.’ *

Trinity College, at present, exists for the benefit of a few, because, though open to all, the majority are not allowed to go to it; but, if Mr Balfour's policy is carried out, it will become practically *de jure* Protestant and dependent upon a rapidly decaying class, while it will be exposed to the competition of a modern college, enjoying equal endowments and charging lower fees. The policy of the Prime Minister would be fraught with results calamitous alike to the college and to the nation. The only solution of the university question thoroughly consistent with the interests of the whole country is that Catholics and Protestants should mingle in the common life of Trinity College. When threatened by Mr Gladstone's Bill in 1873, its authorities consented to accept the Test Act with all its consequences, and made unofficial overtures to Archbishop Cullen ‘to nominate Roman Catholic lecturers who should give instruction under the same rules, and with the same emoluments, as existed in the case of Protestant lecturers.’ It was also understood that a Catholic chapel and house of residence might be erected within the grounds, if funds were provided for building them; and that no objection would be offered to dual chairs in the

* Appendix to Third Report, p. 209, col. 1.

case of philosophy and history. But Archbishop Cullen refused to interfere in any way in providing them with religious instruction.* The archbishop had not as yet abandoned his hope of a state-endowed university; and the circumstances of the time were adverse. Trinity had recently been described by Mr Gladstone as a college of 'Protestant traditions and Protestant aspects'; its government and teaching were largely in the hands of Protestant ecclesiastics; and its religious tone was decidedly uncongenial to Catholics. Moreover, the attempts of the college to conciliate the Catholics were conducted in subterranean channels and were very half-hearted; and, on the other hand, the demands of the Catholic hierarchy were much more exorbitant then than they are at present. At that time the demand was for a system of education thoroughly permeated with Catholic ideas; episcopal interference extended to the whole sphere of secular learning; heretical doctrine was feared even in the teaching of arithmetic.† But a revolution has passed over the universities of Europe since 1873, and learning has outgrown the trammels of ecclesiastical control; so that nowadays there is a tendency to give full scope to specialists in their proper spheres. Even in Ireland the Jesuits have afforded an example of a college for Catholics where, in secular subjects, the 'teaching has no religious trend whatsoever.' In these circumstances there would seem to be no reasonable ground why the hierarchy should not now accept the terms offered by Trinity College.

In the evidence given before the Commission a careful scrutiny can discover no ground for rejecting this compromise, except the allegation that more than a generation would pass away before a Catholic would be eligible for a place on the governing body of the college.‡ For the bishops to condemn a whole generation to deprivation of culture, for a reason such as this, is to impose on it a penal law of their own making, for which no European country, Protestant or Catholic, provides an analogue. A witness from Maynooth stated in evidence that no Protestant government in any civilised country offers to

* Appendix to Third Report, p. 204, col. 1. Cf. letter of the Vice-Provost in 'Irish Times,' March 14, 1903.

† Appendix to Second Report, p. 190, col. 1.

‡ Dr Delany, Appendix to First Report, p. 94, col. 2.

Catholics an institution as anti-Catholic as Trinity. This witness's charges are most readily refuted from his own evidence. There is no evidence that religious bias colours the lectures in Trinity College; and, even if its tone were anti-Catholic, the Roman Catholic Church would be largely responsible for so unfortunate a result.

If the college is mainly a monopoly of the Church of Ireland, and if one denomination has rights in it which the others do not enjoy, it is because the Catholics have refused to take advantage of privileges which their co-religionists in every other civilised country have been satisfied to accept. In Königsberg, Halle, Greifswald, Marburg, Kiel, and Göttingen, the Catholics have accepted dual chairs in certain subjects; in Bonn and Breslau a *parität* has been established by means of Catholic faculties of theology; in Bonn there is a separate chair of law 'for the satisfaction and contentment of Roman Catholic subjects'; even in England Catholics are allowed to frequent Oxford and Cambridge without restriction as to the course of lectures, even in philosophy, which they may follow. The only condition usually, but not habitually, insisted on in Germany is that there should be a Catholic *Verein und Verbindung* in the university, by means of which the advantages of a 'Catholic atmosphere' may be secured, even when the majority of the professors are Protestant.

It is well known that the authorities of Trinity College are anxious to extend to Catholics all such privileges, and, indeed, every other privilege which the Church of Ireland enjoys in the college.* They may now have a chapel, a house of residence, a divinity school, dual chairs in philosophy and history, and everything else except fellowships and professorships, on the ground of their religion. Thirty years ago Isaac Butt said that all the Protestant students would leave if Mass were said within the walls. There is little evidence that breadth of mind is even now a characteristic of the electorate of Trinity;

* Telegram from Provost of T. C. D. to Sir E. Carson (March 25, 1901): 'No need for interference of Commission with Trinity College, which would be ready at any time to receive favourably any proposal made directly to it, tending to make the College more attractive to persons not members of the Church of Ireland. If there is any privilege enjoyed by members of that Church which other denominations desire to have, there would be no difficulty in granting it.' (Appendix to Third Report, p. 384.)

but the college has lost ground in the country since 1873; its numbers are falling rapidly; and the danger of gradual extinction is now so imminent that the nationalisation of the college has become a pressing necessity, and is considered well 'worth a Mass' for its accomplishment. It would be easy to give the hierarchy the security of faith and morals which is provided in the Report in the case of the Queen's Colleges; and, as to the requirement of an atmosphere 'not positively offensive to Catholics,'* evidence was uniform that no one has experienced anything hurtful to his feelings in the atmosphere of Trinity, which is secular rather than religious; and the influx of a large number of Catholics would rapidly produce the particular blend required. Indeed, Chief Baron Palles testified that he found the atmosphere of the college very stimulating, as the discussions he listened to on questions he had never thought of before led him to 'read the Catholic doctrine on these subjects.'†

The single remaining change desirable, with a view to removing the objections of the Catholics, is an alteration in the constitution of the Board. It is difficult to expect Catholics, who have been waiting for three centuries to enter the Promised Land, to defer for more than half a century longer all prospect of having a share in the government of the college. If they had come in in 1873 they would by this time have established a strong claim to representation on the Board; but the occasion was lost, and it is now the interest of Trinity to renew it.

Even on other grounds, it is desirable that the administration of Trinity College should be radically amended. Members of a *gerousia* are not the best administrators of a college which wishes to keep pace with modern development; and there is little doubt that the reputation of Trinity in the scientific world is not what it once was. A commission would probably be required to bring about the necessary changes in the administration. But revolutions are generally most fruitful when undertaken from within; and there are not wanting signs of a feeling of dissatisfaction in the staff. A very strong body among the junior fellows is convinced that the whole fellowship system requires overhauling, and that, as a first

* Dr O'Dwyer, 'Nineteenth Century,' January 1899, p. 79.

† Appendix to Second Report, p. 144.

step, the Board should be made elective, and be composed of representatives of the senior fellows, junior fellows, professors, and, perhaps, graduates. If no more than this were done, eminent Catholic fellows and professors might hope to have a voice in the management of the college within a reasonable time after their election. There is no doubt the college would profit both 'morally and financially' * by the removal of all hindrances to its free development as a national institution; and, on the other hand, by ceasing to be associated with the Church of Ireland, it would no longer be exposed to the assaults of enemies such as Archbishop Walsh, who would be glad to see some prospect of 'the central fortress of education that is not Catholic' in the most glorious site in the Catholic city of Dublin † being gradually captured in fair competition by brilliant Catholics. In no other conceivable way can they be sharers in the prestige of Trinity College.

Failing the acceptance of Trinity by Catholics, and of Catholics by Trinity, the only remaining means of promoting a union of creeds is the nationalisation of the University of Dublin by founding, in connexion with it, a Catholic college. The possibility of widening the University has been contemplated, and attempted more than once, since Trinity was founded as a *mater universitatis*. It is a solution popular with the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy; Archbishop Walsh has always expressed his preference for it; and it affords a prospect that the creeds would mingle, at least to some extent, in the playgrounds, debating societies, and laboratories of a common university. But such a solution is open to difficulties and objections which it would be impossible to exaggerate. Federal universities have lost favour in England, where the jealousy of contending creeds has not been added to the difficulties inseparable from any system of federation; but in Ireland the history of the senate of the Royal University, to which appointments have been made for religious creed rather than for academical distinction, with a view to maintain an even balance between the denominations, has, in the words of the final Report (p. 24), presented

* Cp. Appendix to Third Report, p. 204.

† Cp. 'Irish University Question,' by the Archbishop of Dublin, p. 88.

'a spectacle of an examining university which fails to exhibit the one virtue which is associated with a university of the kind—that of inspiring public confidence in its examination results.'

To introduce sectarian strife into the University of Dublin would be fatal to the academic calm of that ancient seat of learning, and not improbably destructive of the high standard of culture which it has always maintained, to the great advantage of the country. Such a scheme has been styled by a Catholic witness 'a calamitous disaster,' and is certain to be resisted by every one who has at heart the interest of Trinity College and the future of Ireland. If the last state is not to be worse than the first, the governing body of a reconstituted University of Dublin must be constructed on strictly academic lines, and, outside of the domain of faith and morals, must be as free from direct episcopal control as Trinity College itself.

Again, the college to be established within the University of Dublin must not be a Catholic college in the narrow sense of the final Report. The introduction of such a heterogeneous element into the free atmosphere of that institution would be a disastrous step; and the most enlightened Catholic laymen would regard it with extreme dread and dislike. All that Catholics have a tittle of right to claim, on the ground of equality, is a college with a 'Catholic atmosphere,' resembling the 'Protestant atmosphere' which Trinity College has as the result of its *de jure* constitution for three hundred years.

Another great difficulty is the problem of examinations. In order that the creeds should associate in a common university it is not sufficient to cut the Gordian knot, as a witness proposed before the Commission,* by bisecting the University of Dublin, and calling one half Protestant and the other half Catholic. To set up in the University of Dublin an autonomous Catholic college, examining for its own degrees, as was recommended by this witness, would be to create a Catholic university with the right to borrow the degrees of the University of Dublin, and as much of its prestige as unenlightened opinion might attribute to such a barren title. In a re-

* Dr Mahaffy in Appendix to Second Report, pp. 215-19.

constituted Royal University it was unavoidable to give such autonomy as the final Report proposes to colleges which are locally separated; but a university without common intercollegiate examinations is a university in little more than name. If the reconstituted University of Dublin is to be an institution of this kind, it will fail to attain its essential object. If the religious barriers are to be removed which are fatal to 'intellectual stimulus, enthusiasm, and competition,' the honours courses should, so far as possible, be attended by all denominations; the University lectures and examinations should be common. In this way

'students would test their intellectual strength; they would join in their games and athletic amusements, and learn by acquaintance with each other that the warmest feelings of friendship, and sentiments of the highest respect and esteem, can be entertained for each other by persons of the strongest religious views, although they belong to different denominations.' *

On the other hand, if the colleges of the reconstituted University of Dublin are not to be 'temples to the demon of religious strife,' the *concordat* which now prolongs the evil existence of the Royal University must be abolished. The government must be left in the hands of academic men; a balance between the creeds on the boards of examiners must not be demanded; there must be no suspicion of clerical pretensions unduly to extend the boundaries of 'faith and morals.' In the most favourable circumstances a federal union of this kind is very precarious; and the past history of Ireland and the attitude of the churches towards each other incline one to fear the worst when sectarian hostility is added to differences in social and national ideals. But, failing the acceptance of Trinity College by the Catholics, there is no other solution which affords a gleam of hope of an ultimate fusion of the creeds and classes; and yet without this fusion all attempts to give real prosperity to Ireland are but the baseless fabric of a vision.

* Chief Baron Palles in Appendix to Second Report, p. 128, col. 2.

Art. XII.—THE CONSULAR SERVICE AND ITS WRONGS.

1. *The Foreign Office List*, 1903. London : Harrison and Sons.
2. *Estimates for the Civil Services for the year ending 31 March, 1903*. [Commons Papers, 53, I-VII, 1903.]
3. *Correspondence respecting Diplomatic and Consular Assistance to British Trade abroad*. Commercial No. 16 (1886) [C. 4779].
4. *Reports of Special Committees of the House of Commons on the Consular Service, 1858 and 1872*. [Commons Papers, 482 of 1857-8, 382 of 1870, 238 and 380 of 1871, 314 of 1872.]

THERE are perhaps few subjects on which the public possesses less esoteric information than the Consular Service, though there are few to which more frequent reference is made at the present day. To the travelling Briton, or to him who, for the sake of business, health, or pleasure, passes large periods of his life abroad, the consul has always been the best known of all British public officials, his resource for help in every trouble, his counsellor, friend, and protector. To the British merchant seaman, the 'Counsul,' as he is styled in marine nomenclature, is the visible embodiment in all foreign ports of British law and discipline, his guardian against tyranny or fraud, his source of relief in distress, the ostensible medium of his punishment for all legal offences. In recent years, since international commercial competition in all the great markets of the world became intensified to a degree undreamt of a generation ago, greater attention has been given to the duties and responsibilities of consuls in what has ever been one of their most important functions, that of acting as the pioneers, ambassadors, and soldiers of trade. In this last respect they are now known and their services freely sought by manufacturers and merchants of the United Kingdom, whose predecessors were content to rely on their own unaided efforts. The vaguest ideas are still, however, prevalent as to the functions and life of a consul, and as to the constitution, organisation, and general administration of the consular service. There is a persistent demand for more intelligent, energetic, and efficient co-operation on the

part of consuls with merchants and manufacturers; but ignorance as to the conditions of the service has hitherto obstructed any strong movement of public opinion with a view to bring about its reform, or to secure, not to say a more efficient service at a greater cost, but full value for the expenditure that is now grudgingly incurred.

Before proceeding to consider the duties of British consuls in foreign parts, a few words should be said as to the changes that have taken place in the service, and the efforts that have been made to place it on a more satisfactory footing within the memory of persons yet living. Until 1825, almost all British consuls were also merchants, whose remuneration consisted entirely of fees; and the few salaries that were paid were defrayed from the civil list. In that year the first Consular Act (6 Geo. IV, c. 87) was passed by Canning; and by it the service was for the first time established as a formally organised branch of the Civil Service, the members of which were to be paid, not by fees, but by fixed salaries, and were forbidden to engage in trade. A separate department for the management of the service was at the same time created in the Foreign Office.

The new system, after ten years' experience, became the subject of investigation by a select committee of the House of Commons, by which some valuable recommendations were made for its better working. The committee, however, at the same time 'gave its full sanction to the relaxation made in 1832 of the system pursued since 1825 of preventing consuls engaging in trade.' This relaxation had apparently proceeded from motives of national economy; and its result was a large increase in the number of trading consuls. As time went on, consuls of this sort found themselves in an awkward position. On the one hand they were looked down upon by their consular colleagues from the loftier social position of officialdom pure and simple, while on the other their mercantile confrères asserted

'that in no case could persons so engaged at one and the same time in the discharge of important public official duties and the transaction of business on their own account, hope to retain the authority and means of usefulness that an independent salaried officer might be expected to possess.'

In 1858, therefore, another select committee was

appointed to investigate the question. This committee commended the system of educating student-interpreters for the China and Japan consular service, which had then been recently instituted, expressed its unqualified approbation of the well-organised consular establishments in those countries, and strongly recommended the immediate extension of the same regular system of consular education and promotion to the General Service, but especially to service in the Levant. It was as unreserved in its condemnation of the principle of trading consuls as in its commendation of the China service; but it suggested the appointment of respectable persons, already engaged in commerce, as 'British consular agents' in places where neither trade nor shipping was of sufficient importance to require the services of a salaried official. It further recommended a regular classification of the members of the consular service; and finally expressed a unanimous opinion that

'justice to an important branch of the public service imperatively demanded such a revision of the salaries and emoluments of the consular service as would place its members in circumstances consistent with the importance of their duties.'

Among its subsidiary recommendations were the appropriation of all fees to the government, except those collected by unpaid consuls, and their levy by means of stamps.

In 1870 a strong wave of administrative economy passed over the country; and, chiefly owing to the persistent efforts of the late Mr Peter Rylands in the House of Commons, a third select committee was appointed, which sent in its final report in 1872. The main object of this committee was economy; and the whole trend of its enquiry was directed to the question of the reduction of the costs of the consular establishment. It was found by this committee that the progress made during the previous fourteen years in carrying out the recommendations of its predecessor was very slight. Nothing had been done towards the establishment of a regular system of consular education and promotion; and the other reforms recommended had been only to a small extent introduced. The new committee again highly commended the system in China and Japan; it considered, however, that not only would the expense of

a strictly official General Consular Service be intolerable, but that it would result in the establishment of many sinecure or quasi-sinecure posts. It renewed the recommendation of the collection of fees by stamps; and, while finding that many consuls throughout the world were underpaid, it was strongly opposed to any general increase of salaries that could not be met by a reduction of superfluous posts, and the extended employment of unpaid vice-consuls. On the other hand, it recommended more favourable terms for outfit allowances, leave of absence, and retirement after service in unhealthy posts—all to be provided for in the same way as the increased salaries.

This was the latest public enquiry into the service. For the last thirty years the Foreign Office has been undisturbed in its management. Has this management been satisfactory? Not many years ago a consulship was said to be looked upon as a means for providing a more or less sinecure provision for needy members of aristocratic families, or rewarding political services to the government of the day; and adequate qualifications for the office were alleged to be the very last consideration to influence the selection of candidates. We should be sorry to give our unqualified adherence to these propositions at the present day, but old traditions die hard; and a careful perusal of the last edition of the Foreign Office List has afforded us only too many grounds for the belief that, in this instance, they continue to exercise an influence the reverse of wholesome to the public interests. That belief is supported by some of the remarks made in the debate which took place in the House of Commons in July 1902, during the discussion of the Foreign Office Estimates.

Mr Bryce, who is an ex-Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and therefore presumably closely acquainted with the inner working of the Foreign Office, stated that in the past there had been great abuses of patronage in the consular service, and that a great many men had been put into it who were not fit for the work, while on the other hand the efforts of many conscientious and able men had been overlooked.* Sir Charles Dilke,

* Parliamentary Debates; Fourth Series, vol. 110, col. 728 (3 July).

also an ex-Under-Secretary of State, made shortly afterwards a similar statement in even stronger terms with regard to the present time.

‘Personally’ (he said) ‘he was acquainted with notorious cases in which men, by an undue use of the patronage of various Secretaries of State, had been jobbed into consular appointments for which they were totally unfit, and the interests of the country had suffered in very high degree in consequence. There was also the fact that most meritorious consuls had for years laboured very hard in the service of the country and in the commercial work to which so much importance was properly attached, and had then frequently been passed over, and men from outside jobbed over their heads into posts which were regarded as the prizes of the profession, and to which these consuls ought to have been appointed as a reward for the good work they had done.’*

Mr Bryce and Sir Charles Dilke are not men likely to make unfounded statements as to matters of fact; and, as they met with no contradiction from Lord Cranborne, the present voice of the Foreign Office in the House of Commons, it must be assumed that they had good foundation for what they said.

In the same debate, Sir Edward Grey, also an ex-Under-Secretary, joined with Mr Labouchere in urging, in forcible terms, the constitution of the consular service as a regularly organised department of the Civil Service.† The view of these speakers was that its members should, as in every other branch of the Imperial Service, be specially trained to their duties from youth; and that adequate recognition should be given to those whose merits conspicuously deserved it, especially to those whose commercial reports gave evidence of special aptitude in that particular branch of their duties. Very different is the system betrayed by a perusal of the Foreign Office List. There we find that consuls who, as writers on commercial subjects, have gained universal public approval, have been lost to the state by retirement while still in middle age and full of capacity for continued efficient service; while others, who have never afforded any public evidence of interest in either commercial or shipping matters, and in

* Parliamentary Debates, vol. 111, col. 308 (15 July).

† Ib. vol. 111, col. 300 (15 July).

some cases have had no experience whatever which would fit them for such posts, have been appointed to office in the most important commercial and shipping ports. Fortunately, we have also found cases of the opposite nature, in which merit has been recognised and valuable public servants are still retained. But, even if cases of the latter kind were in a conspicuous majority, which they are not, they would not atone for instances of the opposite nature; and the fact that charges, such as were openly made by Mr Bryce and Sir Charles Dilke, were allowed to pass uncontradicted, even unexplained, shows that some strong measures of reform are called for.

It is repeating a truism to say that our commercial supremacy in all the great markets of the world is now being vigorously combated by rivals whose existence was unknown to our fathers; and that even our marine carrying trade, in which till not very long ago we held a lead that constituted us almost the monopolists of the world, is now being seriously threatened. In both commerce and the carrying trade, consuls are all-important, and, if efficient and energetic, can render national services of almost inestimable value. According to the terms of their general instructions from the Foreign Office, it is the duty of consuls to protect and promote the lawful trade of Great Britain by every fair and proper means, and to give their best advice and assistance when called upon to his Majesty's trading subjects. These are sufficiently comprehensive general instructions, and they are supplemented by particular directions as to their fulfilment. The consul is to furnish information regarding labour, manufactures, trade, commercial legislation and finance, communications, technical education, exhibitions and conferences—everything, in short, that could be of any kind of use to merchants or manufacturers anxious to enter into trade relations with the country to which the consul is accredited.

Accurate and comprehensive reports on these subjects can from time to time, as occasion arises, be prepared by consuls who bring ability and diligence to the discharge of their duties. When these qualities meet with no recognition from the highest immediate authority, when merit passes unrewarded and indifference or incompetence

meets with no mark of disapproval, continued efficiency cannot be expected. The Foreign Office has hitherto shown a want of appreciation of any effective discharge of this portion of their duties by consuls, which is quite in keeping with its traditional indifference to matters of commerce. A Commercial Department, it is true, exists within it; and it might be assumed that commercial reports are carefully studied by its members, and that when marked excellence is clearly shown in those furnished by any particular consul, his merits should be notified to the Consular Department of the Office, from which all recommendations for promotions and transfers are supposed to emanate. But this is far from being the case.

It is doubtful if the Consular Department has the least cognisance of the respective merits of the members of the service in this respect; while the reports, so far from being carefully estimated, even in the Commercial Department, would seem to be not infrequently not even read there. Sir Henry Bergne, till last year head of the Department, stated, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Steamship Subsidies, that there is no official in the Foreign Office whose business it is to study these reports; that he very often 'skimmed' them himself; but that, with that exception, there is no one in the Foreign Office whose duty it is even to read them, let alone bring their merits or demerits to the notice of the departmental controller of the service, and through him to that of the Secretary of State. If this is the case—and we must assume it to be so—if the only interest taken by the Foreign Office in the discharge of their commercial duties by consuls in all parts of the world is to act as a mere intermediary in the transmission of reports to the Board of Trade and to Chambers of Commerce in the United Kingdom; if the task of estimating the comparative values of those reports is left entirely to the Board of Trade, which not only has no voice in the appointment or promotion of consuls but finds its advice and wishes, on the very rare occasions on which they are tendered, ignored by the Office, what continued zeal or efficiency can be expected in this respect even from the most zealous, patriotic, and intelligent consul?

In the debate to which we have referred, Lord Cranborne, in his reply to Sir Edward Grey, stated that one of the things in which the Foreign Office is at present engaged, is to raise the quality of the consular trade reports which are under the standard. It will be interesting in time to learn what measure of success attends the efforts of the Foreign Office ; but, so far, that department has shown little inclination to follow Sir Edward Grey's advice ; and some of the appointments made in the consular service since that debate irresistibly suggest the idea that the Office regards the criticism of the most distinguished members of the House of Commons with contemptuous indifference.

The duties of a consul as regards the Foreign Office are defined in a volume entitled ' General Instructions to His Majesty's Consular Officers.' We have already summarised its main provisions as regards trade, the protection and advancement of which is their *raison d'être* ; but it is not to be assumed from what we have said that their sole function in that respect is the production of an annual report, no matter how interesting or valuable it may be. A consul is always to be prepared to furnish any information on any subject that may be required from him ; and this provision is construed in the most liberal manner by our merchants and manufacturers, whose demands on the consul's time and experience, on all conceivable subjects connected with trade, are as frequent as they are varied. He is, by the traditions and rules of the service, not allowed to give that open support to financial enterprises, or the claims of capitalists and speculators, that is nowadays very often afforded to their own countrymen by his colleagues of other nationalities. He is, however, frequently asked to collect debts—which he is not allowed to do—to recommend agents, to ascertain the solvency of local traders, and to take out patents, as well as to supply information, both to individual inquirers and to Chambers of Commerce, concerning tariffs, laws, and trade openings for special articles, from fish-hooks and beer up to machinery, electric tramways, and railways.

A consul's duties as a notary public are also large and varied. He should be competent not only to draw up a

marine or commercial protest, and to attest all documents brought to him in such manner that they will pass the scrutiny of an adverse lawyer in court, but also to draw up a will, a power of attorney, or even a conveyance. He is responsible for the due administration of the estates of his countrymen dying intestate within the limits of his jurisdiction, and for the transmission of their effects to England. It is his duty to celebrate marriages with a strict observance of the somewhat intricate provisions of the Consular Marriage Act; and, not infrequently, he is called upon to read the Burial Service, when the ministrations of an English clergyman cannot be obtained. He must endeavour to settle all disputes between his countrymen so as to obviate reference to the native courts of law; and his assistance in this respect is much in demand, not only in commercial, but in domestic matters. A wrangling husband and wife are no infrequent clients in his office. He must be thoroughly acquainted with the provisions of treaties and conventions, so as to be able to see that all British subjects enjoy the rights and privileges to which they are entitled. He has to be present in the local courts when his countrymen are tried before the native authorities on criminal charges, to visit them in prison, and to see that their place of confinement is not insanitary, nor their treatment cruel.

In former days travellers were few, and gave little trouble to consuls; moreover, they were generally persons of substance and intelligence, whose visits, even if they occasionally necessitated official assistance, were almost invariably a source of pleasure. The case is now very different. Modern facilities have flooded the world with British tourists, often lacking in substance or intelligence, to the majority of whom the consul is a maid-of-all-work, liable to be called upon at any hour of day or night for any conceivable object. He is expected to give information, with a smiling face, as to washing-charges and cab-fares, railway and steamboat routes; to trace missing luggage; to recommend hotels and guides; to give advice as to sight-seeing; to procure not only vouchers for admission to palaces, arsenals, churches, gardens, and museums closed to the general public, but even invitations to large social functions for utter strangers, with nothing but their own assurance to re-

commend them. The climax is, perhaps, reached when an unknown traveller requests the consul, not as a favour, but as a right, to endorse the draft or cheque which a suspicious banker declines to cash without such a guarantee, or even to advance sufficient funds to pay a hotel bill or a steamship fare to the next port. Absurd though it may seem, we believe we may safely say that there is not one British consul, in posts remote from England, who does not experience demands of this nature many times in every year, while his capacity for meeting them may be estimated from the fact that the whole amount allowed by the Foreign Office for the relief of cases of genuine and unmerited distress in every part of the world is 650*l.* per annum, not a shilling of which can be expended by any consul without the fullest justification.

With the officers of his Majesty's Navy consuls are brought into close and constant association. The intimacy which is thus created is one of the pleasantest incidents in their careers; and social intercourse with the intelligent, genial, and well-bred naval officers compensates for many of the rubs that have to be patiently borne from the fussy globe-trotter. It must, at the same time, be admitted that the naval officer places a very liberal construction on the consul's obligation to furnish him at all times with any assistance or information which he may require. If none of his Majesty's ships are in port, the consul is himself Senior Naval Officer. He has to look after men left behind as stragglers, or in hospital or prison; and to send them, in due course, to the nearest ship. He is in frequent telegraphic communication both with the Admiralty and the Commander-in-Chief on his station; and, if the port is a depot for coal or other stores, he is responsible for their due preservation.

We have left to the last the consideration of a consul's duties under the Merchant Shipping Acts, which are discharged under direct supervision not of the Foreign Office but of the Board of Trade, and are constant, varied, and important. They commence immediately with the entry of a British ship into the harbour, when the articles of agreement of her crew, her certificate of registry, and her official log-book are deposited by the master at the consulate. The entries in the log have to be

examined; cases of serious illness or death on board during the voyage have to be carefully investigated and formally reported upon to the Registrar-General of Shipping and Seamen; while, if any casualty, no matter how slight, has befallen the ship, a sail blown away, a boat lost, the slightest collision, the merest suspicion of fire, that again must be enquired into with equal care, and promptly reported in minute detail to the Board of Trade. The last act of the master, when the ship is leaving port, is to obtain his clearance from the consul and to recover the ship's papers deposited on her entry, with a record by the consul of all the changes that have occurred in the crew from any cause during her stay. Without the consul's cognisance, no seaman can be engaged, discharged, or left behind in hospital or prison: nor can any alteration be made in the terms of his agreement; and every case of desertion or absence without leave must be promptly reported to him.

In grave cases the consul has to receive the formal depositions of witnesses, and to see that both accused and witnesses are sent either to England or the nearest British colony. If a serious complaint is made by either master or seaman, or if the crew of a British ship which has been lost arrives at his port, he must summon a Naval Court, conduct and record the proceedings in accordance with intricate regulations, and investigate in public all the circumstances of the complaint or casualty. The court is invested with drastic powers over both master and seamen; and in the latter category it is to be remembered that, with the exception of the master and indentured apprentices, every one employed in the service of the ship is included. Scarcely the smallest dispute between master and men is ever settled without the consul's intervention. To the seaman he is the visible embodiment of the law; and though the consul's punitive powers cannot in fact be directly exercised without the aid of the cumbrous machinery of a Naval Court, not only seamen but even masters, as a rule, have a deeply-rooted belief to the contrary, a belief which materially facilitates the settlement of disputes, the restoration of discipline, and the prevention of fraud. In the case of the great liners belonging to wealthy steamship companies, the consul's aid is now seldom invoked; but it is a very different matter with the 'tramps'

and sailing vessels, belonging to what are known as 'one-ship companies,' in which a large part of our ocean trade is still carried on.

Finally, almost every incident connected with shipping has to be reported in detail either to the Board of Trade or the Registry-General of Seamen; and the mere clerical work of filling up the mass of documents evolved by the ingenuity of the two departments necessitates no small amount of labour. Quarterly accounts, accompanied by vouchers for every shilling of expenditure on behalf of seamen, have to be rendered to the Board of Trade; and woe betide the consul who is unfortunate enough to transgress by one hair's-breadth the limits set by the regulations. If a seaman is reported as a deserter, it is the consul's duty to see that the allegation is true, and that there has been no collusion on the part of the master; while, if one dies, or is left behind in hospital or prison, a detailed inventory must be made of his effects, from his best Sunday suit down to his pocket-knife; and, after careful examination of his wages-account, the balance due to him must be paid to the consul and credited to the Board of Trade.

The duties which we have so far described are those discharged by our consuls all over the world, alike in France and Germany, the United States and the South American republics, the Ottoman Empire and China. But in the last two states, as well as in Siam and Corea, and until very lately in Japan, extraterritorial provisions in the treaties under which our intercourse is conducted deprive the respective governments of their sovereign rights over aliens resident within their dominions. In these countries, therefore, consuls discharge, in addition, very important magisterial and judicial functions, the exercise of which requires a high degree of legal skill and practical and theoretical knowledge of the laws of England. Consular courts are established under Orders in Council at every place in those countries at which there is a consul; and the consul is *ex officio* the judge of the court. As such he is invested with an extensive civil and criminal jurisdiction. The former includes bankruptcy, probate, and lunacy, and is limited only by the exclusion of matrimonial and admiralty cases. With that limitation, it is the consul's duty to try civil cases,

involving any amount or any principle, and often raising abstruse legal points. In most of these countries there are to be found, not only qualified British or American legal practitioners, but journals, owned by Englishmen and edited according to British ideas of a free and independent press, which report every case minutely. No slipshod administration of justice can, therefore, be indulged in with impunity by easy-going or incompetent consuls.

The consul is also sheriff and coroner for his district; and, under the Fugitive Offenders Act, he is sometimes called upon to deal with cases involving very delicate points. In criminal cases he can hear, either summarily or on indictment, all charges of offences within his district which can be adequately punished by a sentence of not more than twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour. If, on the preliminary investigation, it appears that the offence is so serious as to require a heavier penalty, the consul's functions are limited to taking the depositions and the bonds of the necessary witnesses and sending the case for trial before the Supreme Courts, which have been established at Shanghai and Constantinople. To these courts there is also an appeal in all civil cases. These functions require, as we have said, a high degree of legal knowledge; and several consuls who exercise them are, as a fact, members of the English Bar and professionally qualified to discharge such duties. Nor is this all; for in each important consular district there is usually a British gaol, for the proper administration of which the consul is responsible; so that he is gaoler as well as judge, magistrate, coroner, and sheriff.

Finally, to these varied avocations have to be added in many cases functions that would in European countries be called diplomatic. Every consul in the East bears a more or less political character, and is daily engaged in the conduct of negotiations with the native authorities which require all the tact and intimate knowledge of men that are supposed to be the essential qualifications of the trained diplomatist.

We have next to inquire into the methods adopted by the Foreign Office at the present day in its management

of this important service—a matter with regard to which the Foreign Office List for 1903, which has recently appeared, affords us considerable material for forming a judgment. A significant example is given in the preface to this volume of the comparative degree of estimation in which the diplomatic and consular services are held. The list of promotions, retirements, and deaths considered worthy of mention includes only those of diplomatists, those of consuls being entirely ignored; though the retirements included those of Sir John Blunt and Mr Scott, consuls-general who had served the Foreign Office for forty-seven and thirty-four years respectively, and the deaths those of Sir Alexander Gollan, who served in Spanish colonies for over forty years, Mr Hewlett, who was for twenty-seven years an able consul in China, and Mr Borg, who served for nearly forty years in Egypt.

In the Foreign Office List the consular corps falls into three main divisions—'General Service,' 'Ottoman Dominions,' and 'China, Japan, Corea, and Siam.' Its members are classified as agents and consuls-general, commissioners and consuls-general, consuls-general, consuls, vice-consuls, and consular agents; while in the Eastern branches there are also assistants and student-interpreters. The agents and commissioners, eight in number, including the Earl of Cromer, are all resident at posts where their duties must be purely diplomatic. Two are officers of the Indian army; three have risen from the rank of vice-consul, in two instances with great rapidity; two are still members of the diplomatic service. Not one has ever served in a consular capacity at a commercial or shipping port.

In the 'General Service' division there are forty consuls-general; but the most superficial examination of the list shows that considerable deductions must be made before we can form an accurate estimate of the number of such posts open to the service. At least seven consuls-general are members of the diplomatic service, who, like, the agents, retain their relative positions in that service; one is also included in the list of agents; seven are honorary officers, who in five instances are apparently not British subjects; only twenty-five of these important salaried posts are held by *bona fide* members of the consular service. The holders in thirteen instances

rose from the rank of vice-consul, in seven from that of consul; the other five appear to have started on their consular career in this its highest rank.

There are eighty-two consuls in salaried, and fifty in unsalaried posts. We will take the latter first. At Brindisi, Venice, Rome, Geneva, Zurich, Dresden, we are represented only by honorary consuls. Yet there must surely be sufficient British interests, commercial and other, at these places to render the satisfactory discharge of consular duties worthy of adequate remuneration. At Vladivostok, although nine tenths of the shipping in that port is British, we have actually no consul at all. Office allowances are, it is true, granted to several of the unpaid holders; but every shilling of such allowances has to be expended on the general charges of the office, clerk-hire, rent, stationery, postage, etc., and formally accounted for. Formerly it was the recognised custom for unsalaried consuls to retain for their own benefit official fees levied by them; but this perquisite has, we believe, now been withdrawn, and all fees have to be credited to the Foreign Office, with the result that some of these consulates actually return a profit. In many cases, as may be inferred from the names, the unpaid consuls are foreigners. In some, they are native bankers or money-changers, who look for remuneration to the extended custom among British travellers which their nominal office brings to them. The only interest which such persons can take in British trade will generally be an antagonistic one; nor can it be reasonably expected that, when the interests of British subjects come into conflict with those of their own countrymen, the interference of a native-born consul in favour of the former can be very enthusiastic or energetic. The injured British subject is a mere wayfarer, soon gone and forgotten, while the fellow-countryman remains permanently to take advantage of any opportunity that may present itself for requiting in full measure the inconvenience he may have suffered at the hands of a consul so unpatriotic as to place the conscientious discharge of his duty to the foreigner above his national sympathies. Trading consuls are perhaps a necessity. They could not be universally replaced by paid officials without incurring an outlay which cannot be contemplated in the present state of public feeling.

They are perhaps better than none at all, but they are an evil, especially when not British subjects.

Of the eighty-two salaried consuls, two hold somewhat anomalous positions, in that they are salaried officers holding the King's Commission, and are at the same time permitted to trade. Four are officers of the Indian army, holding political posts in direct subjection to the Indian government and paid only by the India Office, and one is in like manner paid by the Colonial Office; these officers cannot, therefore, be strictly considered as employes of the Foreign Office. Of the remaining seventy-five, we find that twenty-four originally entered the service in their present rank. The others first passed through the grade of vice-consul; but there seems to be no attempt whatever to secure anything even remotely approaching uniformity in the length of service in the lower grade. The present consul at Baltimore, for example, was a vice-consul for seventeen years, and had previously served for five years as a clerk in the Consulate-General at New York, where we presume he must have acquired a thorough knowledge of his duties. The consul at Paramaribo, on the other hand, had only three months' experience as a vice-consul, and none at all prior to that. Similar incongruities are plentiful throughout the list.

In the list of vice-consuls we find sixty-six salaried and 437 unsalaried officers; there are also thirty-eight consular agents, all unsalaried. Of the unpaid vice-consuls we need only remark that what we have said in regard to trading consuls applies to this class also. Of the salaried vice-consuls, two are paid by the India Office and six are permitted to trade. The senior on the list has had no less than thirty-three years' experience as vice-consul at the important post of Havre without promotion to the higher rank; yet, as he holds a Royal Commission, has passed the Civil Service examination, and on several occasions has acted as consul-general at his post, it must be assumed that he is a capable officer.

In the General Consular Service, appointments to high office are occasionally made from among those who have previously served as consular clerks. But the usual practice is to select nominees, as vacancies occur, from a list of candidates kept by the Secretary of State, in which are recorded the names of persons known or recommended

to him, and their supposed qualifications for the office. In his choice the Secretary of State is entirely unfettered, except by the regulation that candidates must be between twenty-five and fifty years of age, and by the responsibility which he owes to Parliament and the public—a responsibility which, in the case of consular appointments, can hardly be said to exist. The selected candidates are 'expected' to pass a qualifying examination; that is to say, they must satisfy the Civil Service Commissioners that they can express themselves clearly and correctly in writing, write and speak French correctly and fluently, and communicate directly in the language of the inhabitants with the authorities and natives of the place where they are to reside. For this purpose, German is considered sufficient for all ports in Northern Europe; Spanish or Portuguese for those in Spain, Portugal, Morocco, and Central and South America; Italian for all other Mediterranean and Black Sea ports. They are also examined in 'Colenso's Arithmetic,' and in the principles of mercantile and commercial law, though far less severely than the youthful candidates for student-interpretships in China and Japan.

The whole examination, we must repeat, is merely qualifying, not competitive; and in such conditions a low standard of marks is inevitable. Simple, however, as this ordeal is, it appears to be by no means indispensable, as only thirty-four of the eighty-two salaried consuls, and only thirty-three of the sixty-six salaried vice-consuls have passed it, while the unsalaried officers of both ranks appear to be entirely exempt from it. When the examination has been passed—or dispensed with—the candidate is required, if possible, to attend for at least three months at the Foreign Office in order to become acquainted with the forms of business as carried on there; and he is then supposed to be fully equipped for the efficient discharge of his duties, even if his post be that of a consul-general in a great commercial and shipping port, or an important inland city.

The second branch of the service is that in the 'Ottoman Dominions,' including Turkey, Egypt, Tripoli, Bulgaria, and Crete. It consists of seven consuls-general, fifteen consuls, twenty-three vice-consuls, seven assistants,

and two student-interpreters. These are all permanent officers in the Imperial Civil Service, the majority consisting of men who enter it in their early youth after having passed an open competitive examination of a very searching nature before the Civil Service Commissioners; who have thoroughly learnt, as assistants at the most important consulates, such as Constantinople or Salonica, not only ordinary consular duties, but the laws and languages of the Ottoman Dominions; and who, having served through a long period of probation, are gradually promoted to the higher ranks. The system was only originated in 1877, and is not yet perfect, some officers of the old type still remaining in the service; but as twenty-five out of the forty-five commissioned officers have already passed through this training, and as there is now a sufficient number of qualified assistants to provide for all probable vacancies, it may be hoped that this branch of the consular service will no longer be a subject for the unrestricted exercise of patronage by the Secretary of State, but that it will supply a hopeful career to those who have devoted their lives to it.

Candidates for this branch of the service are examined in Latin, ancient Greek, French, German, Italian, and Spanish—a searching linguistic test—but not in mathematics, geography, précis-writing, or law. After their appointment as student-interpreters, they are required to reside for two years at Oxford or Cambridge, during which they receive an allowance of 200*l.* per annum; and to study, under the control of the Boards which superintend the instruction of the Indian Civil Service students, the Turkish and Arabic languages, and Mussulman law. Persian, modern Greek, and the Slav languages are additional optional subjects. On the satisfactory completion of their course at the university, they are appointed assistants, and are assigned for service either to the missions or the most important consulates in Turkey, Bulgaria, or Egypt. At the end of their first twelve months of service, they are again examined in the language of the country in which they have resided. Twelve months later they are called upon to pass a searching examination in the Civil, Criminal, and Commercial law of Turkey, in International Law, and in the history, language, and system of administration of the country in

which they have resided. They have also to show a general knowledge of the history of the Turkish Empire, and of the treaties that have been concluded between it and foreign powers. Their promotion and subsequent seniority depend on the result of this examination.

This training, assuming that the several examinations are conducted by competent examiners, is as exhaustive and severe as that of the members of the covenanted Civil Service in India. It has, however, one weak point. No provision seems to be made either for instruction or examination of the probationers in one very important element of their future duties, the administration of the law of England in their capacity as judges of the consular courts.

Passing from the Near to the Far East, we come to the third branch of the consular service, a branch which has attained a degree of perfection as yet only hoped for in that in the Ottoman Dominions, and not even contemplated as possible in the General Consular Service. In the Far East the Foreign Office has theoretically aimed at full efficiency, and has succeeded in founding a service of which it may well be proud. This service has given to the country not only some of its best public servants, but has also produced original investigators of great attainments in Oriental philology, history, law, geography, and science. It is no exaggeration to say that, whatever success has attended our diplomacy in the Far East during the past generation has been in large measure owing to the trustworthy and intelligent assistance rendered to the Foreign Office by the members of their consular staff, every one of whom possesses a good knowledge of both the spoken and written languages of the countries in which he resides. Nor is an exact knowledge of the language the only qualification which results from their long training. Living among the people from early youth, associating freely with all classes, from the officials of the imperial courts down to the coolies who draw their *jinrikshas*, studying native sentiment as mirrored in the daily press and in current and past literature, they acquire a spirit of sympathy with native feeling, and a capacity to follow the intricacies of the Oriental mind, which render them of the

highest value, not only as interpreters, but as advisers in almost all diplomatic negotiations.

There are three distinct establishments: China, Japan, and Siam—the service in Corea being recruited from members of the first two. In China there are 6 consuls-general, 17 consuls, 2 vice-consuls, 26 assistants, and 23 student-interpreters; in Japan, 6 consuls, 2 vice-consuls, 9 assistants, and 5 student-interpreters; in Siam, 2 consuls, 2 vice-consuls, 2 assistants, and 4 student-interpreters. All members of this branch enter the service under the same conditions, after having passed an open competitive examination before the Civil Service Commissioners; but their subsequent careers are limited to the country to which they are first appointed, no interchange of *personnel* taking place between the three establishments.

The subjects in which candidates for this branch are examined by the Civil Service Commissioners include Latin, French, and German, *précis*-writing, geography, mathematics, the elements of the criminal law, and the principles of the mercantile and commercial law of England. No part of their probationary period is spent at an English University, the successful candidates being sent direct to the missions at Peking, Tokio, or Bang-kok, to which they are usually attached for at least two years. During this period, they serve in the Chancelleries, side by side with the junior secretaries and attachés of the diplomatic service, thus acquiring a knowledge of official routine and an insight into eastern diplomacy. They are required to pass searching examinations in the language, both written and spoken, the law, history, and geography of the countries in which they reside, and in the provisions of the treaties and Orders in Council which concern them. They are also attached, whenever the exigencies of the service permit, to the staff of his Majesty's Supreme Court in China, where they acquire a practical knowledge of English law; and they are encouraged, though not compelled, while on subsequent leave of absence in England, to undertake a full course of legal study under the supervision of the Civil Service Commissioners, and to be called to the English Bar. Such success has attended the legal portion of their training that there have been already one Chief Justice and three

Judges of the Supreme Court in China, who originally entered the service as student-interpreters; while the general administration of justice, both criminal and civil, in the consular courts, commands unequivocal respect not only from British subjects but from foreigners of other nationalities and from the natives.

From this description of the entry and subsequent training of the members of the two branches of the consular service in the Near and Far East, it will be seen that we have in them a home-made pattern for a general consular service in no sense inferior to that of France, which has long been held up as a model for our imitation by English reformers. Like the French system, it produces men who give to it their entire lives from early youth, and become generally qualified for efficient service in any part of the world, as well as specially fitted for duty in that part to which they were originally appointed. Were the entire consular service modelled after this fashion, and constituted a regular branch of the Imperial Civil Service, it might be hoped that it would cease to be, what it too often is now, a harbour of refuge for retired army officers and for failures whose only recommendation is aristocratic, official, or personal influence, or an easy source of reward for persons to whom the Government of the day is in some way indebted.

Admirable, however, as are the eastern branches, both in training and in *personnel*, service in them seems to be regarded by the Foreign Office as an absolute disqualification for employment in the West; and neither length of service nor the most distinguished and meritorious performance of duty throughout his whole career will obtain for a consul a transfer from an eastern to a western post. It may, doubtless, be reasonably argued that, generally speaking, men specially trained at the public expense for duty in particular spheres should, in the public interest, be confined to those spheres. But, admitting this, occasions arise when men whose health unfits them for continued residence in the East are still fully qualified, both bodily and mentally, for efficient service under less trying climatic conditions—men who are both willing and anxious to continue in the careers to which they have devoted their lives, and who contemplate a life of

enforced idleness, while still in early middle age, with the utmost repugnance. A perusal of the Foreign Office List shows such cases to have actually occurred—cases in which not only have the services of valuable officers been lost to the public, but heavy charges incurred for pensions, no doubt well earned by the recipients, but a totally unnecessary burden on the public purse. The governments of Russia and Germany have to some extent imitated our system of training student-interpreters, but they recognise no limitation of the fields in which the services of the finished product can be utilised. We can conceive no logical justification for the peculiar position which our Foreign Office assumes in this respect, nor any explanation of it, except that a change of system would interfere with its prescriptive rights of unrestrained patronage.

Such, then, being the avenues by which entrance into the consular service is obtained, what chance has the ordinary aspirant of regular promotion, leading ultimately, as a reward for intelligent and long-continued labours, to one of the prizes of his profession? We can only answer that, without that magic charm ‘influence,’ he has very little. To those who do not possess that charm, the words ‘*Lasciate ogni speranza*’ might well be written over the gates of the consular service. In his evidence before the Select Committee of 1870, the late Lord Derby, who had been Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stated that a great deficiency in the consular service is that

‘there is no security that a man who gets into it and does well will be promoted to a better post—no man who enters the service has any assurance that he will get on.’ *

Plenty of examples, if it were advisable to mention names, could be taken from the Foreign Office List, to prove that Lord Derby’s statement is still as true as it was thirty years ago; and that the more recent remarks of two distinguished ex-Under-Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs, which we quoted in the preceding part of this article, have only too good a foundation in actual facts.

On the one hand, men of tried capacity and long

* Commons Paper 382 of 1870, p. 164, question 2238.

service, who have often been called upon to discharge temporarily the highest duties, are suffered to linger on in subordinate posts for ten, twelve, seventeen, or even thirty-three years. On the other hand, men without previous experience or special qualifications, but fortunate in having friends or relatives in high station, soar over the heads of the friendless ones; or perhaps, after serving a short qualifying apprenticeship in a comparatively humble post, are straightway promoted to one of the prizes of the profession. Foreign Office clerks—in one case at least beyond the regulation age—and unpopular members of the diplomatic service, have been appointed, with no better reason, to some of the best posts. Only recently we have seen how a gentleman retiring from Parliament for unknown reasons, at what turned out to be an inopportune moment for the government, was appointed, without any qualifying experience whatever, to the post of consul at an important shipping and commercial port in South America. These things have been done in the face of the opinion expressed by the late Lord Hammond, then Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, before the committee of 1870, who said,

‘I think it would occasion very great and just dissatisfaction in the Consular Service if a diplomatic officer were named consul at one of our large commercial consulates, such as Marseilles or New York, where the salary is high and the position great. There are prizes to be looked for by the Consular Service.’ (Report of Select Committee, part 1.)

We are far from asserting that appointments such as those we have alluded to are always unjustifiable, or that the officials so appointed are necessarily failures. But what we do assert is that such appointments constitute an injustice to hard-working, meritorious officers of long, well-tried experience; that the condition of an important branch of the public service, in which such abuses of patronage pass without comment, cannot be sound; and that such a system does not tend to the satisfactory performance of the duties owed to the state by the members of that service. We have shown that, apart from the General Consular Service, the Foreign Office has at its disposal in the Eastern branches an admirable material which not only makes it unnecessary to go outside the service, but also deprives the Office of any

justification for filling important vacancies from the ranks of untried outsiders.

In these circumstances, it is no matter for surprise if the country has to regret the recent withdrawal of several of the most distinguished members of the consular service in the Far East, who have retired while still in full vigour of mind and with all the advantages of a ripe experience. The commercial reports of these gentlemen have been repeatedly held up for admiration in the Press as affording the strongest evidence of capacity, thought, and industry, and fulfilling most satisfactorily one of the main objects of the service—that of furnishing information and advice to British merchants and manufacturers. The retiring members have, we believe, at various times given public addresses in the Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, and have favourably impressed critical audiences. One has filled with success the office of judge at Shanghai; another has been entrusted with the conduct of many important negotiations in China; a third is recognised as one of the most competent authorities on the mercantile marine.

The ground for retirement in each case was ill health. But a state of health that unfits for continued residence in trying Eastern climates may be compatible, in the case of a man still in the prime of life, with the most energetic discharge of duties in a more temperate zone. Surely it would have been possible to utilise the continued services of these gentlemen elsewhere than in China or Japan. There have been several vacancies in the post of consul-general at important places in Europe and America in the last two years, in any of which the peculiar qualifications of these gentlemen could have been utilised to the great advantage of the public, while the present heavy charges for their pensions would not have been incurred. It may of course be argued that their transfer from a close to an open service would have been unfair to the members of the latter; but this argument cannot be used in the face of recent appointments, in which the claims of existing members have been indiscriminately ignored.

The French consular service affords, in its elaborate organisation and efficient management, a marked contrast to the indifference shown in Great Britain to the

qualifications of persons selected for consular appointments, and the utter disregard of consistency or regularity in subsequent promotion. All French consular officers have a recognised diplomatic status, and the transfer of a consul to a high post in the diplomatic service—that of ambassador is, we believe, the only one absolutely closed to consuls—is by no means a rare occurrence. On the other hand, a man of mark in some other line of life may be appointed directly to a consulate, but this only takes place in exceptional circumstances; and, as a rule, all posts are filled by officials who have risen in the regular way through the successive grades of the service. Probationers (*stagiaires*), who must be under twenty-seven years of age, and either possess a university degree in law, science, or literature, or have served in the army or navy, are nominated by the Minister for Foreign Affairs; and once each year a competitive examination takes place among them for the position of *consul-élève*. The subjects of the examination are international law, political economy, geography, maritime and customs law, and either the English or the German language. The successful candidate must then spend one year at one of the principal chambers of commerce, and furnish periodical reports on the district he selects. He is then attached to an important consulate, where he must serve for at least three years before being eligible for the rank of vice-consul, and for a similar period in each successive grade before being promoted to the rank of consul or consul-general. The Minister for Foreign Affairs is advised in all matters relating to the service, and especially in those affecting the development of trade, by the ‘Comité Consultatif des Consulats,’ which was created by Presidential decree in 1891, and consists of twenty-five members, including Senators and Presidents of Chambers of Commerce. Flagrant jobbery is unknown in the service; and every member of it, who does his duty, can look forward to an assured career and to promotion in his legitimate turn with as much certainty as if he were in the army or navy. The pay is adequate; the consular offices at every large seaport are invested with much outward dignity; and the subordinate staff consists of permanent officials formally assigned to it from Paris, not, as in the English service, of ill-paid clerks, picked up at haphazard by the consul, with only the most remote prospects of advancement in the future, and no interest

in their work beyond that of earning their scanty wages with as little labour as possible.

A review of the present conditions of the consular service will not be complete without a brief consideration of its financial position. We have unfortunately no means immediately available for accurately comparing our own service in this respect with those of other great commercial Powers; it may, however, be generally stated that Great Britain spends a larger aggregate on the service than any other state, excepting perhaps France and the United States; but that the British consul is individually worse paid than his colleague of France, Germany, Russia, or the United States. The latter statement may at first sight appear incorrect in the case of the United States, whose consul-general in London, to take one example, receives a yearly salary of only \$5000, while our representative in New York has more than double this amount. But the emoluments of British consuls *de carrière* are practically limited to their salaries. The amount received by consuls in the way of fees for voluntary services is too insignificant to be taken into consideration as an item of regular income; and the same remark may be applied to certain commissions paid to consuls on account of sums disbursed by them on behalf of the Board of Trade, Admiralty, War, and India Offices. The United States consuls on the other hand are entitled to, and do regularly levy, large personal fees, which, in important consulates, frequently quadruplicate their official salaries, and everywhere form a regular and substantial addition to them.

According to the latest estimates, the total cost to the nation of the entire consular service is 320,324*l.* This includes 650*l.* allowed, as previously mentioned, for the relief of distressed British subjects throughout the world; but the whole is reduced to a net total of 230,742*l.* by appropriations in aid to the amount of 89,582*l.* These appropriations consist of—

Consular fees and fines, General Service	70,250
„ „ China Service	10,475
„ „ Japan and Siam Services	4,450
Contribution from Indian Revenue to diplomatic and consular establishments in China, Siam, and Persia	4,087
Sundry	320
	<hr/>
	89,582

The distinction drawn in the Foreign Office List between the general service and that in the Ottoman dominions is not observed in the estimates; but the total expenditure may be classified as follows:—

Services.	Salaries.	Salaries, Allowances, and Wages.	Office Expenses and Fee Allowances.	General Expenses.	Totals.
General Consular Service . . . }	£ 185,550	£ ..	£ 75,544	£ 18,550	£ 229,644
Services in China .	..	52,821	..	12,221	65,042
Services in Japan and Siam . . . }	..	19,659	..	5,979	25,638
					320,324

The miscellaneous expenses include, in the General Service, outfits and travelling, postage, incidentals, chapels, hospitals, etc.; and in China, Japan, and Siam, legation guards—which is not a consular outlay at all—outfits and travelling, rent allowances, postage, incidentals, prison expenses, medical attendance, etc. All consular officers in the Far East receive medical attendance, but not medicine, at the government expense; and are either provided with official residences or receive allowance in lieu thereof on a scale of one sixth of their salaries. Their retiring pensions are calculated on the basis of salary and rent allowance. In the year 1872, that of the latest select committee, the net expenditure on our consular service throughout the whole world exceeded 200,000*l.* In 1902 it had increased to 226,606*l.*; and the estimate for the current year is, as we have shown, 230,742*l.* The commerce and industry of England, the main sources of its wealth, with which the consular service is indissolubly associated, have during this period of thirty years steadily and constantly grown. Our foreign trade is now nearly twofold what it was in 1872, our shipping tonnage fully threefold. Yet the net increase in our whole expenditure on the consular services throughout the world is only 30,000*l.*; while the increase in the mere routine duties performed by consuls may be estimated by the fact that the amount of fees levied for official services and credited to the government in the General Consular Service, exclusive of China, Japan, and Siam, in which

the ratio of increase is probably greater, has grown from 30,000*l.* to over 70,000*l.* Taking seventeen of the best posts in the General Service, we find that the salaries paid to individual consuls range from 2250*l.* (New York) to 800*l.* (Marseilles); but New York is exceptional, the salary in no other post exceeding 1400*l.* In the special services, in the Near and Far East, the salaries paid in fourteen important posts range from 1500*l.* (Shanghai) to 800*l.* (Constantinople).

The thirty-one posts referred to are the best on the list. Members of the service obtain them only, if at all, after long and meritorious labours, extending over many years; but they are frequently, as we have shown, conferred on outsiders, to the exclusion of those already on the establishment. Is it possible to assert that remuneration on this scale is an adequate return for the services expected from a consul during a life of exile, it may be in unhealthy and trying climates, and in countries where the ordinary expenses of living are on a far higher scale than in England, where there are no educational facilities for his children, and where he is himself compelled to incur heavy expense in costly passages to and from England when considerations of health or other good reasons force him to take leave of absence? No compassionate allowances, as in the military, naval, and Indian services, are granted to consuls' widows and children, except, in very rare cases, doles from the ordinary civil list; and some provision for families must therefore be made during the lifetime of the head, often in countries where the rates of life insurance are far in excess of those in England. Nor must it be forgotten that, wherever his post is situated, a consul is obliged to maintain at his own expense the dignity and social position proper to the holder of an important and respected office in a foreign land, while the demands on his hospitality and charity are frequent, and practically inevitable. Finally, the cost of living has increased and the standard has been raised during the last generation all over the world; but, except in isolated instances, consular salaries remain precisely as they were twenty or thirty years ago.

In these circumstances, it is surprising that men of education, refinement, ability, tact, and courage, such as many of our consuls undoubtedly are, should be

willing to devote themselves to a career which, at its best, offers no higher pecuniary rewards than those we have quoted. It speaks well for them that, as a class, they are conscientious in the discharge of their duties; and that in every part of the world, however crushed they may be by the wearing anxiety of a perpetual struggle to keep up appearances, they worthily maintain in their lives and conduct the best traditions of English gentlemen and responsible servants of the imperial government.

We have endeavoured to lay before our readers a plain unvarnished description of the British consular service as it now is, without making a single statement that cannot be verified from the Foreign Office List, the estimates, or other official publications. We claim to have shown that the whole system stands in urgent need of thorough reform; and that need was never so great as to-day, when our commerce is threatened on all sides, as it never has been before, by active, enterprising, and intelligent rivals. The materials for that reform are ready to hand. We have shown that the expenditure on the service has not kept pace with the greatly increased demands made on its members, the rapidly growing interests of the Empire, or the large rise in the cost of the necessaries of life throughout the world; and we assert that public economy has in this particular instance been carried to a point at which it ceases to be compatible with efficiency, and becomes the worst form of extravagance. But we have also shown that, even if no addition is made to the present parsimonious votes, the nation should and can obtain a better, far better, return for its outlay than it now gets. It is the management that is in fault; and Parliament will fail in its duty to the public if it continues to maintain, in the face of recent events and permanent conditions, the apathetic indifference which has hitherto marked its attitude towards the laches of the Foreign Office.

Art. XIII.—LONDON EDUCATION AND THE ACT OF 1902.

1. *Statutes . . . passed in 1902, with Notes, incorporated Enactments, and selected Statutory Rules.* By J. M. Lely, Barrister-at-Law. London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1903.
2. *The Education Act, 1902.*

THE recent enactment of a law which deals comprehensively with the whole subject of education, both primary and secondary, is a notable fact in our national history, and is fraught with consequences of vital importance. What those consequences will be cannot be fully or wisely estimated until the heat of last session's controversies shall have abated, and until some experience of the actual working of the Act shall have been gained. But it is not inopportune to attempt a brief retrospect and an estimate of what has already been effected by the new Act and of what it has failed to do. It is especially desirable to discuss the bearing of that Act on the problem which yet awaits solution, and to consider how far the principles which have already received the sanction of Parliament can be applied to meet the requirements of education in the metropolis.

When the government decided to take in hand the task of reconstructing the educational fabric, they had before them the fact that Mr Forster's Act of 1870 had, on the whole, worked satisfactorily. It had covered the country with primary schools, every one of which was furnished with qualified teachers, and was subject to the rules of the central Board of Education and regularly visited by its officers. It had enlisted the co-operation of all the religious bodies which had founded elementary schools, and it distributed public aid to them on conditions which were generally acceptable. But the reports of the Schools' Inquiry Commission, of the Technical Instruction Commission, and of the Commission presided over by Mr Bryce, had called public attention to the fact that, while the elementary education of the country had been satisfactorily organised, the advanced education needed by those whose children do not use the primary schools, but occupy the whole field between those schools and the universities, remained still in a chaotic and in-

complete state, controlled, in part, by endowed foundations, by joint-stock companies, by religious bodies, by municipalities, by private enterprise, and by other voluntary agencies, sometimes in rivalry or even in hostility to each other, but unconnected and wholly inadequate to the national needs. Some very intelligible alarm was caused by the evidence of our deficiencies in the technical and scientific training which is needed for skilled industry, and by the suspicion that, owing to the superiority of such training in other countries, England was losing ground in the markets of the world. And this alarm served to reinforce the demand which was made by other persons who were less concerned with material interests, but who, on grounds such as Matthew Arnold had so long and persistently advocated, were in sympathy with his favourite plea—‘One thing is needful: organise your secondary education.’

Accordingly the general expectation favoured the prospect of a measure which should aim mainly at the completion of the national system by adding to it a systematic provision for intermediate and higher instruction, and linking it on to the existing work of the Board of Education, which, within its own sphere, was generally believed to have served its purpose well, and to need little or no essential modification. A measure thus limited in its scope, and framed on the lines of the Report of the Secondary Education Commission, would probably have been accepted with little or no difficulty. But other considerations determined the government to embark on a bolder enterprise and to fashion a scheme which superseded much of the existing machinery and involved a complete reconstruction of the whole edifice of public instruction from top to bottom. Two reasons were assigned for this resolve. The first was the general desire for unity of administration, and for bringing all departments of education under the control of one authority in each district. It was believed that the Scottish system of universal school-boards, each of which has cognisance of both primary and secondary instruction in its own district, was inapplicable to England; and that the constitution of English school-boards hardly justified the extension of the powers of those bodies beyond the domain of elementary instruction. Moreover, the recog-

dition of two rating authorities would needlessly complicate the local administration and produce overlapping and other inconveniences. A second reason for the introduction of the measure was of graver importance and more sure to excite controversy. Many of the supporters of the government had viewed with concern the increasing difficulty of maintaining in efficiency the schools controlled by the Church of England; and the occasion seemed opportune for placing the relations of those schools to the state on a surer and more permanent basis.

It might have been inferred from the terms of the abortive Bill of 1901 that the establishment of a new authority to deal with secondary and technical education alone would be the chief object of the new legislation; but the operation of the Bill was extended so as to give additional strength and permanence to the principle of denominational instruction. Provision was made for lightening, if not removing, the pecuniary pressure on denominational managers, while leaving to those managers a majority of two thirds in the future government of the schools, on the easy condition of maintaining the fabric. There was also a provision which favoured the establishment of new schools of the voluntary or 'non-provided' class, and virtually discouraged the building of new 'provided' schools of the board-school type. At the same time the government proposed that an additional grant of 1,300,000*l.* should be made from the imperial exchequer in relief partly of rates and partly of those voluntary subscribers who would be charged with the maintenance of the fabric.

Nevertheless, the hopes of those who desired additional means and influence for denominational teaching were not entirely realised either in the framing or in the progress of the Bill. For the Cowper-Temple clause, which forbids the teaching of distinctive creeds and catechisms in the provided schools, was not repealed; and the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Education introduced into section 4 (higher education) a provision extending the principle of that clause to all schools, colleges, or hostels which might be provided for secondary education. Further, a new clause, section 7 (5), was accepted by the government, enacting that in non-provided schools 'assistant teachers and pupil teachers may be appointed, if it

is thought fit, without reference to religious creed or denomination,' thus leaving all religious tests applicable to head teachers only. Finally, the government accepted the Kenyon-Slaney clause, section 7 (6), which provides simply that the religious instruction shall be 'under the control of the managers,' that is to say, of a mixed body, of whom the majority are almost necessarily laymen. These modifications in the original scheme of the government were obviously distasteful to a small number of its supporters; but they greatly facilitated the passing of the Bill through Parliament, and its ultimate acceptance by public opinion.

An effort was, however, made by the advocates of more definite religious teaching to compensate for these losses by a new and untried device known as the 'right of entry,' by means of which all aided schools, whether provided or non-provided, might be visited by ministers of religion to give denominational instruction according to the wishes of the parents. A motion to this effect by Lord Hugh Cecil was rejected in the House of Commons by a decisive majority (243 to 57). An attempt made by Lord Halifax to secure the same object by means of 'external facilities' for the teaching of creeds and catechisms in neighbouring churches and chapels during the school hours failed in the House of Lords; and a compromise proposed by Lord Lytton, permitting the various religious bodies to use the class-rooms of the provided schools after school hours, met with a similar fate.

Each of these proposed courses would have been open to very grave objections. Kindly people of all parties have welcomed such proposals at first under the impression that it was fair to the sects all round to give them a footing in the municipal or public schools. But it is needful to remember that, in those countries in which such an arrangement prevails, the social and religious conditions differ materially from our own. In Canada, in Ireland, in Switzerland, and in Germany, the inhabitants are all known to be either Catholics or Protestants; and there is generally provision for two different forms of religious teaching to correspond to this distinction. In each case there is a creed-register of parents. No such register exists in this country, or would be tolerated, if an attempt were made to form one.

There is no machinery for ascertaining the diverse wishes of parents in regard to the specific dogmatic instruction they may prefer, or for giving effect to those wishes when ascertained. The introduction of specialists representing the interests of different religious parties would, on any conditions, tend to destroy the unity of a school's work, and seriously weaken the just influence of the teacher; and it would bring prominently before the minds of young children sectarian differences of which they do not know, and need not at present know, the meaning.

Nor is there any reason to suppose that the parents desire that any such 'facilities' should be offered to them. In country places where there is but one school, and that a school in which all the religious teaching is of a distinctively church character, the Nonconformists have, it is urged, a real grievance; for questions relating to godfathers and godmothers and the sacraments are clearly inapplicable to the children of Nonconformist parents; and the learning by heart of the Catechism is not unreasonably objected to as an unreal performance, wholly ineffective even for the purpose for which it was designed. In a wise and conciliatory address delivered by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Winchester diocesan conference in October last, a suggestion was made which would go far to remove these difficulties. The Archbishop said:

'I should desire to give an undertaking that in our Church schools the time-table of religious teaching should be so arranged and published as to show clearly on what day or days alone any class was taught our religious formularies, so that parents might readily know how to withdraw their children from that specific lesson should they so desire.'

The Bishop of St David's, in like manner, discusses proposals for a Welsh educational compromise.

'I hope' (he said) 'before very long to confer with the Diocesan Board of Education as to the best way of fixing, for the convenience of Nonconformist parents, the hours in the week in which the Bible, the Catechism, and the Prayer-book will be respectively taught in Church schools; and for arranging, as far as may be practicable, alternative Scripture lessons for children whose parents desire them, during the hours in which Church children are taught the two subsidiary textbooks of the Church.'

The adoption of these suggestions in rural districts would prove very acceptable to Nonconformist parents. They say in effect that they do not wish to exclude their children from the biblical teaching or religious influences of a good school; still less do they desire to send their own ministers into it to give lessons on Nonconformity; although they are naturally unwilling that their children should receive distinctive lessons in churchmanship. Such an arrangement as the two prelates propose needs no public legislation to give it sanction. It could easily, under the present law, be effected by a considerate and friendly adjustment of duties between the non-provided schools and the local authority. It would make the adoption of the 'right of entry' plan wholly unnecessary in the 'one-school districts.'

Still, less is there any need or demand for that plan in towns in which parents have a choice of schools. In the London educational area there are denominational schools within reasonable distance available for all persons who desire them. Such schools may be classified as follow:—

Denominations.	No. of Schools.	Accommodation.	Average attendance.
Church of England	353	157,503	131,380
Roman Catholic	105	40,111	27,700
Wesleyan	18	7,227	5,149
Miscellaneous, Jewish, British, etc. .	40	13,535	11,101
Total of non-Board-schools . . .	516	218,376	175,330
Board-schools	465	565,325	462,840

The net result of the Act, and of the various parliamentary discussions and decisions which attended its progress, has been to give increased stability to the class of schools heretofore called 'voluntary,' to preserve their distinctively denominational character, and to relieve their managers from much financial anxiety. But on the other hand, it must be owned that, in deference to a very general demand for what is known as 'popular control,' the status of such schools has considerably altered. Paro-

chial boundaries and traditions count for less than of yore in our social system; and the theory that the clergyman of the parish is the authorised chief of all its religious agencies, though not without beautiful and venerable associations, cannot possibly be accepted as a basis for the organisation of national education in a democratic community. These inevitable changes, however, have not been without substantial though perhaps undesigned compensations. They have in one direction restricted the sphere of a clergyman's influence, but in another they have greatly enlarged it. He can no longer claim the position of an autocrat; but he can be, and generally is, an influential member of a school-board or other local authority. He is frequently appointed chairman; and he discovers that association with laymen, some of whom may be Nonconformists, in the performance of an important public duty increases and widens his knowledge of the people, and greatly multiplies his opportunities of public usefulness. It should be no small satisfaction to a minister of religion who finds himself relieved from the burden of the sole management of a parochial school, to find also that he has thus become able to co-operate with his neighbours, and to take a larger share in the civilisation and the public life of the community. His character and position will justify him in watching with special interest the religious teaching which is given, not only in the non-provided, but in the provided school. He will, as a manager, or as a member of a local committee, have it in his power to see that the religious instruction given in the provided school, under the restrictions of the Cowper-Temple clause, is thorough and effective, and he will be better able to know to what extent such instruction may be most wisely supplemented in church or in catechetical exercises on Sunday for the children of his own communion.

Here is a very significant passage from the last annual address of Lord Reay, the chairman of the London School Board:—

‘The fact that clergy of all denominations have always been represented on the School Board . . . is hardly compatible with the assertion that only mental, and not moral, improvement is foremost in the work conducted in the schools of the Board. Of the total number of managers, 848 are clergymen of the

Church of England, and 185 are Nonconformist ministers, making a total of 488, or nearly 24 per cent. The total number of groups of managers is 188: of these, 55 have chairmen who are clergymen, and 9 have chairmen who are Nonconformist ministers, making a total of 64, or nearly 35 per cent.; and these chairmen are elected by the groups. In some cases the clergymen who are managers of our schools are also managers of voluntary schools. During the existence of this Board 63 clergymen, 17 Nonconformist ministers, and 4 Catholic priests have found seats upon it. . . . The fact that they owe their position on the Board to election, and on the groups of managers to selection, inevitably tends to increase the value of their beneficent co-operation.'

That in all parts of the country the ministers of religion are showing their willingness to take an active part with the laity in administering the school system is a fact of happy augury. In this matter our country differs essentially from France and the United States; for in neither is the co-operation of the clergy in the management of the state schools provided for or expected. Under the new Act the clergy will not, it is true, speak with the same authority as that of the members of directly elected school-boards; and they will regard themselves as precluded not less by professional duties than by their own tastes and aptitudes from becoming candidates for seats on the county councils. But in any recast of the educational authority for the metropolis it is essential that the importance of retaining the services of that class of the community who by sympathy, and by the nature of their special responsibilities, are most closely concerned with the moral and social advancement of the people, should be steadily borne in mind.

The preoccupation of Parliament and of public opinion with questions relating to the machinery of education, to the authority which should control the schools from without, and to the adjustment of rival claims, ecclesiastical and municipal, has grievously hindered any adequate consideration of the problems which affect the deeper character and ultimate aims of education itself. Of improvement in teaching, of the adoption of new methods, of a raised standard of excellence in the schools themselves, we have heard little. What is it, after all,

that a good school ought to be and to do? What are the relations which ought to subsist between its work and that of the outside world—the family life, the industrial life, the life of the citizen and of the state? How could our schools do more than is done in them at present to equip their pupils for a righteous, intelligent, and useful life? These questions, however, seldom occur in public discussions; and, when they do, they are apt to be submerged by a rolling flood of party controversies. Yet they lie at the basis of the whole problem; and they must be better heeded by statesmen and parents and public writers before we can hope to reach a completely satisfactory system.

For example, there is as yet no generally accepted conclusion as to the respective provinces of primary, secondary, higher, and technical instruction; and the Act does little or nothing to make the distinction clearer. By implication, primary instruction includes the ordinary work of elementary day-schools up to the age of fifteen; but all evening schools, higher-grade and continuation schools, and pupil-teacher classes for central instruction, are assumed by the Act to belong to the region of 'higher education.' This distinction is not very intelligible, and would prove embarrassing in practice, were it not for the fact that the whole organisation, in both its departments, is to be placed in the hands of one local authority. In so far as rating is concerned, however, the Act leaves that authority in this anomalous position, that, while the amount which may be available for primary schools is not limited, and may in London, for example, continue at its present rate of 14·66*d.* in the pound, the sum leviable for all the purposes contemplated under the name of 'higher education' is restricted to twopence in the pound (about 348,766*l.* per annum), in addition to the produce of the 'Whisky money.' But the revenue derived from the Customs and Excise Act is already appropriated and so judiciously applied by the Technical Education Committee of the London County Council, to Polytechnics, to the improvement of scientific instruction in secondary schools, to science scholarships, and to the Council's promising training-college, that it can hardly be regarded as an asset available for any other of the purposes included under the head of higher education when London becomes the

subject of special legislation. This will be evident from a bare enumeration of the following details of last year's expenditure of the annual sum of 180,000*l.*, being the portion of the beer and spirit duties appropriated by the London County Council for the purposes of technical education.

	£	s.	d.
Technical departments of polytechnics, equipment and maintenance	37,404	13	8
Technical departments of institutions of higher education	3,800	0	0
Technical schools	21,015	1	7
Technical departments of secondary day-schools	26,626	17	7
County scholarships	30,588	2	6
Teaching in science, art, and manual instruction	13,988	11	1
Domestic economy	7,038	16	2
Commercial teaching	2,711	1	8
Technical museums	248	19	9
Government grants, payments on account of grants for instruction in science and art	20,471	17	5
Administration, etc.	8,403	11	3
	<hr/> £172,297 12 8		

It is hardly to be supposed that when the future education authority for London comes into the possession of this valuable asset it will desire to appropriate it to any other or better uses than those just enumerated. The main resource for all the other purposes contemplated in Part II of the Act must therefore be limited to the fees of parents and to the twopenny rate. The curious arrangement whereby evening schools and pupil-teacher classes are relegated to the province of 'higher' or secondary education is evidently traceable to the effect of the famous Cockerton judgment, which declared that the expenditure of money derived from the rates on such objects was *ultra vires* on the part of the Board. But such expenditure has always been within the power of the government in dispensing the parliamentary grant, and has been sanctioned and regulated by the authorised Code of the Education Department from the outset. Hence judges and politicians were solemnly puzzling themselves over such questions as the fitness of certain subjects to be included under the term elementary education, and the many subtle and ingenious ways in which the true limits of secondary instruction had been overstepped. Although nobody sought to prove that the principle of the Cockerton judgment should be made applicable to Parlia-

ment in voting its annual grants, a vague impression was left that local bodies ought to be restrained from applying rates to the same purposes as that grant, and thus from carrying into full effect the Code of regulations they were bound to administer.

What the view of the Education Department has long been on this subject may best be gathered from the instructions which are annually addressed to his Majesty's inspectors. In effect, those officers have been told that, while certain elementary matters were indispensable, other subjects calculated to broaden the intelligence of the children and to increase their interest in learning and in future self-improvement, might fitly be added to the modest curriculum; that there was intentionally a considerable variety of choice left to the discretion of teachers and managers; that it was desirable to encourage a full use of this discretion; and that in doing so there was no danger of any encroachment on the proper province of secondary instruction, so long as the teaching was appropriate and well adapted to the intellectual needs of the scholars.

The true and effective distinction between elementary and higher education is not founded on consideration of the subjects taught, but on the fitness of the instruction to the age of the pupils, and to the probable duration of their school life. A scheme of instruction designed for those who will leave school at fourteen or fifteen is primary. A school for those who will stay till sixteen or seventeen, and who will enter commerce, the civil service, or the minor professions, is a secondary or intermediate school. A school which retains its scholars till eighteen or nineteen, and prepares them to enter the universities, is a high or academic school. Whatever can be taught soundly and without pretentiousness within these limits of age falls properly within the range of the several schools. But there will ever be, and ought to be, variations in type among those even of the same class. To attempt to differentiate schools solely according to the subjects they teach is to stereotype the educational ideals of one generation, and, by labelling institutions as 'grammar' schools, 'science' schools, 'commercial' schools or 'technical' schools, to assume that one particular form of instruction is for all time to be empha-

sised as the staple of its educational work. It is difficult to think without vexation of the wasted time and resources expended on hundreds of endowed foundations which, because they were founded as 'grammar' or 'classical' schools, continued during three centuries to regard themselves as pledged to spend time in teaching Latin and Greek—that is to say, in teaching what was neither needed nor demanded—and, at the same time, as entitled to quote the bequest of the 'pious founder' as a reason for failing to teach what was demanded and needed much more.

The current terminology implies that there are three departments of public education—primary, secondary, and technical. Unfortunately this distinction has received some encouragement from the official language adopted in distributing the work of the Board of Education among its officers. But to treat these three departments as co-ordinate is illogical and not a little misleading. The last designation, the somewhat ill-defined term 'technical,' has laid hold of the public imagination, because it is generally supposed to connote some new kind of learning which will help to revive our waning industries, and bring with it some commercial advantage in the markets of the world. But it is not entitled to rank as a third and co-equal department in the general organisation of national education. If by 'technical instruction' in its larger sense is meant some training of the eye and hand by other than book-methods, some knowledge of the sciences on which skilled industry depends, deftness in the use of tools and scientific instruments, appropriate physical exercise, some discipline in drawing, in observation, in first-hand acquaintance with the laws and phenomena of nature, then 'technical instruction' should find a place in all schemes of instruction from the kindergarten to the university. In this larger sense it appears in the schemes of Milton, Comenius, and Locke. But the proportions in which these ingredients should be mixed in a school curriculum will vary greatly. In many schools the subjects will be pursued mainly as instruments of general education, and as entitled, with the ordinary studies in language, history, and mathematics, to a due proportion of the time allotted to instruction. In continuation and higher-grade schools they will claim a

larger and often a predominant share in the scheme; while in Polytechnics and in schools specially designed for apprentices and artisans they will form the staple of the instruction and discipline, though never, it may be hoped, without some substantial recognition of the claims of the humanities, and of the 'life that is more than meat.' Special classes and departments may fitly be added for manual training, for domestic economy, for other instruction, such as may be called for by local circumstances and needs; but they should be organically attached either to a primary or to a secondary school; and, although the subjects may be called technical, the school, as an institution, would be wrongly designated a 'technical' school.

Whether the evening continuation schools and the higher-grade schools are officially placed in the category of primary or that of secondary institutions, it is of the last importance, in reconstructing the educational system of London, that they should be maintained in increasing efficiency, for they are among the most valuable and hopeful agencies in the metropolis. They supply a motive for continuing the studies of a youth at the critical time when he is leaving the day-school, with the appetite for knowledge quickened but not yet satisfied, and with many distracting influences tempting him to postpone all further application to a distant date, which possibly may never arrive. The London School Board has shown singular zeal and ability in the way in which it has sought to meet this need. At the beginning of 1903 its ordinary evening schools were attended by 39,465 fee-paying scholars and 6549 free scholars. Commercial classes, art and science schools, in all of which fees are paid, raised the total to 55,895. The Board has been blamed for making the instruction in so many cases gratuitous; and there is no doubt that in its anxiety to extend its usefulness to a class which is in sore need of help, and in making special efforts to render the evening schools attractive, the Board somewhat strained its legal powers. In view of the large public interests, financial and other, which are concerned, we may not forget that, while it is reasonable that the state should provide instruction gratuitously up to the age limit at which attendance is compulsory, it is not equally clear that the public should be solely responsible for providing

the means of further self-improvement to those who have been freely instructed in the necessary elements, and who are now presumably earning part of their own living. Such persons fully deserve encouragement and help ; but it is good for them, as well as for the community, that they should, by the payment of moderate fees, take part of the responsibility upon themselves. In doing this they afford the best guarantee of the seriousness of the demand for advanced instruction ; otherwise they are prone to set a low value on the evening school, and to treat carelessly what is provided gratuitously. They are also tempted to consider the recreative side of the school course as its chief attraction. The late Vice-president of the Council denounced with pitiless candour the ample supply of gymnastics and amusements in the Board's evening schools. There was some exaggeration in his statement ; but he was fully entitled to make a protest. An evening school should be planned on the hypothesis that all the members have some serious purpose in attending ; and grants of public money are to be justified on this hypothesis only. A generous system of 'free places,' obtainable by scholars of exceptional merit, or open only to those who have obtained a suitable leaving certificate from school, may very properly be provided at the expense of the rates ; but all other students may be reasonably expected to contribute their share of the needed funds.

One of the least satisfactory episodes in the history of the Act of 1902 was the discussion which resulted in the enactment of clause 13 (2) relating to endowments applicable to public elementary schools. The clause in its final form is as follows :—

'Any money arising from an endowment and paid to a county council for those purposes of a public elementary school for which provision is to be made by the council, shall be credited by the council in aid of the rate levied for the purposes of this part of this Act in the parish or parishes which, in the opinion of the council, are served by the school for the purposes of which the sum is paid, or, if the council so direct, shall be paid to the overseers of the parish or parishes in the proportions directed by the council and applied by the overseers in aid of the poor-rate levied in the parish.'

Very little time or argument was expended upon this clause; and it passed through both Houses with scarcely any difficulty, owing to the pressure of topics which challenged more debate. But the principle of the clause is one of serious significance, and is wholly inconsistent with the policy hitherto sanctioned by Parliament in regard to endowments.

The Schools' Inquiry Commissioners of 1865, at the end of their elaborate investigation into the history and condition of educational foundations, reported that there were about 3000 endowed schools in England and Wales, 782 of which, being classical or semi-classical, and being intended to give higher than elementary education, came therefore within the purview of the Commission as secondary or grammar schools; while the rest, to the number of upwards of 2000, were practically elementary schools. In commenting on these the Commissioners said:

'Some of these two thousand endowments are now paid to a primary school supported mainly by subscriptions. If the school is aided by a government grant, the amount of the grant is reduced, and the endowment is thus really applied in relief of the general body of the taxpayers. But others maintain an independent primary school, and independence in such a case frequently involves a waste of money, a lack of proper control, and exemption from the salutary visits of an inspector.'

Numerous cases were cited showing that, even in 1865, the possession of a local endowment often hindered rather than helped the education of a parish, since by its gratuitous character the endowed school sometimes damaged a good parochial school, and sometimes prevented the establishment of one, while it received scholars of the same social class, and generally gave an inferior education.

In the twentieth century it is still more obviously true that an endowed elementary school is as complete an anachronism as an endowed workhouse or police-station. Now that the law recognises the obligation of the state to make provision for gratuitous elementary instruction in every district in England, any other provision for this particular purpose is clearly superfluous.

To use the endowment as a substitute for rates or subscriptions is to make a present of it to ratepayers and subscribers, and to give no advantage whatever to the children of the poor, for whom, and for whom only, the founder intended it. Hence the problem presented to the statesman is, how to give to the endowed town or village some special educational advantage which the ordinary operation of the law would not give. The Inquiry Commissioners were thus led to recommend that, in many cases, the money should be employed in the foundation of scholarships, or other aids to the advancement of education. And the successive Commissioners who have, during more than thirty years, been entrusted with the administration of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, have, in framing schemes under that Act, adopted the wise recommendations of their predecessors, and have sought to utilise local endowments, originally intended for the supply of free education, for purposes as nearly as possible akin to that intention. At the same time they have endeavoured to secure for the class which the founder intended to benefit some exceptional advantages, e.g. a fund for supplying scholarships tenable at higher schools, or for apprenticing and placing out scholars of unusual diligence and promise; a larger and better school library; the provision of additional apparatus or an additional teacher, so that the best scholars, if they lived far from a secondary school, might receive in their own village advanced instruction, and thus be induced to remain a year beyond the ordinary age.

All these and other educational luxuries such as future experience may show to be desirable, fall strictly within the true province of an educational endowment, and would fulfil, in a way exactly adapted to our changing modern needs, the benevolent intentions of the founder. It is not likely that, for a long time to come, the state and the local authorities will be able to apply rates and taxes to these supplemental purposes. Beneath all the varieties of social conditions there is latent among our youth at the time of leaving school a desire for knowledge which needs only to be wisely stimulated and encouraged to become a source of boundless strength, safety, and enlightenment to the community. And when the educational authorities of the future are able to discover new

ways of fostering this love of knowledge they will find it an advantage to avail themselves of the one special fund which ancestral piety has placed at their disposal, and which may be earmarked to provide for new exigencies and to meet obligations other than those which could properly be imposed upon the rate-paying public.

There is thus in clause 13 an ominous departure from the principle which the best authorities have always advocated in regard to educational endowments. In the discussion on this clause in the Commons, Mr Henry Hobhouse pointed out with great clearness and force the true significance of a provision which handed over a local educational trust to the relief of the poor-rate or the school-rate. He argued that the income should be used for the parish in some such way as to improve its education, and that the power of framing schemes under the Endowed Schools Act, and of adapting them to the needs of the inhabitants, should be retained by the Board of Education. His amendment was rejected; and with it disappeared whatever advantage the poor might have drawn from a fund intended for their special benefit. Thus a great opportunity for settling local endowments on an equitable and useful basis has been lost.

It would be disastrous to extend the operation of the 13th clause to the London Bill. The metropolis is singularly rich in parochial charities. Even in the restricted area of the City proper, Mr Bryce's Commission found funds enough devoted to obsolete or mischievous uses to yield a total capital of 1,590,442*l.* After deducting all that portion of this capital fund which was, by the instrument of foundation, destined to ecclesiastical purposes, there remained a sum sufficient to provide 155,000*l.* for the purchase of open spaces in the suburbs of London, and 149,500*l.* for the erection of Polytechnics, and also to reserve a capital sum yielding 50,000*l.* per annum, partly for the maintenance of the Polytechnics, and partly for aiding kindred institutions such as the working men's and working women's colleges, school libraries, equipment for science and laboratory classes, and the like. This great boon to the young men and women of the artisan class has been rendered possible by economising effete endowments. It would not have been available had the whole of such endowments been cast into one pool

for the benefit of the London ratepayers. Outside the City proper there are many parochial charities which, originally expended in doles, Christmas gifts, bread left on the tombstone or thrown from the church tower, have been appropriated to elementary education, and have for years been received by managers as if they formed part of the voluntary contributions. For example, in the single parish of Paddington, money derived from freehold estate, and from enfranchised copyhold, amounts in all to the sum of 1060*l.* per annum, and has been distributed by the parochial trustees among the national schools. The distribution was, in most cases, settled by order of the Court of Chancery before the Act of 1870, at a time when nearly all the elementary parish schools were what are now to be called 'non-provided,' and when the only purpose served by the grant was, not to make the school better, but to reduce, *pro tanto*, the necessity for voluntary subscriptions. It is manifest that what is here wanted is first, a careful and thorough enquiry into the nature and extent of the parochial endowments, similar in its scope to that which took place in the City in 1883; a small committee of the local authority should then be told off for the express purpose of making a diagnosis of the local resources, and afterwards adopting some coherent and yet elastic plan for applying the charities to the varied educational needs of the several parishes.

It is cheering to record that, even among communities in which there was serious opposition to the Act, there has been a very general desire to carry it loyally into effect, and to make its provisions work with as little friction as possible. Clause 17 of the Act defines the powers and constitution of the education committees in very general terms, and leaves the composition of each committee to be settled in detail by schemes to be framed by the county councils. We have now before us returns from nearly all the counties in England showing how the requirements of the Act have been interpreted. The number of members in the councils varies from 50 to 138; and the number on the education committees from 20 to 70, Lancashire, with 72, and Worcester, with 76, being the only counties with larger numbers. In every case there is a clear majority of councillors on the com-

mittee. The number of additional members placed on the committees by co-optation varies from 6 in Lincoln and Northampton to 20 in Gloucester and 21 in Hertford. In many counties, notably Hertford, West Sussex, Oxford, Hampshire, East Sussex, Shropshire, Cornwall, Cumberland, Lincolnshire, the co-opted members are appointed on the direct responsibility of the councils themselves. In some others the council is guided by the recommendations of various local bodies interested in education, such as voluntary and other schools associations, the governing bodies of colleges and grammar schools, provincial colleges of university rank, and teachers' associations; and in a few cases the power has been given to such outside bodies to elect and nominate members of the education committee.

The precise amount of authority to be entrusted to the education committee by the councils is not perfectly clear from the language of the statute (clause 17); but the general intention is plainly that, while the county council is to be the rating authority, and therefore the supreme authority over finance, and is also to control the choice of the education committee, that committee shall, nevertheless, possess real and effective power. Hence the right selection of the members is a matter of vital import. The members should possess leisure, education, the public confidence, and, above all, a genuine interest in popular progress and in the improvement of the schools. We have seen from the schemes already framed that there is a fair chance before us of obtaining the services of such persons. But there are differences in the method of attaining this result. We are convinced that it will prove a mistake if the councils abandon the exercise of their own discretion and knowledge, and place the responsibility of nominating the expert members in the hands of quasi-private societies such as Anglican, Wesleyan, and Catholic associations, local branches of the National Union of Teachers, Free Church councils, chambers of agriculture, trades councils and the like. Where there is a university, a great provincial college, a training-college, or a historical foundation of non-local character, such as Eton or Rugby, a representative nominated by its governing body may fitly be chosen. But to delegate the choice to the acting committees of voluntary associations would

give rise to canvassing and to conflicting personal claims, and would pack the committee with persons regarding themselves as holding a brief in the interest of particular institutions or small societies, some of which are not fully representative in their character. What it is chiefly necessary to secure is a due representation of educational experience and instructed public opinion, a knowledge of the special needs and characteristics of a district, and of such educational agencies—libraries, endowed charities, savings banks, mechanics' institutes, and the like—as might be brought into helpful relation with the general work of the schools. A council will act more wisely in keeping these larger interests in view, and dealing with them on its own responsibility, than by recognising the corporate right of sectarian or professional societies to nominate members.

A subject eminently worthy of consideration, though frequently overlooked, is the expediency of adding H.M. inspector of schools for the district to the education committee. He necessarily possesses unusual local knowledge, and could on many points furnish useful aid to the committee. In France the Department of the Seine and of the City of Paris has, by reason of its metropolitan importance, a complete and separate educational organisation of its own, under the superintendence of the *Préfet de la Seine* and the *Conseil Municipal de Paris*. The inspectors are nominated by the University of Paris, and a considerable share of the administrative business is entrusted to those officers. There is in France a larger proportion of official personages than would be generally approved in England; but even here the value of such services as an experienced officer could render well deserves the consideration of the councils and of the central authority.

It may be regarded as an accepted principle that education is henceforth to be a municipal function, and to be carried out under the general supervision of the supreme local authority. In the country this principle has found expression in the Act of 1902, both county and county borough councils 'acting through' a special education committee. But this method of devolution is comparatively novel and untried, and has yet to vindicate itself by experience. It would be hazardous to apply it,

without considerable modifications, to the huge problem of London.

In whatever manner the new educational authority may be constituted, its duties will be very onerous. It will administer the revenues of a small kingdom, and will be charged with the educational interests of a population larger than that of Scotland or Holland or Sweden, and nearly twice as large as that of Switzerland. It will have, in the first place, to take over all the work done by the present School Board, with its 565,325 scholars, its 13,885 teachers, including heads, assistants, and pupil teachers; its staff of 1285 special instructors in manual training and domestic subjects; its 444 visitors, 464 school-keepers, and 35 correspondents. Next, it will become necessary to assume the supervision of all the non-provided or voluntary schools at present outside the purview of the Board, to the number of 516, with 175,330 scholars. Further, its duty will be, under Part II of the Act, to consider the higher educational needs of the whole metropolitan area, and to bring into harmonious relation all grammar schools, public day-schools, private and joint-stock enterprises, as well as to include within their purview all the work now performed by the Technical Committee of the London County Council. The establishment of training-colleges, the due affiliation of those institutions to the University of London, the creation of new secondary schools where they are needed, the framing of a good system of scholarships, so as to place new opportunities of advancement from one place of instruction to a higher within the reach of all who have the ability to use them—these are only a few of the subsidiary problems which will demand attention. It is a matter of national importance that a body undertaking so vast a trust shall be qualified to undertake it.

However well the work of local administration may be done under present or future legislative provisions, one of the most effective safeguards for thoroughness and for the continued improvement of popular education must be looked for in other directions, and to a large extent in the action of the central department at Whitehall. Decentralisation is a good thing; but it is very possible to have too much of it. There will always be apathetic

districts and local governing bodies content with a low standard both of aim and of achievement, and well satisfied so long as their schools are not bad enough to incur loss of grant. It may be assumed that a department of the imperial government, with the best expert advice at its command and the healthy influence of parliamentary and public criticism on its procedure, will generally have a higher standard, both of what is desirable and of what is attainable in a school, than the ideal of the average local authority. And until this central influence becomes really potent, the nation will fail to bring its best resources to bear on the mental and moral improvement of the people. It is the main function of a state department to stimulate rather than to repress local effort.

This function has been differently discharged at different times during the history of the Department since its virtual creation in the year 1846. At first the office at Whitehall did not regard itself as charged in any sense with the direction of public education. It simply existed for the purpose of distributing a certain sum annually voted by Parliament, and verifying the fulfilment of conditions which were framed to secure for the nation a due equivalent for its outlay. But the discharge of this duty led to the promulgation of codes specifying in detail the conditions under which public money should be distributed and the manner in which excellence might be rewarded or inefficiency penalised by giving or withholding grants. In effect, these codes served the purpose of establishing an educational standard, and, by graduating the grants according to degrees of merit, furnished a motive both to teachers and to managers to do their best. But the system of 'payment by results,' as determined by the individual examination of the children, was found to work unsatisfactorily, partly by the encouragement it gave to the adoption of mechanical methods of teaching, and partly by the lowering influence it exerted on the ideals of teachers and managers alike. Little by little, under successive administrations, the system has been modified, and the tests applied to the work of the school have become truer and more effective. Nevertheless, until recently, the grant was always understood to be assessed in some proportion to the worth of a school's work. In later years, however, this principle has

been wholly abandoned. Detailed examination of work done has given place to a general inspection of the methods of doing it; and the impressions of an inspector on the order, behaviour, and general intelligence of the scholars have taken the place of the more searching tests which were once insisted on. Serious complaints have been heard in reference to the laxity and inaccuracy which have thus been generated; but there are signs, in the code just issued by the Board of Education, of the discovery of a 'more excellent way,' and of the desire to rely on a judicious admixture of inspection and examination rather than upon either method exclusively. Whatever method be adopted, there is no part of the country in which skilled examination by experienced officers from headquarters can safely be dispensed with.

But after all we need a higher guarantee for future success than is to be found in the efforts of even the most enlightened and devoted of officials or of our clergy and school authorities. We must look to the awakened conscience of the nation in regard to the need of more cultivated intelligence as the chief factor in our social progress, and the richest asset in our material wealth. In all departments of life and of society there is a prevalent notion that learning is mainly valuable as a means of securing some visible advantage. The questions, What is the use of this or that mental exercise? Will it pay? What is its probable bearing on a competitive examination, on commercial or professional success? are fatal to any true conception of the worth of intellectual culture. Yet they are constantly asked; and the 'great gospel of getting on' has dominated the public opinion of the nineteenth century, and still finds adherents in all classes of the community.

The northern part of our island is more favourably conditioned in this respect than England. The humblest Scottish peasant likes his boys to learn Latin, not because he sees any close connexion between Latin and wage-earning, but because he takes Latin as the symbol and representative of the higher studies which will make the boy a better man, and will do something to raise and ennoble his life, whether it carries him up to a profession or not. Nearly four centuries of tradition and experience

have caused the ideal of a good education to be distinctly higher in Scotland, comparing persons in the same social rank, than to the south of the Tweed. The proportion of young men who pass through the universities, the proportion of elementary teachers who possess academic degrees, and the proportion of instructed young men who are found taking a high place in the ranks of industry, are all higher in Scotland than in England. Scotsmen have distinguished themselves no less in literature and metaphysic than in engineering and mechanical invention and in other departments of human activity for which, *prima facie*, we should have been disposed to consider technical training specially appropriate. But this is not because the importance of such training has been unduly accentuated in the teaching of the schools, but rather in consequence of a conviction that good training in the art of thinking, with the aid of a broad and generous curriculum, forms the surest basis of character and of an outfit for life for both sexes and all classes alike. The spirited efforts which have of late been made by the elected local authorities in many of our largest towns to make their schools excellent and to try new experiments, remind us of the abounding vitality and hopefulness of some of the great American cities, which vie with one another in the splendour of their material provision for teaching, and are distinguished by local pride in any new form of success which they achieve. It is to the growth of a higher public opinion, and of a truer appreciation of the worth of intellectual training, that we must look for the motive power which, in the long run, is requisite to prevent even the best machinery from proving ineffective, and which will stimulate councils and boards and other authorities to render to the community the best service they are capable of giving. Without such motive force our primary education will be starved, and our higher schools will remain unorganised and unimproved. Recent discussions have at least had the effect of kindling livelier popular interest in the whole subject and developing a stronger sense of national responsibility. This is clear gain, and justifies hopes of sure progress towards a higher goal.

Since the foregoing article was in type, the Parlia-

mentary Secretary to the Board of Education has introduced a Bill for London in a clear and well-reasoned statement, in which he emphasised chiefly the necessity for *one* authority to have cognisance of all departments of education in the metropolis; and the importance of enlisting in the service of the public all the chief bodies—municipal, academic, and voluntary—concerned with education, and enabling them to co-operate in the fulfilment of a great civic duty. We have neither time nor space to attempt a detailed criticism of the Bill, but we may observe that among many points which may give rise to controversy, and in which modifications may possibly be made in Committee, some of the most important are—(1) the composition of the proposed education committee; (2) the extent to which that committee will possess real responsibility and power of initiative; (3) the degree and manner in which its educational policy will be determined or controlled by the whole County Council; (4) the powers proposed to be delegated to the borough councils, especially the appointment and dismissal of teachers, and the choice of sites for new schools. It seems doubtful whether the government, in attempting to conciliate a number of interests, have not set up too wide and heterogeneous a combination; whether the borough councils should be represented at all upon the central authority; and whether a body in which the County Council representatives are in so distinct a minority, is not likely to fall out with its superior. At all events, in the proportions of representation on the educational committee, as at present proposed, there is a very serious departure from one of the fundamental principles of the Act of 1902.

Note.—The Editor regrets that, by an oversight, the list of books at the head of the article in the preceding number of the Quarterly Review on 'Ireland from Within,' contained no mention of a work entitled, 'A Review of Irish History in Relation to the Social Development of Ireland,' by Mr John P. Gannon (Fisher Unwin, 1900), from which some remarks on pp. 2, 3 of the same article were taken.

INDEX

TO THE

HUNDRED AND NINETY-SEVENTH VOLUME OF
THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

[Titles of Articles are printed in heavier type.]

A.

Ady, Julia, 'The Early Art of the Netherlands,' 208.

Aflalo, F. G., 'Sport in Europe,' 167.

Africa, South, mines, 91—fluctuations in the price of shares, 92—number of companies, 94—capital, *ib.*—copper-mine shares, 96.

Albert, Prince, influence on Queen Victoria, 315, 322—difficulties of his position, 316—views of international relations, *ib.*—his judgment and unselfish loyalty, 321.

America, South, animals and their origin, 41. *See* Animals.

Animals, South American, and their Origin, 41—science of 'distribution,' 42—types of mammals in North America and the Old World, 43—representatives of the cat and dog tribe, 45—skunks, bears, and tapirs, 46—group of ruminants, the deer, *ib.*—peccaries, opossums, 47—tree-porcupines, monkeys, *ib.*—marmosets, vampires, rodents, 48—'edentates,' *ib.*—'ant-eaters,' 49—sloths, *ib.*—armadilloes, selvas, 50—birds, *ib.*—forms of lower vertebrate life, 51—evidence of fossil remains, 52—the pampas, 53—skeletons and bones entombed, *ib.*—in the caves of Brazil, 54—various forms of ground-sloths, 55–57—*glyptodons*, 57—*macrauchenia*, 59—*toxodon*, *typotherium*, *ib.*—Santa Cruz epoch, 60–62—theory of a primitive isolation, 63, 65—presumed connexion with Africa, *ib.*—with Australasia, 64—with North

America, 65—disappearance of the forests, 66—literature on, 67.

Arnold, Matthew, extract from his 'Irish Essays,' 39—his view of provinciality, 523, 529–531.

Ayrton, Mr, on Queen Victoria's neglect of public duty, 328.

B.

Balfour, Rt Hon. A. J., M.P., and the Irish University question, 580 *et seq.*

Balfour, Rt Hon. Gerald, M.P., his Bill for the establishment of a Department of Agriculture for Ireland, 16.

Banerji, Judge, his views on university reform in India, 248.

Barrington, Sir Jonah, 'Sketches of his own Time,' 6.

Barry, Sir J. Wolfe, on the Pacific cable, 367.

Bedford, The Duke of, his Farm-school, 549.

Begley, Rev. W., his discovery of 'Nova Solyma,' 485 *et seq.*

Bentley, Mr, and Westminster Cathedral, 436.

Bevan, E. R., 'The House of Seleucus,' 503, 505–507.

Biliotti, Sir A., and the agitation in Macedonia, 459—on Bulgarian terrorism, 465.

Birds of South America, 50.

'Blue-Stockings,' The Queen of the, 68—origin of the term, *ib.*—

the letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu, 70—her parents, *ib.*—early years, 71—visits to Bath, 72—appearance, 73, 83—views of marriage, 73—her marriage, 74—Yorkshire neighbours, *ib.*—sketch of Dr Young and the vicar, 75—breakfast parties, 76—'Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakespeare,' 77—three dialogues, 78—definition of *bon-ton*, *ib.*—on Burke, 79—on letter-writing, *ib.*—capacity for business, 80—death of her husband, *ib.*—management of her estate, 81—acquaintance with Johnson, 81—83—marriage of her nephew, 84—her death, 85—extracts from her letters, 85—87—her horror of debt, 86.

Boswell, on the origin of the term 'blue-stockings,' 68.

Bouts, Dirk, character of his paintings, 223.

'Boyle, Mary: her Book,' 192, 206.

Bright, Mr Charles, reports on the Pacific cable scheme, 365—on its proposed duplication, 370.

Bruges Exhibition, 208. *See* Netherlands.

Bryce, Rt Hon. James, M.P., on the consular service, 601.

Burges, Mr, and the new architecture, 435.

Burney, Fanny, on the appearance of Mrs Montagu, 83.

Butt, Isaac, his attempt to settle the Irish land question, 10.

Buxton, Sydney, 'Fishing and Shooting,' 163.

Byrne, J. C., 'Gossip of the Century,' 189 *et seq.*

Byzantium or Ravenna? 409—architecture progresses in a circle, *ib.*—Signor Rivoira's views on Lombard architecture, 410 *et seq.*—Ravenna and its buildings, 411—the 'Romano-Ravennese' style, *ib.*—the tomb of Galla Placidia, *ib.*—and of Theodoric, 411, 420—S. Vitale, 412, 413—the 'Byzantine-Ravennese' style, 414—the 'Comacine masters,' *ib.*—pre-Lombardic architecture, 416—Charlemagne's church, 417—the Dalmatian churches, *ib.*—Sant' Ambrogio, 418, 421—principal features of Lombard architecture, *ib.*—defects of Signor Rivoira's work, 419—

skill of Byzantine architects, 420—decadence of early Italian art, 421—Italians and the basilica plan 422—the East the real home of dome construction, 423—Messrs Lethaby and Swainson's work, 423 *et seq.*—St Sophia, 424 *et seq.*—the Byzantine Greeks, 426—Constantinople a marble-working centre, 428—the Crusaders and Constantinople, 429—the church of the Holy Apostles, 430—last traces of Byzantine influence, *ib.*—monastery of St Luke of Stiris, 431 *et seq.*—divergent examples of church-building, 432—Roman architecture not entirely copied from the Greek, 433—attempts to modernise Romanesque architecture, 435—the Gothic revival, *ib.*—Westminster Cathedral and the future of architecture, 436.

C.

'Catalogue, International, of Scientific Literature,' 139. *See* Science.

'Cathedral Builders, The,' and the 'Comacine masters,' 414.

Chamberlain, Rt Hon. J., M.P., helps forward the Pacific cable scheme, 365, 368.

Chase, F. H., on the Epistles of St Peter, 294—'The Credibility of the Acts of the Apostles,' 295.

Chaucer and fourteenth-century literature, 437, 444—comparisons with Gower, 445, 447—use of heroic verse, 452.

Chesterfield, Lord, relations with Montesquieu, 332, 340, 352, 361.

Church, P. W., 'Chinese Turkestan with Caravan and Rifle,' 175-178.

Consular Service, The, and its Wrongs, 598—the first Consular Act, 599—trading consuls, *ib.*—reports of committees, 600—faults of the present system, 601, 602—the need of efficient consuls, 603—the Foreign Office inadequate, 604—the 'General Instructions,' 605—varied consular duties, 606, 607—duties under the Board of Trade, 608, 609—magisterial and judicial functions, 609, 610—classification of the consular corps, 611—unpaid consuls, 612—incongruities, 613—examination and method of appointment, 614—the 'Ottoman

Dominions' branch, 614-616—the most efficient branch in the Far East, 616—the probationary period, 617—Foreign Office anomalies, 618—promotion, 619—retirement of distinguished members, 621—the French consular service, 621-623—the financial aspect, 623-625—urgent need of reform, 626.

Cork, Industrial Exhibition at, 18.

Croft, Sir Alfred, on the demand for university education in India, 237.

Curzon, Lord, on the defects of the Indian university system, 234.

D.

Daret, Jacques, elected Dean of the Painters' Guild at Tournay, 221—his tapestry designs and homely detail, *ib.*

David, Gerard, his paintings, 229.

Demidoff, Prince, 'Hunting Trips in the Caucasus,' 171—'After Wild-sheep in the Altai and Mongolia,' *ib.*

Diarists of the Last Century, 186—journals of Greville and Gronow, 187—Raikes, 188—'Gossip of the Century,' 189—celebrities and wits, *ib.*—Talleyrand and Pozzo, 190—letters of Lady Sarah Lennox, 191—Lady Louisa Stuart, *ib.*—Mary Boyle, 192, 206—Harriet, Lady Granville, *ib.*—mentions of the royal family, 193—the French royalties, 194—Brougham, 196-198—Jekyll, 198—Rogers, 198-200—Luttrell, 200—Sydney Smith, *ib.*—Macaulay, 201—Croker, *ib.*—Lord Alvanley, 202—Princess Lieven, 204—Lady Jersey, *ib.*—Lady Aldborough, 205.

Dilke, Sir Charles, on the strategical weakness of our cable system, 372—on the consular service, 602.

Doran, Dr, on the title 'blue-stockings,' 68—'A Lady of the Last Century,' 70 *et seq.*

Dudley, Earl of, his views on Ireland, 39.

E.

Education Act of 1902; 627. *See* London.

Edward VII, H.M. King, on leprosy, 386.

Elliot, Mr F., and the Macedonian question, 459—correspondence with M. Daneff, 467.

Eyck, Hubert van, 210—his fame eclipsed by his brother, 211—travels in northern Italy; at Ghent, *ib.*—inscription on his tomb, 212—his paintings, 212-216—the Ghent altarpiece, 214—poet and idealist, 217.

Eyck, Jan van, 216—craftsman and realist, 217—circumstances of his life, enters the service of Philip of Burgundy, *ib.*—at Bruges, 218—painting, *ib.*

F.

Folkes, Martin, 355.

Foster, Sir Michael, 'A Conspectus of Science,' 139.

Fountain, Paul, 'The Great Mountains and Forests of South America,' 43 *et seq.*

Fremantle, Hon. T. F., 'The Book of the Rifle,' 183-185.

Froissart, his literary characteristics, 443 *et seq.*

Gladstone, Mr, and the claims of Macedonia, 480.

G.

Gardner, Professor Percy, 'A Historic View of the New Testament,' 273, 303.

Gathorne-Hardy, Hon. A. E., 'Autumn in Argyleshire with Rod and Gun,' 162.

Goes, Hugo van der, his altarpieces, 222—Augustinian friar, *ib.*

Gower, John, Poet, 437—his position among poets, *ib.*—Mr Macaulay's edition of his works, 438—a 'correct' poet, 439—his style easy and natural, 439, 440—compared with Wordsworth, 441—belonged to the French school, 441—'The Owl and the Nightingale,' 442—Barbour's 'Bruce,' *ib.*—the decline of English poetry in the fifteenth century, 443—Gower and Froissart, *ib.*—defects of the French poets, 444—comparisons with Chaucer, 445, 447—Gower's versification, 446—examples of phrasing, 448—an admirable story-teller, 449—his 'Medea and Jason,' *ib.*—in sympathy with twelfth-century French, 450—'Con-

fessio Amantis, 451—use of heroic verse, 452—454—Gower's French and Latin works, 455—the French 'Balades,' *ib.*—outline of Gower's life, 457—the 'Confessio Amantis' translated into Portuguese, 458.

'Granville, Letters of Harriet, Countess,' 192.

Grenfell, Hunt, and Smyly, Messrs, their discovery of the Ptolemaic papyri, 507.

'Greville Memoirs,' 187 *et seq.*

'Gronow, Captain, Reminiscences and Recollections of,' 187 *et seq.*

H.

Haggard, Mr H. Rider, 'Rural England' reviewed, 540 *et seq.*

Hansen, Dr Armauer, discovers the bacillus of leprosy, 384.

Harnack, Dr A., 'What is Christianity?' 304—307.

Hastings, J., 'Dictionary of the Bible,' 273.

Hayward, Mr, his edition of Mrs Piozzi's 'Autobiography,' 69.

Headlam, Mr, on the 'Criticism of the New Testament,' 288.

Hellenism in the East, 503—identity of European civilisation with the Greek, *ib.*—Hellenism and 'Hellenisticism,' 504—works on *ib.*—'The House of Seleucus,' reviewed, 505—507—the Ptolemaic papyri, 507—Greek influence in Asia, 508, 509—what Hellenism means, 509—it had no religious element, 510—the Macedonian idea, *ib.*—Alexander, 511—Buddhistic influence in the Bactrian and Indian cities, 512—gradual orientalising of the Hellene, 513—slight influence of Hellenism in Asia, *ib.*—the sharp distinction between Greeks and the natives, 514—Hellenism in Asia Minor, 515—in Syria, *ib.*—and Judæa, 516—driven out by Islam, 517—permanent influence of Greek culture, 518—Rome a factor, 519—Christian Incarnationism, *ib.*—Hellenism and Christianity, 520—triumph in the West, not in the East, 521.

Hutchinson, Mr Jonathan, on the fish theory of the cause of leprosy, 402.

Houtin, A., 'La Question Biblique,' 272.

Hulin de Loo, G., 'Exposition de Tableaux flamands, Bruges,' 209.

Hymans, Henri, 'L'Exposition des Primitifs flamands à Bruges,' 208.

I.

Illingworth, Dr, 'Reason and Revelation,' 290.

Imperial Telegraphs, 364—completion of the Pacific telegraph, *ib.*—origin of the scheme, *ib.*—Mr Chamberlain appoints a Royal Commission, 365—permanent Board of Control established, *ib.*—laying the cable, 366—the 'Britannia Hills,' 367—length of the cable, 368—Mr Chamberlain helps the scheme, *ib.*—need of linking up with the American Pacific cable 370—372—strategic aspects of alternative lines, 372—cutting cables in war-time, 373—an all-British system, 374—relative advantages of deep and shallow water cables, 375—Lieutenant Squier's opinion, *ib.*—an all-British system essential to our imperial position, 376—as helping to consolidate the Empire, 377—private enterprise, 378, 379—tariffs, 380—desirableness of more government control, 381—and of reduced rates, 382—state purchase, 383.

India, University Reform in, 234—commission appointed, 235—report, 236—system established in 1857; 237—characteristics of the senates, 238—preponderance of natives, *ib.*—desire of the parent, 240—native ideal of education, 241—the present system, 242—method of teaching English, 243—type of Indian graduate, 245—need for one real teaching university, *ib.*—proposed reforms, 247—protests against, 248—influence of a good teacher, 249—dependent attitude of the Indian student, 250.

Ireland from Within, 1—the land question, 2—system of land-holding, *ib.*—introduction of the English agrarian system, 3—arrangement of Sir John Davies, *ib.*—frustration of his design, 4—belief in proprie-

tary rights, 5—growth of absenteeism, *ib.*—commercial restrictions, 6—change in the relations between landlords and tenants, *ib.*—Landed Estates Act, 7—Deasy's Act, 8—Land Act of 1870; 9—of 1881, *ib.*—Tenant League, 10—demand for land legislation and Home Rule, 11–13—development of agricultural and industrial resources, 13—formation of the Agricultural Organisation Society, 15—Recess Committee, 16—establishment of a Department and Council of Agriculture, 16, 38—success of the work, 17–19—effects of the Land Act of 1881; 19–22—periodical revision of rents, 21—creation of a peasant proprietary, 22, 35—compulsory purchase and sale, 23—voluntary sale, 24—question of price, 24–27—Conference of landlords and tenants, 27—provisions of the Bill of 1902; 28–35—Local Loans funds, 29—section 4; 31—section 8; 32—section 36; 34—influence of the settlement of the land question, 35–37, 39—need for the adoption of a constructive policy, 37—Local Government Act of 1898; 38—sympathetic treatment, 39.

‘Irish Felon, The,’ extracts from, 11.

Irish University Question, The, 569—learning in ancient Ireland, *ib.*—Trinity College, 570—the Catholic Relief Act, 571—Maynooth, 572—‘mixed education,’ 573—Protestant bigotry in Ireland, 574—Ultramontaniam, *ib.*—Sir Robert Peel's measure for the endowment of new colleges, 575—the selection of professors, 576—the Queen's Colleges scheme, 575–579—action of the Catholic hierarchy, 578, 579—an altered situation, 580—appointment of a Royal Commission, 581—exclusion of Trinity College from its reference, *ib.*—Catholic opinion changed, 582—a Catholic College in Dublin, 583—possible failure of the scheme, 584—a Catholic university impracticable, 585—the present educational situation in Ireland intolerable, 586—destructive influence of the Royal University, 587—disappearance of the educated lay Irish Catholic, 587–589—Trinity College and the Catholics, 591 *et seq.*—need of amended administration, 594—a Catholic college in Dublin University, 595–597.

J.

Johnson, Dr, his acquaintance with Mrs Montagu, 81—‘Life of Lyttelton,’ 82.

K.

Kent, the gardener, 359.

Kenyon, F. G., ‘Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament,’ 279.

Koch, Professor, and the bacillus of tuberculosis, 398, 402.

L.

Lalor, James Fintan, on uniting the demand for land legislation and Home Rule, 11.

Lamsdorff, Count, on Bulgarian tactics, 465.

Lee, Sidney, ‘Queen Victoria. A Biography,’ 308 *et seq.*

Leprosy, 384—discovery of the bacillus by Dr Hansen, *ib.*—the international conference, 385—a widespread disease, 385–387—its antiquity, 388—the *Kushta* of the ‘Rigveda Sanhita,’ *ib.*—the leprosy of the Bible, *ib.*—various kinds of leprosy, 389—not imported into Europe by the Crusaders, 389—historic precautions, *ib.*—early leper-houses, 390—the disease in Western Europe, *ib.*—‘Burton Lazars,’ *ib.*—the Franciscan care of the lepers, 391—honours paid to sufferers, *ib.*—lazar-houses in London, 392—diseases confused with leprosy, 393—impostors, 394—disappearance of the disease from England, *ib.*—improvement in Norway, 395—the Mitau case, *ib.*—leprosy contagious, 396—its probable causes, 397—the Berlin Conference in 1897; 398—comparison with tuberculosis, 398, 403—historic doubts, 399—heredity, *ib.*—the bad fish theory, 400—futile attempts to cultivate the bacillus, 402—resemblance in the bacilli, 404—progress of the disease, 405—apathy of the leper, 406—latency of the complaint, *ib.*—prevention better than cure, 407— isolation, *ib.*—leprosy does not flourish in England, 408.

Lethaby, Mr, and Swainson, Mr, 'The Church of Sancta Sophia, Constantinople,' 423 *et seq.*

London Education and the Act of 1902; 627—need for the better organisation of secondary education, *ib.*—the Education Bill of 1902; 628–630—the religious difficulty, 630—the bishops on religious teaching in schools, 631—classification of denominational schools, 632—position of the clergyman, 633—Lord Reay on the clergy as school managers, *ib.*—the object of a good school, 635—rating, *ib.*—effect of the Cockerton judgment, 636—distinction between elementary and higher education, 637—technical instruction, 638—the London School Board evening continuation schools, 639, 640—endowments, 640–644—'clause 13', and London, 643—general desire to make the Act work, 644—the right selection of members, 645—education henceforth a municipal function, 646—the Board of Education, 647–649—the London Bill, 650.

London, The Port of, 252—systematic neglect, *ib.*—West India Dock, 253—number and size of distributing barges, *ib.*—proposals of the Royal Commission, 254—decline of trade, 255—development of foreign ports, 256—meeting of the London and India Docks Company, 257—the dock companies, *ib.*—maintenance of warehouses, 258—attitude of the wharfingers, 259—of the Thames Conservancy, 260—the future government Bill, 261—Mansion House conference, 261, 263–265—purchase of the docks, 262—placing them under police control, 265—payment of members of the trust, 266—municipal assistance, 267—abolition of the Light Dues, 268—compulsory pilotage, 269.

Louth, Walter, 'The Promised Land,' 20.

Lydekker, R., 'South American Animals and their Origin,' 41.

M.

Macaulay, Mr G. C., his edition of the works of John Gower, 437 *et seq.*—his Life of Gower, 457.

Macedonian Maze, The, 459—the fruits of Bulgarian ambition, *ib.*—

unhappy condition of the Christian peasantry, 460—the Macedonian Committee, 461, 464—the dream of a Greater Bulgaria, *ib.*—tactics of the patriots, 462, 463—Stambuloff's policy, 463—formation of the Local Committee, 464—renewal of Bulgarian energy, 465—Sir A. Biliotti's despatch, *ib.*—the Central Committee at Sophia, *ib.*—blackmail and corruption, 466—activity of the local committees, 468—tardy European interference, 469—the scheme of reform, *ib.*—the Macedonian view of the reforms, 471—the Macedonian 'people,' 472—three ethnological zones, 473—comparative strengths of the Greeks and Bulgarians, 474—the Servians, 476—the Turks in Albania, *ib.*—Albanian sympathy with the Greeks, 478, 479—Mr Gladstone and the Macedonians, 480—not a racial unit, 481—the question of partition, 482—the Austro-Russian programme, 483—England's attitude, *ib.*

Mansion House conference on the administration of the Port of London, 261—resolutions, 263–265.

Maupassant, Guy de, on M. Zola, 138.

Memlinc, Hans, 224—court-painter to Charles the Bold, 225—his paintings, *ib.*—decoration of St Ursula's shrine, 227—sense of beauty and tender poetic feeling, *ib.*—imitation of his style, 228.

Millais, J. G., 'The Wild-fowler in Scotland,' 164. *See Sport.*

Miltonian Romance, A, 484—Mr Begley's contention, *ib.*—'Nova Solyma' a still-born publication, 485—a period of transition, *ib.*—the Republic of Letters, 486—Milton and the Miltonian school, 497—the unknown author of 'Nova Solyma,' 488—Mr Begley's defective arguments, 488–490—first appearance of the book, 491—quality of its prose, *ib.*—possible writers of 'Nova Solyma,' 492—'Jerusalem Regained,' 493—outline of the story, 493–498—a shapeless structure, 498—Milton's position at the time of its publication, 499—the author's apologetics contrasted with Milton's self-confidence, 500—Miltonian characteristics, 501—the uncertainties of the problem, 502—the value of the romance, *ib.*

Moffatt, James, 'Historical New Testament,' 274.

Montagu, John, Duke of, relations with Montesquieu, 353, 358.

Montagu, Matthew, 'Letters of Mrs Elizabeth Montagu,' 70.

Montagu, Mrs Elizabeth, her letters, 70. *See* 'Blue-stockings.'

Montesquieu in England, 331—M. Vian's 'Histoire,' 332—relations with Chesterfield, 332, 352—birth and circumstances, 333—influenced by Montaigne, 334—intellectual exercises, *ib.*—'Lettres Persanes,' 335, 356—characteristics, *ib.*—'Temple de Gnide,' 336—elected to the Academy, *ib.*—travels in Europe, 337—vicissitudes of Montesquieu's manuscripts, 338—their publication, 339—friendship with Waldegrave, *ib.*—and Chesterfield, 340—impressions of London, *ib.*—and of Englishmen, 341 *et seq.*—of Englishwomen, 343—religion, 344—parliament, *ib.*—party government, 345—Walpole's character and work, 345 *et seq.*—notes on Shippen's speech, 346—the Pensions Bill, 347—debate on Dunkirk, 349—opinion of English politicians, 350—of George I, *ib.*—newspapers, 351—relations with men of science, 352—his inadequate English, 353—talks with the King and Queen, *ib.*—elected to the Royal Society, 354—friendship with Folkes and Yorke, 355—his movements unchronicled, 356—aristocratic companions, 357, 358—advocates the Union with Ireland, 359—gardening, 359—departure from England, 360—correspondence with Englishmen, 361—appreciation of England, 362—and English literature, 363.

More, Hannah, on the character of Mrs Montagu, 85.

Morris, W. O'Connor, 'Present Irish Questions,' 22.

N.

Netherlands, The Early Art of the, 208—Bruges exhibition, *ib.*—supplementary exhibition of illuminated MSS. in the Hôtel Grunthuse, 209—connexion between French and Flemish art, *ib.*—Hubert van Eyck, 210—216—Jan van Eyck, 216—219—Petrus Cristus, 219—Rogier van der Weyden, 219—

221—Jacques Daret, 221—Hugo van der Goes, 222—Dirk Bouts, 223—Hans Memlinc, 224—229—Gerard David, 229—and other artists, 230—increasing love of the fantastic and grotesque, 231—technical perfection, 232—realism, *ib.*

Nicholas of Guildford, author of 'The Owl and the Nightingale,' 442.

'Nova Solyma' reviewed, 484 *et seq.*

P.

Palmerston, Lord, his political relations with Queen Victoria, 316 *et seq.*

Pease, A. E., 'Travel and Sport in Africa,' 180.

Peel, Sir Robert, and the Irish University question, 574, 575.

Plunkett, Rt Hon. Horace, M.P., his scheme for the development of agricultural and industrial resources in Ireland, 14.

Powell-Cotton, P. H. G., 'A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia,' 178.

Prichard, H. H., 'Through the Heart of Patagonia,' 56.

Provincial Mind, The, 522—definition of the term 'provincial,' *ib.*—Matthew Arnold's conception of provinciality, 523—loneliness, discomfort, and genius, 524—the dangers of admiration, 525—literature and provincial life, 526—the provinciality of class. *ib.*—the 'English gentleman,' 527—Thackeray and 'class,' *ib.*—Dickens and democratic prejudice, 528—Mr J. M. Barrie, *ib.*—academic provinciality and Matthew Arnold, 529—531—the provinciality of the coterie, 532—Dr Johnson, *ib.*—Horace Walpole, 533—the war of poets at the beginning of the nineteenth century, *ib.*—the Reviews, 534—Holland House, 535—provinciality and the reception of Ibsen's plays, *ib.*—Mr Oscar Wilde and the habit of paradox, 536—the provincialism of the nation, 537—interchange of national ideas, *ib.*—altered characteristics of English literature, 538.

R.

Raikes, Thomas, his journals, 188.

Railways, home, fluctuations in the price of the shares, 90—colonial and foreign, 91—American, 99.

Ravenna or Byzantium? 409. *See* Byzantium.

Reay, Lord, his opinion of clergymen as school managers, 634.

Rivoira, Signor, 'Le origini della Architettura Lombarda' reviewed, 409 *et seq.*

Roosevelt, President, 'The Deer Family,' 169.

Rosebery, Lord, on the Irish Local Government Act of 1898; 38.

Royal Society, publication of 'Philosophical Transactions,' 145—'Catalogue of Scientific Papers,' 150.

Rural England, 540—Mr Rider Haggard as a writer on farming, *ib.*—the present condition of agriculture, 541—Mr Haggard's pessimism, 542—defects of method in his book, 543—improved condition of farming, 544—the landlord, 545—the tenant-farmer, 546—less dependent on the landlord, 547—the labourer, 548—reluctance of village lads to be farm labourers, 549—the Duke of Bedford's Farm-school, *ib.*—Irish labour, 550—prospects of the agricultural labourer, 551—life insurance, 552—friendly societies, 553—the present effect of education, 554—the teaching in village schools, 555—cottage accommodation, 556—the Labourers' (Ireland) Act, 557—the multiplication of small holdings, 558—their success, 559—claims for government aid, 560—readjustment of local taxation, 561–563—the Agricultural Rates Act, 562—revision of railway rates on perishable produce, 563–566—an agricultural parcel-post, 566—road-borne competition, 567—protection and prosperity, 568.

S.

Samuels, A. W., on redemption of reversion claims, 33.

Schultz and Barnsley, Messrs, on the monastery of St Luke of Stiris, 431.

Science, A Conspectus of, 139—'International Catalogue of Scientific Literature,' *ib.*—meaning of the term 'scientific,' 140—decision of the promoters, 140–143—mode of publishing discoveries, 144—assistance of the Royal Society, 145—'Philosophical Transactions,' *ib.*—the independent scientific periodical, 146—Darwin's and Huxley's

method of publication, 147—need for an index, 148—help to the scientific enquirer, 148–150—publication of the 'Catalogue of Scientific Papers' by the Royal Society, 150—an author's index, *ib.*—its value, 151—need for a subject index, *ib.*—difficulties of international co-operation, 152–154—differences of language, 152—national susceptibilities, 153—a 'registration number,' *ib.*—advantages and disadvantages of separate centres for the several sciences, 155–157—adoption of the single-centre plan and establishment of secondary bureaux, 157—system of classification, *ib.*—alphabetical arrangement, 158—construction of schedules, *ib.*

Selous, F. C., 'Sport and Travel East and West,' 172–175, 182.

Shand, A. I., 'Shooting,' 162.

Speculation, The Game of, 88—increase of the evil, *ib.*—advertising influence, 89, 110–113—home railways, 90—colonial and foreign, 91—mining market, *ib.*—fluctuations, 92—total decline of shares, 93—number of South African companies, 94—amount of capital, *ib.*—process of 'turning on the tap,' 95—number of controlling firms, *ib.*—copper-mine shares, 96—Barnato Bank, and the Anglo-French Exploration Co., 97—Consolidated Gold Fields Co., *ib.*—De Beers and the Cold Storage Co., 98—American railways, 99—United States Steel Corporation, *ib.*—Wall Street dealers, 100—Northern Pacific shares, 101—strike of coal-miners, and money stringency in New York, 102—table of variations in prices, *ib.*—number of members on the London Stock Exchange, 103—'dealings' for 'differences,' 104—'contango' or interest, *ib.*—causes for altering nominal quotations, 105—brokers, *ib.*—charge for brokerage, 'half-commission men,' 106—amount of broker's fee, *ib.*—system of 'one-man markets,' 107—relations between brokers and jobbers, *ib.*—Jungle market or West African mines, 108—cases of other companies, 109—rules of the Stock Exchange, 110—'bucket-shops,' 111—'cover system,' *ib.*—character of the circulars, 112—terms of imprisonment for the illegal sale of securities, 113.

Sport and Travel, Recent, 161—Colonel T. Thornton's 'Sporting Tour,' 162—Mr Gathorne-Hardy's sketches, *ib.*—Mr Shand's 'Shooting,' *ib.*—Mr Sydney Buxton's 'Fishing and Shooting,' 163—Mr J. G. Millais' 'The Wild-fowler in Scotland,' 164—on the arrival of the wild-geese at Loch Leven, 165—their intellectual powers, 166—on the Orkneys, *ib.*—his illustrations, 167—Mr F. G. Aflalo's 'Sport in Europe,' 167-169—President Roosevelt's 'The Deer Family,' 169-171—Prince Demidoff's 'Hunting Trips in the Caucasus,' 171—'After Wild-sheep in the Altai and Mongolia,' *ib.*—Mr F. C. Selous's 'Sport and Travel East and West,' 172-175, 182—on bullet-wounds, 173—Mr Church's 'Chinese Turkestan with Caravan and Rifle,' 175-178—Mr Powell-Cotton's 'A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia,' 178—Mr E. A. Pease's 'Travel and Sport in Africa,' 180—Major Fremantle's 'The Book of the Rifle,' 183-185.

Squier, Lieut G. O., 'The Influence of Submarine Cables upon Military and Naval Supremacy' quoted, 375.

Stevenson, Mr F. S., M.P., and the people of Macedonia, 480.

Stock Exchange, London, speculation on the, 88—innovation in the Northern Pacific shares, 101—number of members, 103—rules, 110. *See* Speculation.

T.

Tarn, Mr W. W., 'Notes on Hellenism in Bactria and India,' 512.

Telegraphs, Imperial, 364. *See* Imperial.

Testament, New, Criticism, 270—the 'Biblical question,' 271—views of representative scholars, 273-275—change from the defensive to the historical spirit, 275—history of the text, 276-278—number of types, 278-280—origin of the documents, 281-285—material for history, 285—the Tübingen school, *ib.*—restoration of books to the list of authentic works, 287—Synoptic Gospels, 288—the fourth Gospel, 289—Apocalypse, 290-292—the Pauline Epistles, 292—Epistles to Timothy and Titus, 293—Philemon and Hebrews, *ib.*—St Peter, 294—Acts of the Apostles,

294-296—belief in miracles, 297—the virgin-birth, 299-302—bodily resurrection, 302—position of Professor Gardner, 303—of Dr Harnack, 304.

Thames Conservancy Act of 1894; 260.

Thornton, Colonel T., 'Sporting Tour,' 162.

Travel and Sport, Recent, 161. *See* Sport.

Tübingen school of thought, influence, 285.

U.

United States, speculation in railways, 99—Wall Street dealers, 100—table of the variation in prices, 103.

University Reform in India, 234. *See* India.

V.

Vian, M., his 'Histoire de Montesquieu,' 332.

Victoria, Queen, The Political Life of, 308—inherent qualities, 310—tenacity of purpose, 310-312—simplicity, 312—freedom from personal vanity, sense of duty, *ib.*—conception of the constitution, 313—her choice of a husband, 314—influence of Prince Albert, 315, 322—relations with Lord Palmerston, 316, 319-321—Sir Robert Peel, 317—her views on the Maynooth grant, 318—surrender of Protectionist principles, *ib.*—the Spanish marriages, 319—revolutionary troubles of 1848, *ib.*—Crimean War, 320—Indian Mutiny, 321—death of Prince Consort, *ib.*—her character mellowed by guidance and experience, 322—line of policy, 323—view of foreign politics, *ib.*—domestic, 324—her position in the Empire, 325—example of her private life, 326—'Journal of our Life in the Highlands,' *ib.*—complaints of her neglect of public duty, 327-329—devotion and loyalty of the people, 329—death, *ib.*

Voltaire, his defence of the Calas family, 119.

W.

- Walpole, Sir Robert, character and work, 345 *et seq.*
 Weale, W. H. J., 'Exposition des Primitifs flamands et d'Art ancien, Bruges,' 208 *et seq.*
 Wendt, H. H., his essay on the Gospel of St John, 290.
 West India Dock Company, 253. *See* London.
 Weyden, Rogier van der, 219—appointed town-painter at Brussels, 220—'Descent from the Cross,' and other paintings, *ib.*
 Wraxall, Sir William, on Mrs Montagu, 83.
 Wyndham, Rt Hon. George, M.P., his Irish Land Bill of 1902; 21—on the question of price, 27.

Y.

- Yorke, Charles, friendship with Montesquieu, 355.

Z.

- Zola, Émile: his Life and Work, 115—birth and parents, *ib.*—early years, position at Messrs Hachette, 116—literary efforts, *ib.*—principles, 117—character of his novels, 117, 129—domestic life, 118—advocacy of the Dreyfus case, 118–122—'La Vérité en Marche,' 119—appeal to the students of Paris, *ib.*—materialism, 122, 129—conception of human character, 122–124—pretensions to be scientific, 124—theory of heredity, 125—his moral purpose and sincerity, 126—pessimism and fatalism, *ib.*—devoid of the true scientific spirit, 127—'Le Roman Expérimental,' 128—merits of his work, 130—imaginative powers, 130, 135—compared with the Romantics, 131—knowledge of the exterior world, 132—on the beauties of nature, *ib.*—description of the battle of Sedan, 135–137.

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